

# contact

**U.N. COMMITTEE HEARS**

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**EVIDENCE — PICTURES**

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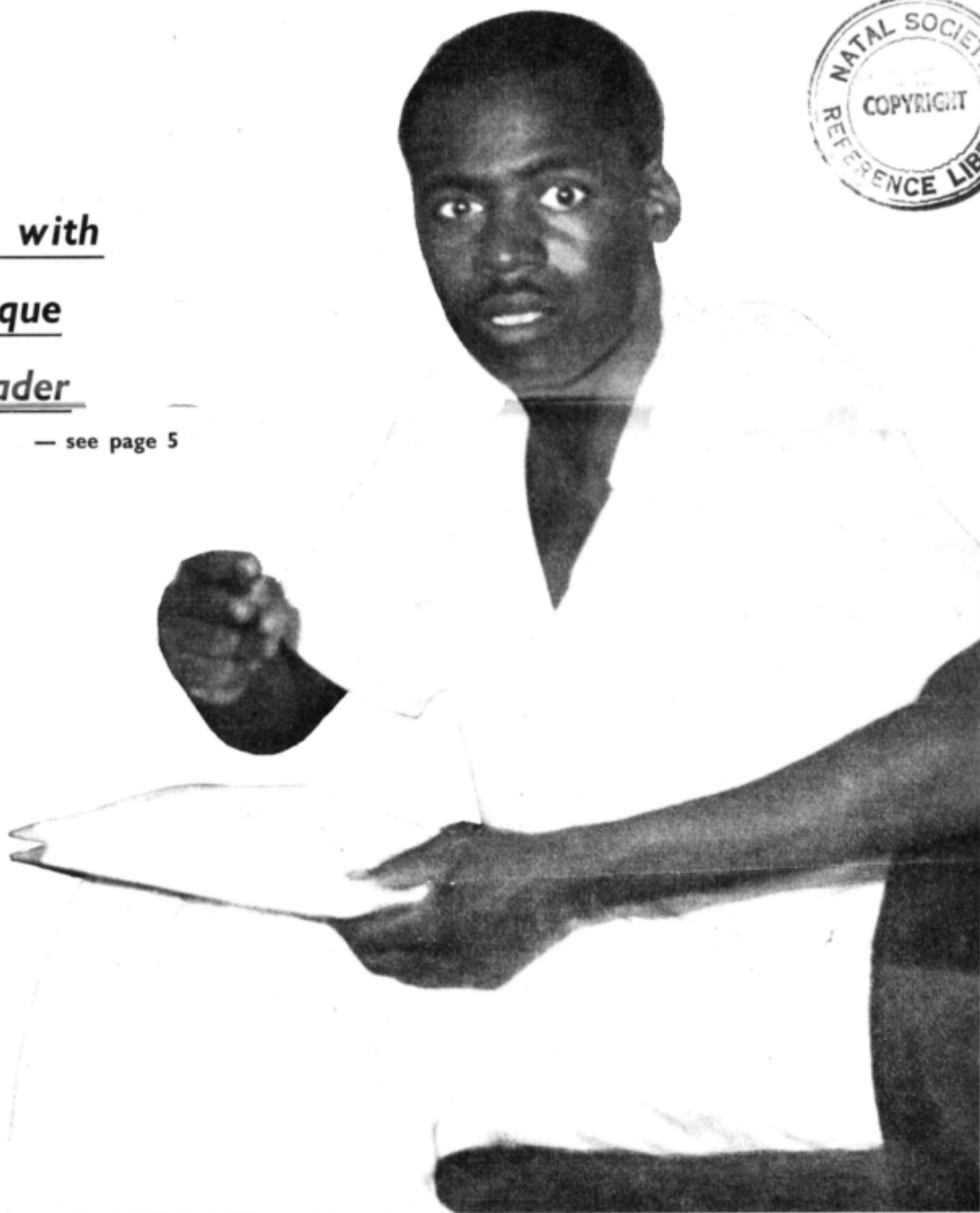
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as a Newspaper

— see p.p. 4 & 5

**SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY**

Interview with  
Moçambique  
Rebel Leader

— see page 5



**ADELINO GWAMBE — PLANNING REVOLT IN MOÇAMBIQUE**

# contact

Contact is independent. It works for non-racial democracy based on adult suffrage. It is against all forms of totalitarianism such as fascism, communism and apartheid.

## The Threat of War

NO one wants a third world war, yet the world stands on the brink of war over Berlin. And it is all because Mr. Khrushchev wants a change. If he were willing not to stir things up there would be no danger to anyone.

Why is he impelled to risk the whole human race, to risk the destruction of the Soviet Union, Europe and the United States, the areas that make the world prosperous as it has never been prosperous in history? It is because through Berlin passes an unending flow of German refugees. The rate is now one thousand a day, one thousand people, who find life under communism in Germany so unbearable that they daily leave to live under democracy in West Germany. This fantastic flow represents a vote of no confidence in communism, and is also a loss of population which is endangering the whole communist experiment in East Germany.

Contact prays that a way out will be found. Perhaps it will be found by admitting the Soviet right to make a peace treaty with East Germany, while maintaining democracy in Western Berlin. But if a way out is not found, let it be known from this time and for ever that the Soviet Union unleashed the greatest disaster, man-made or natural, that ever hit the human race in its half-million years of history, all to prevent some thousands of freedom-loving East Germans from leaving their communist prison.

And if a way out is not found, let all men everywhere who value freedom stand together to win the fight that communism brought on itself, and to cleanse forever from the face of the earth one of the vilest tyrannies that has ever been known.

## Who are the Imperialists?

A DANGEROUS myth is gaining strength in the world. It is illustrated by a sentence in a review by a Marxist critic named John Berger in the latest *Africa South of Janheinz Jahn's* book *Muntu*. The sentence reads:

*"Imperialism and the fight against imperialism are the primary realities in the world today."*

From Mr. Berger's review it is clear that he equates imperialism with Europe and America, the fight against imperialism with the pro-communist countries.

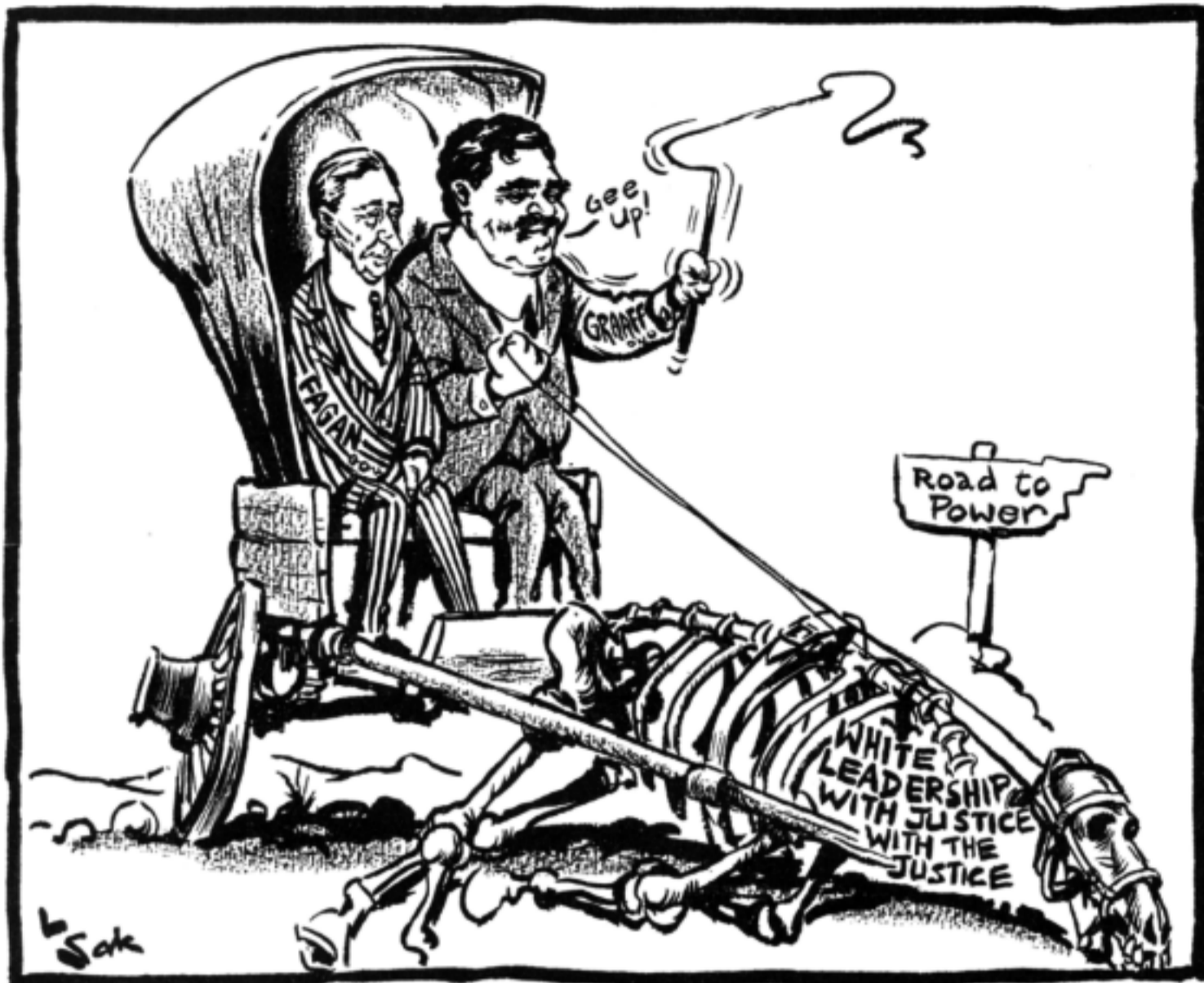
This point of view is ludicrous. For it is above all the western countries that have, in the last twenty years, given up their colonies. And it is the communist countries that have conquered new colonies, and robbed peoples, previously free, of their liberty.

Let us look to the **FACTS**. The facts are that the United States gave independence to the Philippines and to Cuba, which it conquered from their earlier imperial master, Spain. It is furthermore well known that all the European powers, except for Portugal, have given or are giving independence to all their colonial possessions in Africa and Asia.

The West is thus the friend of colonial freedom. What of the communist world? Here we find a very different picture.

China's vicious attack on innocent Tibet was well known but is in danger

*Continued at foot of next column.*



## ELECTION COMING

# Opposition Parties Jostle for Place

## U.P.-NATIONAL UNION ALLIANCE

IT has been announced that Sir de Villiers Graaff (United Party) and Mr. Justice H. A. Fagan (National Union Party) have drawn up a joint declaration setting out details of the common policy on which their parties will form an election alliance. This declaration will not be released until the two parties have agreed on which seats the United Party will make available to the National Union.

### THE BARGAIN

The United Party can offer ten of the eleven seats now occupied by Progressive M.P.'s, and perhaps some other seats now occupied by its own members.

*Continued from column 1.* of being forgotten. What is not so well known is that the Chinese are pouring millions of colonists in to swamp and destroy the Tibetan nation.

In the same way, further north, the Russians have already swamped out the Kazakhs. Kazakhstan is, on paper, an independent Soviet republic. Yet, whereas in 1926 Whites (Russians) amounted to only 19.7% of the population of the republic, they amounted in 1959 to 43.1%, outnumbering the non-White Kazakhs in their own republic (there are other minorities).

Let freedom fighters remember that there are Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirgiz, Tatar, Turki, Rumanian, Polish, Czech and many other nations longing to be free from Soviet imperialism. And let freedom fighters call the bluff of the communists when they try to blame the democratic world for their own grievous crime—the crime of trying to build imperialistic power in the twentieth century.

What can National Union offer, with no seats except Mr. Basson's Namib in South West Africa, which he is certain to lose? All that it can offer is a more Afrikaans flavour (both Basson and Fagan are ex-Nationalists) than that of the anglicized Graaffs and Marais Steyns.

In Graaff's eyes the most damaging thing that can be said about the United Party is that in it there is "no room for the Afrikaner".

### DOING A DEAL

Why has agreement on the seats not yet been reached? Here there is evidence of the desperate fight being waged behind the scenes by the Progressive Party to persuade the United Party to allow them to keep some of their seats. For *Contact* learns that when Sir De Villiers asked Mr. Basson

to let him know which seats National Union wanted, Mr. Basson asked for seats now in the hands of the United Party, and did not ask for a single Progressive seat.

It would appear from this curious demand that the Progressives have influenced Mr. Basson not to spoil their chances of still doing a deal with the United Party.

Such a deal is highly unlikely. Not only has the United Party got reason to resent the way that the Progressive Party was formed by M.P.'s elected in safe United Party seats, but the image the United Party wishes to place before the voters is an image which could appeal to "moderate Nationalists". And to them the Progressive Party is anathema.

## PROGS TO FIGHT COLOURED SEATS?

THIS means that the Progressive Party is in serious trouble. Without the blessing of the United Party it is certain that no Progressive member will be returned in a White seat after the next general election, which is virtually certain to be held in October this year. And the agreement with National Union means that there can be no such blessing.

But the Progressives have another string left to their bow: the "Coloured" seats. These four seats are at present in the hands of United Party members. The Progressives are hoping to win them. (These seats will also be contested at about the same time as the White seats.)

But it won't be easy: opinion among "Coloured" voters is hardening against any collaboration with these dummy seats. Also, the Malmesbury Convention came out for adult suffrage, dealing

a big prestige blow against Progressive aspirations.

### OFFER TO GEORGE PEAKE

Advertisements for "Coloured" organizers for the Progressive Party have appeared in the Cape press, but so far no one of any note has been appointed. An offer of £100 a month and a new car was made to Councillor George Peake, but he refused, on the grounds that the qualified franchise of the Progressive Party was not acceptable.

It is clear that the Progressives are going to try to hold on to their toe-hold in parliament with every means at their disposal. But it is also virtually certain that they will fail, and that they will learn, in due course, that for the present there is no open door to South African freedom through the present jerrymandered parliament.



# Demand for National Convention Comes from All Sides

By a Reporter

DR. VERWOERD'S fear of a united opposition to his government was well illustrated a fortnight ago when his Minister of Justice, Mr. F. C. Erasmus, banned the South African National Coloured Convention from gathering in Cape Town.

At present there are many movements opposing apartheid and working for a non-racial state. They are at present seriously divided. But suddenly, from all quarters, quite spontaneously, voices have been raised calling for "a national convention" out of which a united mass opposition movement could well be born.

This "convention" would in fact be a conference. For to be truly representative of the people of South Africa it would have to be supported by people of diverging political



Van der Ross—Coloured Convention President

Indian Organization, the Coloured People's Congress, and non-racial bodies like the South African Sports Association.

If as a result of such a meeting the participants could agree on joint mass action against apartheid, they would be in a position to demand a Sovereign National Convention to draw up a new constitution for South Africa.

In the past nine months support has been growing for the idea of such a meeting or conference.

## Move in Natal

In October 1960 the Liberal Party called for such a meeting and it was also announced that a Natal Convention would be held the following year, representative of all the people of Natal.



Paton—Liberal

opinions—by the Liberal Party, the Black Sash, Progressive Party, Church organizations, trade unions, universities, students, recognized former leaders of the banned A.N.C. and P.A.C., industry and commerce, communal organizations such as the South African Indian Congress, the Natal

The Natal Convention was held from 17th-19th April, 1961. The 200 delegates, representing all shades of opinion except the White supremacists, approved a report which called for

- a national convention of all races
- the abolition of race discrimination from public life.

In December 1960, the Orlando Conference of African leaders was held; it called for the holding of a representative conference of African people and later a multi-racial conference, preparing the ground for a National Convention.

Arising out of the Orlando gathering the African Conference was held in Pietermaritzburg on 25th March 1961. It too demanded the convening of a National Convention by the government, and threatened to call a stay-at-home if government were to refuse to call it. On 18th-20th February 1961, Coloured leaders met in Cape Town to plan and consider the holding of a national conference.

From this meeting developed the South African Coloured National Convention which was held in spite of banning over the week-end 8th-10th July. The convention decided to "negotiate immediately with similar organizations and bring into existence machinery for calling the all-South African national convention as soon as possible".

Shortly before 31st May, the Liberal Party sent a letter to the Prime Minister signed by Messrs. Alan Paton,



Lutuli—banned but represented

Jordan Ngubane and Peter Brown, respectively President, Vice-President and Chairman of the Party; the letter ended with these words:

"Last October we called for a new National Convention. We now repeat that call and ask you to summon such a National Convention, representative of all South Africans whose aim would be to find a new policy for our country, which would command the support of its people and restore our confidence in the future and our prestige in the world."

## Progressives, Universities

The Progressive Party issued a statement on 4th April urging the government a call "a fully representative National Convention" to try to solve the country's problems, and during May similar calls were made by the staff members of the University of Cape Town, Rhodes University, Witwatersrand University and Natal University.

## Meet to Plan

At a meeting in Johannesburg on 1st July, in the home of Mr. G. H. R. Edmunds, prominent South Africans resolved that an inter-racial conference be held as soon as possible. The meeting was called in response to the rising pressure from many quarters for a new



Brookes—Natal Convention leader

National Convention. Leading business men and newspaper editors, the Liberal Party, Progressive Party, the Natal Convention continuation committee, the Congress Movement (Indian Congress and Congress of Democrats), churches, leading English and Afrikaans intellectuals and Mr. M. B. Yengwa, the personal representative of Chief A. J. Lutuli, took part.

Latest demands for a national conference come from the National Union of South African Students and the Civil Rights League.

● The annual Nusas congress called for the holding of "a truly representative National Convention";

● After a private meeting on 16th July, under the auspices of the Civil Rights League, 40 prominent Cape Town citizens of all races pledged themselves to struggle "unremittingly" for a non-racial national conference.

The pressure for a national conference is mounting. When such a conference takes place, Dr. Verwoerd will be told by the people of South Africa that his policies are rejected.

If the conference is able to launch a mass movement, the aim may well be to force the government to call a Sovereign National Convention, empowered to draw up a new constitution.

If that happens, South Africa can become a democratic state without violence or revolution. But if it should fail the government alone will be to blame for the blood that might flow.

## NEW CAMPAIGN IN PONDOLAND?

SEVERE government repression in Pondoland seems to have driven opposition underground, but not to have stamped it out.

The emergency regulations proclaimed on 30th November, 1960, are still in force. They give the police powers to hold anyone without charge or trial. But of the whole Transkeian Territories, it was Eastern Pondoland that saw the most action, and suffered the worst repression.

Fully associated with Eastern Pondoland in resistance to the Government was the adjoining district of Mount Ayliff.

On 13th July the new courthouse, office of the B.A.D. commissioner, and the office of the District Bantu Authority were all completely destroyed by fire. All the records lodged in the buildings were destroyed at the same time by the fire.

Observers regard the act as the first shot in a new campaign against Bantu Authorities, not as the last shot in the old campaign.

Significantly the pro-communist weekly *New Age* reports that the "people (are) discussing new methods of struggle" in Pondoland.

## Responsible Government for Basutoland

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: Politicians here predict that the British Government will grant Basutoland responsible government within the next few months.

I understand that the British High Commissioner, Sir John Maud, discussed the proposed constitutional changes with officials and politicians when he visited the territory in June.

These are the main far-reaching developments which it is thought will take place:

● Giving unofficial members a majority on the Executive Committee—in effect, Basutoland's emergent Cabinet. At present "exco" has four official and four unofficial—elected—members. The next step may be to double the number of unofficial members.

● The establishment of a second legislative house in which the chiefs would sit. This would be a house which would review legislation, so that the chiefs, who are relatively conservative, would be shorn of much of the power they now enjoy.

## National Council

Changes such as these would prepare the Protectorate for the next big step ahead: a National Council—Basutoland's present legislative body—in which elected members would have majority.

At the moment 40 of the 80 seats are for elected members.

It is also expected that the salaries of unofficial "exco" members will be raised from the present £1,080 (R2160) a year to about £1,800 (R3600).

Officials told me that they hoped to provide houses for all these members; today houses are available for two of them.

## Discussions

Although I was unable to get any official confirmation about these important constitutional changes, I was told that members of the Secretariat have been discussing them with Basuto politicians behind closed doors.

Footnote: The Sunday Times of 9th July reported Professor D. V. Cowen, former professor of Comparative Law at the University of Cape Town, as saying in Dar es Salaam that Basutoland was certain to get full internal self-government this year.

The present Basutoland constitution is based largely on recommendations made by Professor Cowen, who was chosen by the Basuto people as their professional adviser during their negotiations with the United Kingdom Government.

# Union Finds Arms Hard to Get

THE supply of arms to the Republic is becoming one of the hottest points of controversy in Europe and America.

In Britain it has been argued over for three years, ever since a new Defence Agreement was signed there.

It was admitted on 18th July by Admiral Sir Nicholas Copeman, British Commander-in-Chief South Atlantic and South America, that while South Africa's Minister of Defence, Mr. J. J. Fouché, was in London (he got back on 24th July) he discussed the future of the defence agreement between Britain and South Africa.

## COMMONS DEBATES

But on 19th July Mr. Harold Watkinson, the British Minister of Defence, however, said that these discussions were secret, when Labour critics assailed him in the House of Commons for maintaining a close relationship with the Republic.

Mr. Hilary Marquand (Labour) tried to get an assurance from Mr. Watkinson that no British arms would be supplied to the Republic, but Mr. Watkinson dodged the question and would not say whether he agreed or not with Mr. Marquand.

This dispute comes after years of rising discontent in Britain with the continued supply of arms to South Africa.

On 31st July, 1958, Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., strongly criticized the defence agreement between Britain and the Union, particularly those clauses which extent Union defence facilities to the Protectorates.

At the same time the Basutoland African Congress, as it was then styled, enlisted the support of the Regent Paramount Chief in a successful effort to get the British government to cancel

the permission to the Union to site radar stations inside Basutoland.

After this controversy the matter became quiet until this year. Two factors revived the argument. The first was the public admissions made by Ministers Fouché and Erasmus that the primary duty of the Defence Force is henceforward to be internal security. On 26th April Mr. Fouché said: "Internal security remains the first and foremost task of the Defence force". And, again, "the Minister of Justice, Mr. F. C. Erasmus, and the Minister of Defence, Mr. J. J. Fouché have announced that the South African Police and the Defence Force will be re-organized on similar lines so that they can provide a single fast striking force to crush any uprising." (*Cape Argus*, 26th April, 1961.)

And the second factor that revived controversy in Britain was the departure of the Union from the commonwealth.

## TRADE UNIONS APPEAL

The feeling extended outside Britain, and on 15th July the I.C.F.T.U., through its secretary-general, Mr. Omar Becu, appealed to all democratic governments not to supply arms to South Africa. Such arms, said the secretary-general, "would lead to further repression of the people of South Africa under the government's inhuman policy of apartheid."

## ERASMUS DEMOTED

"Contact" Political Reporter

THE government has demoted Mr. Frans Erasmus from his key position as Minister of Justice to the unimportant post of the Rome embassy.

The move is a humiliation for Mr. Erasmus, and is reminiscent of the time when Mr. Khrushchev moved Mr. Molotov (leader of the so-called "anti-

The United States government must have realized how politically dangerous it is to supply Dr. Verwoerd with arms, for they have not agreed to allow the sale to the Union of new jet fighter planes. *Contact* learns in an exclusive report that the Union made this request some months ago, and that it has not been approved.

## THE LAST ALLY

As the Union's important friends desert it, Portugal remains as the last faithful ally of apartheid. It was announced in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* of 2nd July that "Lisbon sources say that a military pact between Portugal and South Africa already exists, but only in relation to Mozambique. It was reached last November at the time of the visit to Lourenço Marques by the then South African chief of staff, General Melville." This agreement, said the *Sunday Times*, provided for the Portuguese to accept South African advice on security measures, and for each country to aid the other automatically in the event of a "major threat".

A few years ago the Union could buy arms and make alliances anywhere it wished. But now the tide is moving against apartheid, and each time arms are sold to the Union it becomes more difficult for the deal to go through.

party" group in the Soviet government) to be ambassador in the remote desert of Outer Mongolia. Mr. Erasmus, I learn, has been demoted for similar reasons, for he was the leader of the pro-Dönges group of ministers who were dreaming of a "Cape revolt" from inside the Nationalist Party. By moving him out so smoothly (Mr. Erasmus is in any case tired and sick) Dr. Verwoerd has established his own personal power more firmly than it has even been established before.

## KEY MINISTRY

The Ministry of Justice is in control of the police force. It is, in any semi-dictatorship, a key ministry. In Europe it has always been the first ministry that would-be revolutionary forces have tried to obtain.

Who will take Mr. Erasmus's place in this key ministry? Betting is on Balthazar Johannes (John) Vorster, the 46-year-old member of Parliament for Nigel, an East Rand lawyer, and Deputy Minister of Education, Arts and Science.

Mr. Vorster spent much of World War II in internment because of his sympathy with the Hitlerites, and is known as a cold, ruthless, and extremely ambitious fanatic. He is 101% pro-Verwoerd.

## BANDA ELECTED

From "Contact" Correspondent

BLANTYRE: The general election in Nyasaland for 28 members of the Legislative Council will take place on 15th August. The main parties to have nominated candidates are the Malawi Congress Party, led by Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, the United Federal Party, led federally by Sir Roy Welensky, and the Christian Liberation Party, led by Mr. Chester Katsonga.

Dr. Hastings Banda has been returned unopposed after the U.F.P. candidate, Mrs. Stella Lyster, had withdrawn from the contest.

Two other Malawi candidates returned unopposed are Messrs. D. K. Chisiza (chief secretary) and W. K. Chiume (publicity secretary).

In all, fifty-six candidates will fight the seats, twenty-two Malawi Congress Party, twenty from the U.F.P., seven from the Christian Liberation Party, and seven independents.

Four of these independents (fighting upper roll seats) are supported by the M.C.P.

They are:

- Mr. Colin Cameron, Scots-born lawyer (M.C.P.) against Mr. Mahavir Roop Singh, born in Durban (U.F.P.);
  - Rev. Andrew Ross, Presbyterian Minister (M.C.P.) against U.F.P. Nyasaland Leader Mr. Michael Blackwood;
  - Mr. Ibrahim Bheda, Lilongwe Town Councillor (M.C.P.) against U.F.P. candidate Mr. K. G. Morgan;
  - Major Peter Moxon, retired King's African Rifles officer (M.C.P.) against Mr. R. H. Duncan (U.F.P.).
- The independent candidates supported

by the Malawi Congress Party have the further backing of a good number of Whites and the Nyasaland Asian Convention led by Mr. A. Sattar Sacranie, a barrister.

## Kaunda Bitter

From "Contact" Correspondent

NDOLA: At the second annual delegates' conference of the United National Independence Party held at Mulungushi, near Broken Hill, N.R., the president of the party, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, spoke with bitterness of the way in which he and the people of Northern Rhodesia had been deceived and betrayed by the British government.

"The British government have betrayed us, they have sold us down the cold river of White supremacy in the same way as their predecessors had done in the Union of South Africa fifty years ago. Shall we any longer trust them? At least my trust in them is finished!"

"I have always asked you to be patient, non-violent, in thought, word and deed. I am now removing one word from my vocabulary and that is patience."

At the end of the conference elections were held, and Mr. Kaunda was confirmed in his position as national president.



## They'll

The South African Press thinks that Nations Committee on South West Africa the chairman, does not agree. Waving a picture where the above picture was taken, he said we intend to carry them out. There is no here to carry out a mandate of the United Nations as we have to do it."

Pictured are (left to right): Mr. G. Raffaelli (Brazil); Mr. Sasmojo Karseno (Philippines), vice-chairman; Prof. Enrique Paul Boeg (Denmark); Mr. Carlos G. C. Wahab (United Arab Republic); U.N. Information Officer Abdoullah Faryar; and local radio journalist Miss Jacqueline M. Yarrow, Political Affairs.



Here are some of the petitioners and at the time the United Nations Committee on South West Africa was held. Back row: Messrs. Sam Nuujoma, L. Katjihongua, P. Mueshahange, W. Nelolu. Front: Messrs. Z. Ngavirue, Rev. M. N. Mbaeva, D. Munamava, S. Milfima.



And here is one of the sittings, where Mr. Hyman M. Basner, "representative" in the South African parliament living in Dar es Salaam. Extreme left, he is giving evidence. Professor Fabregat, the chairman, is on the extreme right of the picture.

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# AFRICAN, ASIAN THREATS TO PORTUGUESE IMPERIALISM

PORTUGUESE rule in Africa and India is now facing its toughest crisis for centuries, as news comes through this fortnight of stirrings in Guinea, Moçambique and Goa (India) as well as the 4-months-old liberation war in Angola. Here are the details:

- On 20th July a small force of exiles from Portuguese Guinea (which is sandwiched between the independent republics of Guinea and Senegal) crossed the frontier from Senegal and attacked a Portuguese army barracks. They were driven off. This confirms earlier reports that tension was rising on the Portuguese Guinea - Senegal frontier and that nationalist exiles from Portuguese Guinea were crossing the frontier in an attack on the Portuguese colony.
- All-India Radio announced on 20th July that India would assert her right to Portuguese Goa, a colony on the west coast of India. No further details were given.
- An uprising is being planned in Portugal's East African colony, Moçambique. Both inside Moçambique and elsewhere preparations are being made to attack Portuguese rule.

## MOÇAMBIQUE EXILE PLANS REVOLT

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: In an exclusive interview with *Contact*, Mr. Adelino Gwambe, President of the União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique (Undenamo), which is planning the uprising, said that the revolution planned by his party was aimed at striking the final death blow at the Salazar regime.

Mr. Gwambe returned here a week ago from Ghana where he had been discussing the situation with President Nkrumah who had called a special conference of leaders from African countries still under foreign or minority rule. Mr. Gwambe denied that the Ghana Government's Africa Bureau had promised him arms and ammunition for the projected revolution.

"We are at present not prepared to disclose the names of countries which may decide eventually to grant us weapons but at the moment Undenamo itself has made no formal approach to any country for weapons."

### Time Fixed

Although the time has already been fixed for uprisings to take place throughout Moçambique, the party is not yet

prepared to announce the date as the Portuguese would then be alerted and the uprisings might collapse.

Mr. Gwambe repeated his earlier demands for "immediate independence" and said that Undenamo was not prepared to enter into negotiations with the Portuguese government.

### Abandon Moçambique

Undenamo wanted Portugal to abandon Moçambique but he was sure Portugal would not surrender the territory without violence.

Although censorship interfered with the transmission of information between Undenamo headquarters in Dar es Salaam and Moçambique, a steady flow of news is carried both ways by underground agents.

Meanwhile public opinion throughout Tanganyika has been hardening against the Portuguese. Members of the ruling Tanganyika African National Union are demanding positive action for ending Portuguese rule in Moçambique and Angola.

Some members of Tanu strongly favoured a large-scale demonstration in front of the Portuguese consulate here to show Tanganyika's disapproval of Portuguese policies.

### "Moral Support"

But Mr. Gwambe feels that the time to strike the death blow is fast approaching. He said that while he would require "moral support" from other African countries he would not favour the liberation of Moçambique by non-Moçambiquans.

"Freedom for Moçambique must be attained by Moçambiquans only," Mr. Gwambe told *Contact*, "and for that reason Undenamo members inside Moçambique and outside have been making silent preparation over the last few months."

"We are definitely organizing a revolution which will result in the overthrow of the Portuguese government in Moçambique."

## MOCAMBIQUE PREPARES FOR TROUBLE

By a Reporter

IN Moçambique the government and leaders of business are expecting serious trouble.

Although very little news comes out of the strictly censored territory, there are indications that its defences are being strengthened. In particular

- Travellers to Lourenço Marques report extraordinarily severe measures against any person suspected of political activity
- Thorough security checks are carried out at border posts, and
- There is a build-up of troops in the territory. *The Star* (Johannesburg, 21st July) reports from Lourenço Marques: "Another troopship arrived from Lisbon today carrying about 1,000 Portuguese troops for service in Moçambique."

### BRITISH ESTATES

The state of unease is confirmed in the annual report of Sena Sugar Estates, a British-owned firm with large sugar plantations in central Moçambique.

Lt. Col. C. B. Hornung, the chairman, revealed in his annual report that his company is playing its part in arming the Whites in Moçambique against the Africans.

"Our European employees," said Col. Hornung, "are vastly outnumbered by Native workers and it is only right that we should take steps to protect them against any eventuality and that is what is being done." Col. Hornung presumably meant that his employees were being armed on a racial basis.

The estates are vast: he reported that a profit of £607,049 was made on a production of 102,862 tons of sugar.

For these benefits Col. Hornung was duly grateful: "Our company will, of course," he said, "shoulder its part of the burden in support of the policy of her prime minister, Dr. Antonio Oliveira Salazar, as I was able to assure him when I again had the privilege of discussing the situation with him earlier this year."

## Peace Corps for Ghana

GHANA agreed on 19th July to receive some 70 American Peace Corps workers during the next academic year, according to a report in the *Johannesburg Star*.

The workers are secondary school teachers. They are expected to arrive in Ghana during the next academic year to teach mathematics, science and other subjects in schools in various parts of the country.

One of the clauses in the agreement provides that volunteers will be solely responsible to the Government of Ghana as far as their "substantive work" is concerned. They will not enjoy diplomatic privileges or immunities.

The first batch of corps volunteers are expected to arrive in Ghana on 30th August.

*Note by Editor of "Contact":*  
President Kennedy's Peace Corps was bitterly criticized as a machine for perpetuating colonialism at the All-African People's Conference in March.



## Back

we have seen the last of the United But Professor Enrique R. Fabregat, ce of paper at Dar es Salaam airport, "These are my only instructions and me limit to our mission here. We are Nations and we will remain as long

na Abebe (Ethiopia); Mr. Marcello Indonesia); Mr. Victorio D. Carpio Fabregat (Uruguay), chairman; Mr. vo (Guatemala); Mr. Mostafa Rateb nation Officer in Dar es Salaam, Mr. st, Mr. Macpherson. Extreme right: s Officer at U.N. Headquarters.



witnesses who were in Dar es Salaam was there: Lidker, P. Shipanga, M. Kerina, M. hael Scott, E. Appolus, P. Helmut,



the Committee heard the witnesses. ner, for many years a "Native Repre- now an exile from South Africa, and nd Mr. Basner, is Mr. Girma Abebe an, is sitting directly opposite Mr.

## HUNGRY CHILDREN

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## NUSAS CONFERENCE SHOWS

# Students Support Struggle for Freedom

From Jill Jessop, member of Nusas Executive

REPRESENTATIVES of 17,500 South African students met in Durban this month for the annual congress of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas). The congress wholeheartedly condemned the trend of government policy in South Africa towards total control of education and affirmed that Nusas will strive for the restoration of human rights. The congress called for a National Convention at which the foundations could be laid for a democratic society.

The countrywide trend towards "White unity" was not reflected in the congress.

In addition to authorized student delegations from the Training Colleges and Universities of Cape Town, the Witwatersrand and Rhodes, and all the sections of the University of Natal, students from four of the tribal colleges attended the congress, although they have been forbidden to have anything to do with Nusas, which is regarded by the authorities as having a disturbing influence.

Prof. S. P. Olivier, rector of the Salisbury Island Indian College, had, however, given permission for his students to attend as individuals.

### REPORTS FROM COLLEGES

Reports from the tribal colleges of Fort Hare, Ngoye, Turfloop and Bellville were received. For fear of reprisals against the authors, these were read by the president (Mr. Adrian Leftwich) or by students who had left the colleges.

All the reports spoke of the bitterness and resentment of the students against the authorities. A student from the Bellville college said, "Here, more than anywhere else, do we see the stranglehold that the ruling group is seeking to exercise and perpetuate on the inhabitants of this country". Expulsions for alleged insubordination and criticism of the authorities, questioning by the rectors on students' politics and search-

ing of their rooms by the Security Branch, were reported from tribal colleges.

### UNAWARE OF CONDITIONS

After the Fort Hare report, read by a student who was expelled earlier this year, delegates from centres all over the country spoke of the shame they felt that such events could take place, and such conditions exist without their having been aware of it. During the reading of this report the Fort Hare student and many of his hearers were in tears. A woman delegate from one of the Cape training colleges said she would in future make sure that all the students there knew what was happening at Fort Hare, and the chairman of the Students' Representative Council of the Natal University (Durban), Mr. David Gordon, promised that a minute's silence would be observed, in memory of the freedom of Fort Hare, at every student gathering held in the hall where congress sat.

This statement, coming from what is regarded as the most conservative centre, was seen by delegates as highly significant, particularly in the light of an event at the beginning of congress, when the Durban delegation walked out after being criticized for not co-operating with the non-White section of the University, in trying to break down the system of apartheid on the campus.

### NEW DELEGATIONS

Two new delegations were welcomed to congress this year. They were the non-White section of the Natal University, which broke away eight years ago and rejoined at the end of last year, and



Mr. Adrian Leftwich (left), re-elected President of Nusas, with Vice-President Mr. Thami Mhlambiso and Vice-President for International Relations Mr. Roger Jowell.

the Johannesburg Training Institution for Indian Teachers.

Both of these took an active part in the discussions, and two students from the Natal delegation, Messrs. Durag Behari and Thami Mhlambiso (ex-Fort Hare) were elected on to the Nusas executive.

### 400 RESOLUTIONS

More than 400 resolutions on topics ranging from library apartheid, which was roundly condemned, to the freedom of the university press, which was supported, were passed at the 22 sittings of the student assembly. This is the policy-making body of Nusas, and consisted this year of some 60 voting delegates, as well as observers from the tribal colleges. A special observer was sent from the V.D.S. (the German Students' Union) and one from the Co-ordinating Secretariat of the International Student Conference, in which Nusas participates.

Nusas bases its policy on the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and is totally opposed to apartheid, realising "that apartheid in education is an integral part of, and stands or falls with, the total policy of apartheid applying to all spheres of South African life".

One of the aspects of apartheid it considers most iniquitous is Bantu Education, and a motion was passed stating the "complete opposition" of the student assembly to Bantu Education, and its faith in a system of "free and compulsory education for all children, irrespective of race, creed or colour". It pledged itself to work for the total abolition of the system.

### TRIBAL COLLEGES

Another resolution affirmed "complete opposition to the tribal college system, which is incompatible with democratic education and a gross breach of academic freedom". It was recognized that "the students at these colleges are compelled to register there because of the complete lack of other facilities". The motion concluded "Nusas, realizing that university apartheid and the tribal college structure cannot be separated from apartheid as a whole, will work for the total abolition of apartheid education and for the restoration of academic freedom in all spheres of education in order that the goal of a democratic education in a democratic society may be attained".

Other aspects of Nusas policy gave rise to motions such as that which "viewed with severe disapprobation the refusal by the government to grant a passport to Dr. A. C. Jordan, who had received a travel grant and visiting lectureship which would have taken him to Britain and the United States". A telegram of protest was sent to the

## STUDENT LEADERS

Prime Minister and another of sympathy to Dr. Jordan.

Other resolutions passed:

- noting the tabling of the Undesirable Publications Bill affirmed "the belief that any form of censorship based on ideological criteria is entirely incompatible with the free trade in ideas . . . and is foreign to the principles of Nusas"
- without allying itself to any particular political party in the present struggle in Algeria expressed "the Assembly's wholehearted desire that the Algerian people attain their independence with the least possible delay and with a minimum of bloodshed and violence"
- noting that a democratic society is a prerequisite of democratic education, urged "the immediate summoning of a national convention truly representative of all South Africans at which the bases for the establishment of democratic government may be laid".

Mr. Alan Paton, National Chairman of the Liberal Party, opened the Congress.

Elections to the new executive showed no change in Nusas's political stand.

### EXECUTIVE

Mr. Adrian Leftwich was re-elected President for 1962;  
 Vice-President, Mr. Thami Mhlambiso (Natal);  
 Vice-President for International Relations, Mr. Roger Jowell (U.C.T.);  
 Press Relations and Publicity, Miss Jill Jessop (U.C.T.);  
 Relief, Mr. Basil Moore (Rhodes);  
 Studies, Mr. Durag Behari (Natal);  
 Training College Affairs, Miss Lorna Bramley (Johannesburg College of Education);  
 Travel, Mr. Denis Hunt (Wits.);  
 Welfare, Mr. Michael Gardiner (Natal).

## FOR AFRICA'S TRADE UNIONISTS



This fine labour college was opened in Kampala, Uganda, on 27th June. It has been founded by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.) which has for ten years been helping African trade unions to train the new leadership which political independence now requires. "Free Labour World", organ of the I.C.F.T.U., writes: "The widespread welcome given to the Kampala College by African trade unionists, as well as the solid results already achieved (because classes have been going on in temporary premises since 1958), encourage the I.C.F.T.U. to believe that this has been one of the most practical and beneficial acts of international solidarity ever undertaken."

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# READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

## It will be defeated

**SIR.**—I have learned that the government refuses to listen to the demands of mourning people. It is right for each individual to endeavour to make it known to the government that each and every person in this great family has a right to enjoy life in his mother family, known as a Republic of South Africa.

The stay-at-home in the month of May has failed but the time is coming in which the government of discrimination will be totally defeated.

It does not matter how many acts of Parliament they pass to stop it: in the end the cream will come to the top of the bowl.

**SIMON MOOKI,**  
Slurry, Tvl.

## READERS OF "CONTACT"

- Write and tell us about oppression in your area
- About Bantu Authorities
- About the Police
- About wages, group areas

## Does "Contact" support democracy?

**SIR.**—There can be little doubt that South Africa is at present and has been for a long time, grievously ill. Racism, bordering on criminal stupidity, is bedeviling this fair country of ours which could have been one of the grandest and most prosperous countries in the world.

And where *Contact* sets out to work for "a non-racial democracy" one presumes "democracy" means something different from the so-called "people's democracies" of eastern Europe. And in this commendable aim every fair-minded person can support *Contact*.

However, as a faithful reader of your publication since its inception, I cannot escape the conclusion that willingly or unwillingly the type of democracy strived for by *Contact* would hardly be compatible with the meaning ordinarily attached to the word by democrats in the western world.

South Africa is far from being a democracy, but a country like Ghana, for which *Contact* has directly or by implication nothing but praise, is certainly not a paragon of democratic states: where power is almost exclusively vested in one man and where the "Party" after the Nazi and Communist models is identified with the state itself and where effective opposition is well-nigh impossible and where freedom of the press, such as *Contact* at present still enjoys, is practically non-existent. And yet *Contact* remains silent on such an issue! Surely it is somewhat hypocritical?

And when *Contact* identifies itself with the ineffable barbarities committed against Black and White alike by so-called "heroic nationalists now fighting for life and liberty" in Angola, am I not justified in my belief that *Contact* is in favour of violence, especially when it continues that these atrocities are committed by people "fighting the battle of all free men in Southern Africa". Surely a masterpiece of one-sidedness! "Freedom" here has the same meaning as the word in the vocabulary of the East German communists, a country which I have seen myself and from where 4,000 people flee each week from their much-vaunted "freedom". I would like to think that freedom means more than that.

I am an Afrikaner and deeply perturbed by what is being done in the name of the White man and of the Afrikaner. But anybody acquainted with the hard facts of the South African

political scene, and with the trends of the African scene in general, as well as Man's inherent weakness, knows that there is no quick panacea for our ailments.

We can only strive towards a better South Africa by mutual give and take, by a gradual but concerted effort to remove barriers between different groups and races and to emphasize individual capacity and not the pigmentation of a man's skin. *Contact* has its part to play in this South African symphony, but let us hope that it will not just be dancing to the music of the most vociferous extremists that happen to be in the limelight. But *Contact*, alas, may be more interested in increasing its sales.

**SOUTH AFRICAN,**  
Stellenbosch.

*"Contact" opposes totalitarianism whether in communist East Germany or in "christian" fascist Angola.*

*The lesson of 1939 is that sometimes free men have to take up arms against tyrants. This is surely what the U.P.A. is doing in Angola.*

—Editor.

## Complaints not answered

**SIR.**—I was at a mission school. One day the rector, who used to give us scripture lessons, told the class that a European compared to an African is like an electric light to a candle.

One day the students complained about the food, which was very bad. They were told that the food was far advanced compared to what we have at home.

One Sunday the rector caught a student chatting with his girl friend. As usual the rector took the boy for flogging. He handcuffed him, tied him to a chair and flogged him.

He was later expelled and the students protested and threatened to boycott classes unless he were allowed to return. The rector promised to co-operate. The next thing the girl friend was brought by the boarding mistress for flogging. As they closed the door behind them the students "voted with bricks" against the action of the authorities. Thirty-five windows were smashed.

The rector was panic-stricken and called the police. In the evening eight policemen came and addressed the students.

Later eight students were arrested and charged with public violence and malicious damage to property and eighteen were expelled.

Two were sentenced to 30 days or £10 and the youngest, myself, to six strokes.

Some of the grievances to which the authorities had paid no attention were: working hard on Saturdays digging and removing big stones from paths leading to nearby churches and farms; wattle barking and tree felling; the girls were made to do harvesting and cleaning of latrines; bad diet.

**PACIFICUS MAKINYANE,**  
Welkom.

## Freedom fighters will win

**SIR.**—As a reader of *Contact* I am sure that we shall ultimately get what all the freedom fighters are in quest of. It goes without saying that this "baas-skap business" is just on the eve of its perdition.

Everyone who has studied philosophy knows the conclusion it always arrives at—freedom. If we cast a cursory glance at the past we shall find that all the philosophers were freedom lovers.

Today we are told that there is Afrikaner philosophy: what sort of philosophy can it be? We might as well call it totalitarianism or communism.

Since the dawn of history peace has never been brought about by means of force.

**LUCAS CHAUKE,**  
Brits, Tvl.

## Don't be Afraid

**SIR.**—As an agent of "Contact" there is a lot of good and bad I have heard about the paper. Some people say that they are afraid to read "Contact" for fear of being arrested. They reckon that "Contact" is too communist.

But the other day I was pleased to hear from one of my clients that "Contact" has so far broadened his mind.

So I am appealing to those who haven't read it or those who are afraid to read it, to make up their minds once more.

"Contact" will get you in touch with world affairs.

**J.M.,**  
Pretoria.

## Ten points against Federation

**SIR.**—1. It is horrible to live in the Federation—Whites degrade Africans so that they remain masters.

2. I hate Federation because the government is of one race and is undemocratic.

3. Federation is a government of soldiers of oppression, of exploiters and human blood suckers.

4. The Federal government is hated by the majority because it came in through the wrong door.

5. Partnership which the Federation imposed on the people is a word only—in practice it is apartheid.

6. In Federation the lighter your skin the less you suffer and the more pay you get.

7. Federal people say that to be ruled by White men is "democracy" and to be ruled by Africans is dictatorship.

8. To support Federation you agree to civilized slavery.

9. Freedom, peace and justice to Africans are denied: their land, heritage, rights are denied.

10. The freedom fighters, the people who want democracy in reality are showing teeth at their masters, the oppressors, the small imperialists and their settler government. Days have numbers in the African continent.

**FREEDOM NOW!**  
Chingola, N.R.

**DISGUSTED YOUTH,**  
Bechuanaland.

## Mr. Mofammere's letter

**SIR.**—The letter from Mr. Mofammere in your issue of the 13th July is a perfect example of the kind of thing which injures the very cause which your paper, and all liberally-minded people, have at heart. It contradicts itself in arguing that if Catholics go to the heavenly Kingdom, then bibles (presumably Catholic bibles) must be imperialist snares. Clearly, if Catholics reach salvation, God must approve of them, and their bibles! Then again, does Mr. Mofammere expect us to believe that the priest cursed the congregation? And does he deny, as he seems to do by implication, that some priests were murdered in the Congo under the Lumumba regime? And is he, who claims to know his Catholic faith, unaware of the fact that a priest who claims to be himself infallible would be a heretic?

I pass over the pointless jeer at "Canadians and Italians who call themselves priests" (well, aren't they?), in order to remark that a criticism of priests because they voluntarily give up everything comes oddly from one who is presumably a liberal. Half the case against Marxism is that it is not voluntary.

By the way, in view of Mr. Mofammere's evident rebellion against the Catholic Church, what was he doing in the cathedral at Maseru on Ascension Day?

**J. POTHIER, Cape Town.**

**SIR.**—I was surprised to see that *Contact* had allowed space for the publication of Mr. A. Mofammere's letter (13th July).

Many of your less educated readers may be influenced by this totally unwarranted and libellous attack on Catholic priests, whom he accuses of making converts by telling lies.

Has *Contact* now become an open forum for the propagation of the misguided views of apostate christians?

**V. G. DAVIES, Cape Town.**

*Our letter page is open to the views of anybody, "misguided" or not.—Editor.*

## STUDENTS STRIKE AGAINST APARTHEID

SOUTH AFRICA is experiencing its most serious wave of student unrest in its history. At nine schools and colleges massive support was forthcoming for the largely unsuccessful end of May stay-at-home strike.

At Fort Hare University College the stay-at-home was total and there were serious end-of-May troubles at:

- Botha Sigcawu High School (Flagstaff, C.P.)
- Ndoleni Training College (Richmond, Natal)
- Healdtown High School (Fort Beaufort, C.P.)
- Healdtown Training School (Fort Beaufort, C.P.)
- Lovedale High School (Alice, C.P.)
- Lovedale Theological College (Alice, C.P.)
- Freemantle High School (Queenstown, C.P.)
- Emmarentia High School (Warmbaths, Transvaal)

### URGENT QUESTION

Forty Ndoleni students were expelled, 50 were expelled from Lovedale, including the head boy and several prefects (and 400 male students sent home for the second time when classes were boycotted on 19th July). Students were expelled from Healdtown, Freemantle and Emmarentia.

The most urgent immediate question is whether these students, many of them about to take their "matric" or J.C., will be admitted to other schools. "New Age" (20th July) reports that they have been "blacklisted" from all schools. Ndoleni parents have complained that expelled students have been denied transfers to other Bantu Education schools, though officials deny this.

Mr. J. H. Dugard, regional director of Bantu Education at King William's Town, however, has stated that if principals of other schools were prepared to accept the expelled students they could admit them.

Contact will investigate the fate of these large numbers of students whose careers have been interrupted.

### LATER UPSETS

Later upsets took place at: **St. John's College**, Umtata, where a truck was burnt out and some furniture destroyed, on 8th June. In the subsequent criminal action brought against 204 pupils, 101 were discharged, three were sentenced to fines of £25 (or 120 days), for public violence, 18 over the age of 18 years to fines of £15 (or 90 days) and 85 to cuts with a light cane (from 4 to 8 according to age). The latter 103 were sentenced "for addressing, holding or being present at an illegal gathering on 7th and 8th June in contravention of Proclamation 400 of 1960" (i.e. the Transkei's emergency regulations which are still in force). An appeal has been noted and the students have been re-admitted to the college.

At **Kilnerton Institute**, north of Pretoria (for matric and teachers' training) the whole school struck from 19th to 22nd June, as a result of a serious quarrel over the expulsion of 10 girls for petty offences. Kilnerton's troubles are said to have dated from the recent arrival of a new principal (Mr. Booyens) whose methods are resented by the students.

## Deported to Angola

From "Contact" Correspondent

OHANGUENA, OVAMBOLAND: More and more political cases here are being remitted by Bantu Commissioners to chiefs' courts where inhumanly cruel punishments are often inflicted. A recent case is that of Mr. Lucas Pohamba, an office-bearer in the South West Africa People's Organization.

Mr. Pohamba was deported from Oranjemund (S.W.A.) to Ovamboland for urging a strike over the republican celebrations. When he was back in his father's area, Okankudi, he held a political meeting.

The Assistant Bantu Commissioner at Oshikango had him arrested for this. He appeared in the commissioner's court and was charged with a political offence. The case was remitted, and he was sent in chains to the tribal headman.

At the seat of the headman, Gabriel Kautuima, he was chained to a pole for three days. He was then brought before the tribal court. His judges were four government supporters: headman Nehemiah Shovaleka, Naipadi Yiyi, Vilho Uejulu and Gabriel Haitemba. Mr. Pohamba was sentenced to twenty-four cuts with a heavy cane.

After receiving the punishment, he was deported to Angola by the Bantu Commissioner, although he had never been there before. His father, who is blind, was deported with him, for allowing Mr. Pohamba to hold a meeting in an area over which he was headman.

Since being deported nothing has been heard of father or son.

## ON THE SPORTSFIELD

# S.A.S.A. Plans New Campaign

By a Reporter

WHITE South Africa has not been re-admitted to the Imperial Cricket Conference. That is the hard fact to emerge from the confused discussions in London during July.

The South African Sports Association (Sasa) is thus nearer one of its many objectives. This success comes at a time when Sasa is entering on three of the most ambitious projects in its history.

Mr. Dennis Brutus, Sasa's Honorary Secretary, in a statement to Contact, told of these three projects.

● The first is the **All-Africa Games Association**. The project, Mr. Brutus said, was still in the preliminary stage. The idea is to have All African games every four years, and to invite South Africa to par-

to be held at Dar es Salaam. "We shall have to watch that certain racial bodies in South Africa do not try to sneak in through paying lip-service to the idea of non-racialism: only truly non-racial bodies will be admitted," he said.

● The second project is to see that a non-racial South African team goes to the next **Olympic Games** at Tokio, 1964. According to a statement to *The Graphic*, Mr. Brutus envisages Sasa's setting up a preliminary Olympic Committee (non-racial) which will challenge the right of the present South African committee to belong to the International Olympic Committee. This challenge will come at the 1963 meeting of the International Olympic Committee at Nairobi, and Sasa is already organizing external support for its stand among the sports bodies of the world, especially those in the Afro-Asian countries.

● Internal support will be built up by the third project, **Operation Sonreis**, under which people will be asked to **Support Only Non-Racial Events In Sport**. Explaining, Mr. Brutus said: "Contact readers believe in fair play, and can do much to make Sonreis succeed. They should

● support only events conducted on non-racial lines;

● withhold support from racial sports events — e.g. the English hockey tour, the Wallabies rugby tour and the New Zealand cricket tour. In all these tours sides allegedly representing South Africa will take part;

● write to Sasa pledging their support;

● hold meetings and discussions to build support for Operation Sonreis."



BRUTUS

ticipate on a non-racial basis. An All Africa Sports Association has already been set up, at a conference in Cairo, and Sasa was invited to suggest items for its constitution.

Mr. Brutus expects the first games

## LIBERAL PARTY REVISES POLICIES

MORE than 200 delegates and observers attended the eighth national congress of the Liberal Party, held in Durban on 8th, 9th and 10th July. The main business of the congress was the revision of Liberal Party policies on Land, Economic and Social Welfare, Civil Rights, Education and Foreign Affairs.



Mr. William Ngakane (left), Springs Branch Liberal Party chairman, talking at Congress to Mr. Jordan Ngubane, Party vice-president.

Although details will only be released later in the year when the revisions have been discussed by all branches of the party, one fact emerges clearly from the congress: it is that while the party realizes that its main purpose is to remove racial bars from individuals, merely to do that will not be enough.

Measures will also have to be taken to raise the social and economic and educational standards of the whole society and to remove the great disparity between White and non-White standards.

The new policies which will be published later in the year will point the way in which the party intends to do this.

The new policies were accepted by the congress. They make a break with earlier policies.

Drastic reforms in the economic structure of the country, coupled with intensive education for all on an integrated basis, an all-embracing welfare programme, and a radical redistribution of farm land were proposed as ways of ensuring that the wealth of the country is fairly shared by all citizens.

