

contact

MOKHEHLE EXPLAINS

BREAK WITH

MANDELA

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see page 3

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

**“BRITAIN MUST
CEDE
SOVEREIGNTY
NOW”**



Cowen on Swaziland, Basutoland — page 8

PROFESSOR DENIS V. COWEN, the constitutional expert on whose advice was based the present Basutoland constitution, and who has been briefed by the Swaziland Progressive Party and the Eurafrikan Welfare Association of Swaziland to represent them in the current constitutional discussions in Swaziland, expresses, in an interview exclusive to “Contact”, his views on these two terri-

tories whose futures must profoundly influence the future of the whole of South Africa.

Professor Cowen believes that Britain must yield full sovereignty to the peoples of the High Commission Territories in the near future, while remaining, for the present, a protecting power. Read on page 8 some of his reasons for this view.

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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.

Open Letter to an English-speaking White S. African

THE government is arming to the teeth, and at the same time trying to totally disarm non-White South Africa. Peace-time training is being increased, the purchase of planes and armoured cars stepped up, and the manufacture of arms and ammunition proceeds on a scale previously unknown.

The enemy against whom this is being done is not chiefly the Red Army in Berlin: on 26th April the Minister of Defence, Mr. J. J. Fouché, said: "Internal security remains the first and foremost task of the Defence Force." In other words you are being armed against the day when the unbelievable patience of your non-White fellow-citizens is ended, when they have to be kept under by naked force.

If a clash were to come, you, the typical English-speaking South African, would become once more a very important person. Your technical skills, your money, your experience of modern warfare, would be essential to the Nationalists' plans. Above all, there could be no White laager if 40% of the Whites had no desire to fight. That is why for the first time the rabidly anti-English Afrikaner Nationalist Party is talking of getting an English South African into the cabinet.

You are thus faced with a decision: to go along with White supremacy, even to the edge of the valley of death, or to pull out and make White supremacy unworkable and undefendable.

Looked at calmly there is no doubt that you ought to refuse to travel any further along the White supremacy road. You are, after all, one of the three hundred million people in the world whose mother-tongue is English. As part of the English-speaking world you are heir to a great tradition. At its best that tradition is a tradition of liberty, of fair-play, and of racelessness. White supremacy is the opposite of all these things.

But until now you have travelled along this road of White supremacy, for it is by now obvious to all that the United Party, which you support, is as much a party of White supremacy as is the Nationalist Party. The only difference is that the United Party tries to conceal its White supremacy policy under vague words while, the other day, Dr. Verwoerd frankly announced his policy as being one of "Blanke heerskappy" (White supremacy).

But even if you believe that the United Party's policy is different from that of the Nationalists, the point here is that on matters of "defence", and "fighting for White South Africa", the two parties now stand absolutely together. So, judged on past form, you are at present committed to going along with Minister Fouché and his defence plans, even if to do so is to betray your best traditions.

Now I have enough faith in you, and in your traditions, to believe that in the final show-down you will abandon apartheid. Compromise is the heart of the English way of doing things, as you can see from recent history in England, Asia, and Africa. The settlers have accepted Kenyatta in Kenya. And when our government clashed with the Pondo people, most of English-speaking Pondo-

(Continued at foot of next column)

Another Congo in the South Cameroons?

By HARRY JAGUAR

MR. JOHN FONCHA, Premier of the South Cameroons, said the other day that he had definite information that terrorists from the Cameroun republic planned to take over control of the country when the British left on 1st October. So far the British government has refused to grant his request that British troops should stay.

A few days after the Prime Minister spoke, British and Cameroun republic troops captured a terrorist camp at Mt. Kupe, 6,791 ft., high in the wild mountains on the Southern Cameroons eastern border. Less than a week later terrorists attacked a Cameroons Development Corporation camp at Abodo, also on the frontier, and killed twelve labourers.

British Troops to Withdraw

These reports come on top of the news that British residents in the Cameroons are already sending their wives and children back home, and are arming themselves against terrorist attacks when the British troops withdraw their protection on October 1st. Mr. John Belsham, head of the C.D.C., has said he is sending home all his employees' families. Almost every other firm in the South Cameroons is doing the same.

Disorganized terrorism has been the bane of the Cameroun republic for over five years now, since the Union des Populations du Cameroun (U.P.C.) first declared war on the French administration on 12th July, 1956. The U.P.C., which first fought under the banner of African nationalism against the French, has continued to wage a civil war against the popularly elected government of Ahmadou Ahidjo.

Though the support of the terrorists now seems to be dwindling, the Ahidjo government has not been able to eradicate the guerrillas altogether. When Ahidjo came to power he offered an amnesty to all terrorists willing to surrender and, as a result, certain U.P.C. leaders such as Mayi Matip abandoned terrorism and decided to fight the government as a parliamentary opposition.

French Troops

Ahidjo's amnesty was a fair and generous one, but he created much bad feeling by employing French troops to continue his fight against the remaining rebels.

The rebels first made their external headquarters in Cairo and later in Guinea. They supported the guerillas in the Cameroun republic with funds, arms and ammunition.

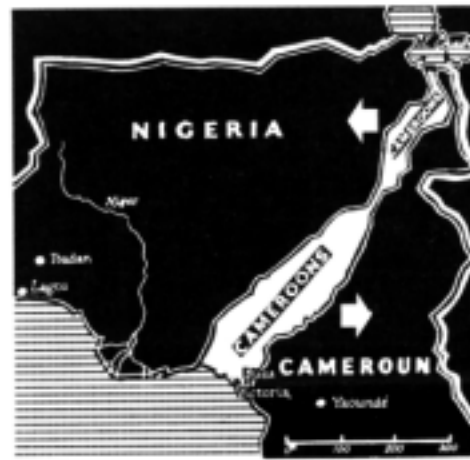
Since terrorism first started in the Cameroun republic there have been political developments of major importance:

- The Cameroun republic has become independent

(Continued from previous column)
land blamed the crass stupidity of the apartheid policy for the troubles, and sympathized with the Pondo people.

Unfortunately I do not see a change of heart coming in time to prevent English South Africans from being integrated as allies, or at least as auxiliaries, of the apartheid army. Our towns resound already with bugles as schoolboys in nazi-type uniforms learn to drill and to bear arms.

And so until the day comes when you are true to the pattern upon which you yourself were formed, I can only voice this aspiration: that in the fight to maintain White supremacy, the most unjust fight in the modern world, you will be one of Dr. Verwoerd's most unreliable allies.



The South Cameroons is to become part of the Cameroun Republic on 1st October. The North Cameroons has become part of Nigeria.

- The people of the South Cameroons decided by a plebiscite of 11th February this year to unite with the republic
- a United Nations resolution has fixed the date for union on 1st October.

The British government has announced its willingness to hand over the trusteeship and has announced that all British troops will be withdrawn by then.

Terrorists in Forests

The terrorists operate from the densely wooded mountains running almost the whole length of the border. So far the presence of British troops has restrained rebel activities on the South Cameroons side of the border. The question now is, what happens when the British withdraw?

The South Cameroons government has no defence force of its own and is reluctant to invite the republic to send French-speaking troops over, even if they could be spared.

The overwhelming plebiscite in favour of union with the Cameroun republic would seem to demonstrate a real desire for union obliterating all boundaries. But, in fact, it is just as much motivated by a fear of being swallowed up in Nigeria, as by a positive desire for union with the republic.

There have been at least four major conferences on how to federate the two territories but no clear ideas have emerged on how the South Cameroons will be defended. In fact, inter-governmental talks have gradually shown a number of other difficulties which will face the Federation.

Take some of the practical difficulties:

How is the French legal system to be integrated with the British? Which educational system will be put into effect? What about the teaching of languages? How will the South Cameroons achieve a smooth change from £ s. d. to French francs? How is the Cameroons Development Corporation to be financed when Britain goes?

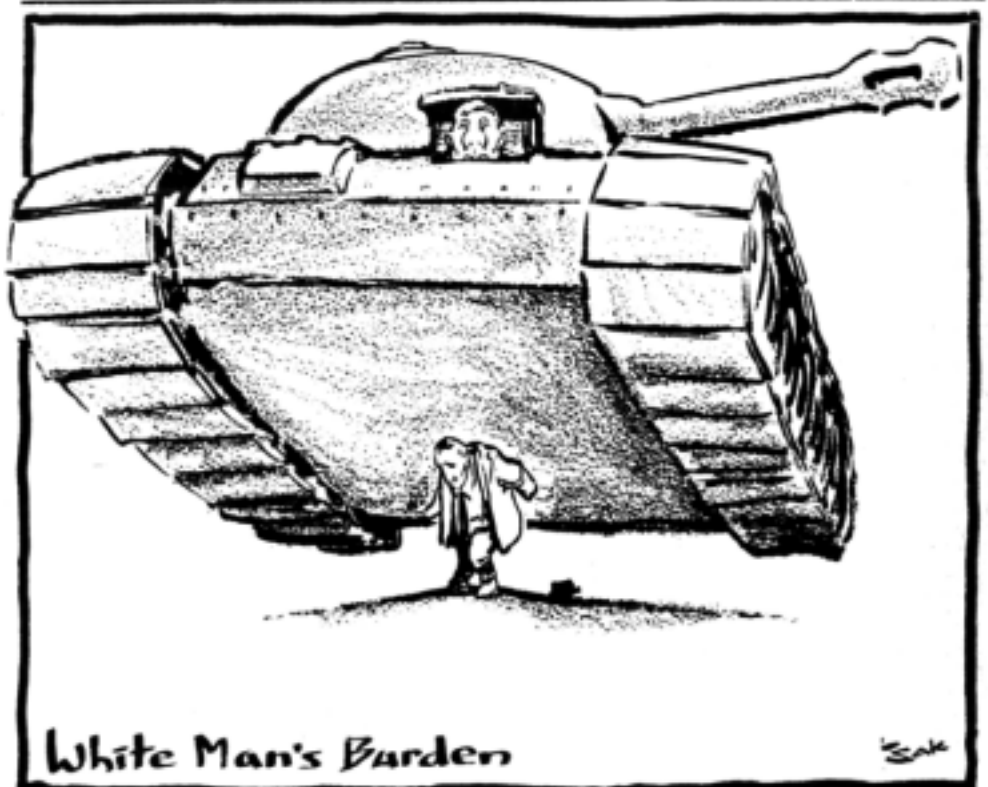
Many of these problems could be easily resolved if there were not underlying political realities which keep the leaders of the two territories apart. Foncha naturally fears that his country will be swallowed up in the larger republic. Ahidjo fears that the South Cameroons may ally themselves with the southerners in the Cameroun republic—with the Bamileke people, who support his political opponents, the U.P.C., both in violent and non-violent action.

Moreover there are vast differences in the development of the two territories. The Cameroun republic has made itself a viable economic unit with the £3½ million French assistance each year. It has a good administration and draws much technical assistance from France. The South Cameroons, on the other hand, is much poorer. Bananas make up 60% of its exports—a crop which depends almost entirely on Commonwealth preference.

Congo Problems

Very few of the Cameroonians themselves are able to fill the administrative and technical posts in their country. Of the 160 senior officers in the territory's administration only 30 are Cameroonian. Thus the Cameroons seem beset with almost every problem that faced the Congo last year. The main difference is that the Cameroons is a small country which is nevertheless slightly more politically mature. Mr. Foncha is faced with a strong opposition in the shape of Dr. E. M. L. Endeley's Cameroun People's National Convention, but it is an opposition that is prepared to work by constitutional means.

Maybe the difficult months ahead will unite the Cameroon people and encourage them to make a go of the new Federation. If Britain is prepared to give generous and disinterested assistance the country may then survive. But the first problem will be the one of defence. The last word may well be with the rebels lying in the forests along the frontier and planning to make a last desperate effort.



White Man's Burden

MOKHEHLE DECLARES

"Communists Seek to Cripple African Nationalism"

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, leader of the Basutoland Congress Party, has broken with the banned African National Congress of South Africa and with Mr. Nelson Mandela, of the National Action Council. He has accused the banned A.N.C., the National Action Council and communists of trying to dictate to and conquer the Basutoland Congress Party.

The pro-communist weekly, *New Age*, first reported the break in a dispatch from Maseru in which it described Mr. Mokhehle's announcement as a "vicious and crude attack" on the banned A.N.C. and on Mr. Mandela.

The dispatch referred to a speech made by Mr. Mokhehle to the B.C.P.'s Youth Conference early in August. (See *Contact* 17th August.)

In the following issue of *New Age* (24th August), Mr. Mandela replied to Mr. Mokhehle, "denounced" his attack and accused him of breaking faith with the banned A.N.C. On the same day the *Rand Daily Mail* carried an account of an interview with Mr. Mokhehle who disclosed that:

● The Communist Party of South Africa and the banned A.N.C. were trying to establish themselves in Basutoland apparently in an attempt to operate from there.

● The South African former A.N.C. was organizing cells in Basutoland and recruiting members from the Basutoland Congress Party "with the aim of taking it over".

In an interview with *Contact*, Mr. Mokhehle explained why former members of the banned A.N.C. and *New Age* (which reflects the views of the Congress Alliance) had attacked him and were now bitter with him.

He had said in his Youth Conference

speech that these people had engineered the infiltration of the B.C.P. and were responsible for the Communist Party of Basutoland whose aim was the destruction of African nationalist organizations in the territory. (The Communist Party of Basutoland has its headquarters in Mafeteng and is led by Mr. John Motloheloa who is at present in Moscow.)

Supports Pan-Africanism

There has been doubt up to now, he said, as to which African nationalist organization in South Africa the B.C.P. would support, but in his speech to the Youth Conference it became clear that Mr. Mokhehle stands four square behind the policies of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress whose leader, Mr. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, is at present in prison as a result of the P.A.C.'s 1960 campaign.

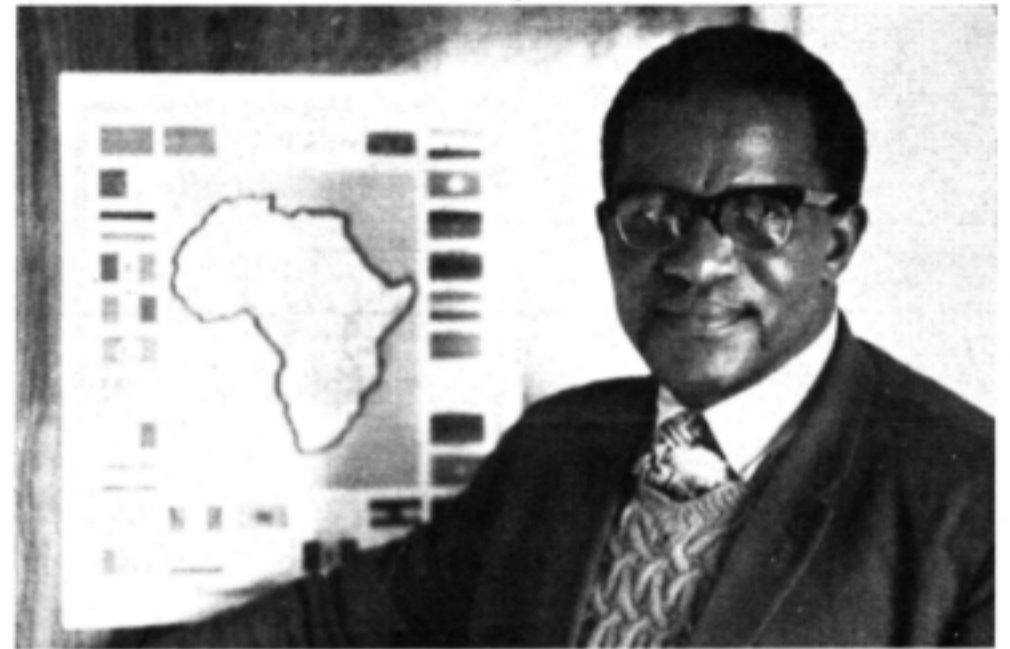
Interference

One of the charges Mr. Mokhehle makes against the former A.N.C. leadership is interference.

Mr. Mokhehle disclosed that four former leaders of the banned A.N.C., Dr. Arthur Letele, and Messrs. Moses Kotane, Joe Matthews and Walter Sisulu, had had a meeting with him and the executive of the Basutoland Congress Party at which they had asked:

● that the B.C.P. assist them in the May anti-republic demonstrations, by sending letters to the press in support of the organizers of the cam-

*Hates Tricks,
Infiltration*



Mr. Mokhehle in the Basutoland Congress Party office.

paign (an unsigned draft of a letter prepared by Mr. Matthews was handed to Mr. Mokhehle)

- that the B.C.P. and former members of the banned A.N.C. jointly start a printing press in Basutoland on the understanding that it be not used for printing Pan-Africanist literature
- that the B.C.P. organize demonstrations and stay-at-homes towards the end of May
- that the B.C.P. ignore constitutional developments in Basutoland and demand immediate independence (and not merely responsible government).

No Pact

Mr. Mokhehle felt that these requests constituted interference and refused them all.

He denied that he had formed a pact with the outlawed A.N.C., as alleged by Mr. Nelson Mandela. He

declared, "I hate these so-called freedom fighters who are mostly communist-inspired and are interested in crippling nationalist movements by their tricks and infiltration."

Most top leaders of the B.C.P. are solidly behind Mr. Mokhehle, and even those who have formed splinter groups are tending to close ranks with him as a result of the stand he is taking against communist infiltration in his party.

An influential leader, Mr. Jack Mosiane, the trade unionist who had been reported by *New Age* (17th August) to have "announced plans to hold a series of meetings to deliver a counter-attack" on Mr. Mokhehle, has now promised Mr. Mokhehle his support. At a large meeting in Maseru he has denied that he has any connection with the communists.

LIBERAL CANDIDATES

The Liberal Party has announced two of its candidates in the 18th October general election.

Transvaal: Hillbrow

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: A woman known to hundreds of Transvaal detainees for her ceaseless work on their behalf during last year's State of Emergency,



MRS. WALKER

will be the Liberal Party candidate in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, in the general election.

The woman is Mrs. Mary Walker, who served as secretary of the Defence and Aid Fund in Johannesburg throughout the Emergency. She is a popular and leading figure in the Liberal Party's women's division, and is also a Transvaal executive member of the Black Sash.

Until six years ago, Mrs. Walker was

an everyday housewife. Then came the Senate Act crisis, involving the voting rights of the Coloured people. Stirred to action, she joined the Black Sash, and since then has done sterling work behind the scenes arranging publicity for Sash campaigns.

She joined the Liberal Party in 1956.

Opposing her in the election will be the sitting United Party member, Dr. L. Steenkamp.

"Party of the Future"

"I am standing for the party of the future—and I will therefore concentrate on the young, forward-looking people in Hillbrow."

In accordance with Liberal policy, Mrs. Walker's election campaign will be fought on a non-racial basis—the first time that this will be done in any Transvaal election.

Mrs. Walker is 33, is married and has two children, aged 14 and 12.

Cape: Constantia

By the Editor

ONE of the most remarkable of all young South Africans is the Liberal Party's choice in the Constantia (Cape) constituency. He is Mr. Randolph Vigne, a journalist and publisher by profession, and a member of a family that came to the eastern Cape over a hundred years ago.

What is so remarkable about Randolph Vigne? It is the way in which he has, more than anyone else I know, maintained links and friendships over the whole wide spectrum of South



Mr. Vigne (left) with an interpreter addressing a meeting.

African society. His many friends come from all the layers, poor and rich, White and Black, radical and conservative, town and country.

It is as if Randolph Vigne were trying by a superhuman effort of his own being to hold together the society that so many divisive influences are eagerly working to disintegrate.

And this is, of course, precisely what he is trying to do, and what he, and thousands like him believe they will succeed in doing.

"How do you justify participating in these racially-segregated elections?" I asked him. "I am utterly opposed to them," he replied, "but I believe it is vital for the party's voice to be heard at this time, and for as many as possible to hear the party's policies."

Register Faith

"If I can get thousands of Whites to register their faith in one-man-one-vote, and in favour of a new non-racial South Africa, I think this can work towards achieving a peaceful change-over to the

non-racial democracy which is my party's goal."

An enthusiastic party worker for the past six years, Mr. Vigne was elected Cape Provincial vice-chairman at the first meeting held after last year's Emergency. This was specifically for his services to the party during Cape Town's days of crisis in March-April, 1960. Since then he has taken on the post of Provincial Secretary, and has worked hard for the party, from the Western Cape to the Transkei.

Mr. Vigne was educated in South Africa and England. He left St. Andrew's College, Grahamstown, in 1945 for Oxford, where he studied for three years, before making his home in Cape Town. He is interested in adult education, especially for Africa, and in community development in general.

His wife, who is also a member of the Liberal Party, will be helping him in the election. They have two children.

His opponent is Mr. S. F. Waterson, the United Party sitting member for the constituency.

EGYPT GOES SOCIALIST

ON its ninth anniversary, Egypt's revolutionary government took a series of steps which, if pursued, will make good its long-abused claim to be socialist. A list of presidential decrees, announced on 19th July, gave the government control, in whole or in part, over most of the major industrial and financial concerns in the United Arab Republic of Egypt and Syria, and, furthermore, made it improbable that anybody in either region can continue to be really rich.

Needs No Guidance

It would be beyond nature to expect any well-to-do Egyptian or Syrian to be happy about any of this. But, so far, the most open, if not the most anguished, criticism has come from the communist press in Beirut, Lebanon. Through the medium of the Lebanese communist party, the wrath of the orthodox against the heretic has come down on President Nasser's head.

The United Arab Republic is now unmistakably on the path towards an Arab socialism, a socialism that needs no guidance from the U.S.S.R.

The move towards state ownership, which started with the Suez

Canal and with British and French concerns in 1956, has been accelerated over the past year; the new decrees carry it a significant stage further. The nationalisation of banks and insurance companies has been extended to Syria and completed in Egypt; several large textile and mining companies have been taken over completely; some 300 industrial concerns have been compelled to sell a half-share of their capital to the government.

Compensation is in the form of 15-year bonds, paying 4 per cent interest. No man may hold more than two directorships at once, and his shareholding is limited to £10,000. A steeply graded surtax system allows a top net income from all sources of £5,000 a year. The maximum permitted landholding, formerly 200 acres, has been

halved; about 3,000 farmers will lose a chunk of their land.

Profits Distributed

Working hours have been reduced so that jobs can be found for more people. A quarter of all company profits is to be distributed to employees, either directly or by way of social services.

The reaction of the Arab communist parties, together with earlier warning grumbles from Moscow, indicates that the communists, at least, have recognized President Nasser's brand of socialism as one of the more formidable barriers to the Soviet Union's political penetration of the Arab world, and possibly of the African world too.

(By permission of "The Economist")

ANGOLA

Portugal Won't Win

THE dry season in Angola reaches its end during the current month. All commentators are agreed that the moment the rains begin again matters will go hard with the Portuguese.

In the meantime many contradictory reports have appeared. Portuguese official reports have suggested that with the capture of Nambuangongo, the Angolan Nationalists' Headquarters (9th August) and pressure on Nationalist positions near the Congo frontier, a Portuguese victory was approaching.

Such is not our information. It is true that the Portuguese have retaken several towns and villages, but a more significant news item was that at the end of August the inhabitants of Catete, a large town 40 miles from the capital Luanda, were virtually boxed up in their town by the Nationalists. Attacks here and even further south, in the teeth of all the armour and men thrown into the battle by the Portuguese, speak of the toughness of the Nationalist forces.

Strong Nationalist Resistance

This toughness was well described by Gavin Young of *The Observer* in a dispatch published on 20th August. He courageously walked into northern liberated Angola with guides supplied Mr. Holden Roberto's União dos Populações de Angola (U.P.A.).

He found pathetically poor, home-made weapons, and ragged men and youths. But he found indomitable courage and a determination never to surrender. He left Angola with a

conviction that the Nationalists would win.

Help From Congo?

The change of government in the Congo augurs well for the Angolan nationalists.

They received very little, if any, help from the old government, but Mr. Cyrille Adoula, the new Congo Premier, is likely to assist the nationalist fighters across the border.

In the meantime the Portuguese came out (29th August) with a trumpeted announcement that Portugal was giving "complete political equality for all her peoples, irrespective of race, religion and culture".

At first the Portuguese were also reported to have given "votes for all" to their subjects. But this was hastily corrected the next day by Dr. Adriano Moreira, the Minister for Overseas Affairs, who explained that only those who could read and write would get the vote. As the Portuguese have failed to educate their African subjects in the five hundred years since the first colonization, and as probably 95% of Portuguese Africans are illiterate, the concession does not amount to much. If it is remembered that Portugal is a totalitarian state, and that only government-approved candidates can stand, it will be understood that the "concession" is quite meaningless.



Cambridge students with members of the burg. Kneeling in front is Mr. Drake K students' fa

ENGLISH STUDENTS FOR APARTHEID

From "Contact"

JOHANNESBURG: Apartheid propaganda in indoctrinating some of the Cambridge Tours of Bantustans and tribal colleges addressing a meeting of the John X. M said that he spoke for all the students. He was later repudiated by others who for themselves. Two who attended a symposium, as pictured above, were evasive when

BOOKS FOR AFRICA

From "Contact"

JOHANNESBURG: A new series of African books, one of the world's largest publishers. Many of the books, which will cost about 25 cents (2/6), will be written by Africans. Mr. Tom Hopkinson, the well-known Johannesburg writer and journalist, has been appointed editor of the series.

In an interview, Mr. Hopkinson said: "We hope to issue the first series—about twelve titles—next year. Initially, 30,000 copies of each title will be published. We plan to bring out a continuous stream of new books after that." The books will be about 100 pages long, simply written, and illustrated wherever possible.

African Writers Preferred

Mr. Hopkinson added: "African writers will be preferred—but we realize that some subjects, such as space travel, may be more easily handled by western writers who have access to scientific libraries and the latest technical literature. This new series is not intended for the educated man or university student because we feel they are already catered for. It is intended for the very large number of readers who can read English, but who hitherto have read little except occasional newspapers and magazines." Mr. Hopkinson said that these people usually read to improve themselves or their position, to acquire knowledge of some subject with a strong topical interest, or out of interest in some national or continental hero or great man. For this reason all the books will be non-fiction.

Subjects will include famous African and Negro sportsmen, how motor cars work, how to run a business, Africa's geography and history, great African leaders, and how a government works.

Note: Mr. Hopkinson hopes that people who would like to write books in this series that will reach millions all over Africa, will write to him at C302, Berkeley Square, Riviera, Johannesburg.—EDITOR.

Nursing Job Reservation

By a Reporter

AT a meeting of over two hundred nurses in the auditorium of the Somerset Hospital, Cape Town, on 29th August, strong protest was expressed at the training of non-White nurse-aids aimed at reducing the number of non-White nurses.

One nurse-aid was already working at the Somerset Hospital and more commenced work there on 1st September.

The nurses rejected the nurse-aid system as another act by the Provincial Administration to implement job reservation.

A petition signed by more than 300 nurses was handed to the matron of the hospital, and another to the Medical Council.

The matron declared that she would ignore the petition and that nurse-aids were only at the hospital temporarily owing to a shortage of nursing staff.

A spokesman for the nurses said that such was not the case and commented that there was a long waiting list of girls with Junior Certificate and Matriculation prepared to enter the profession.

THE VICTOR AND THE VOTERS

THE victor in Nyasaland's general election, Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda (left), has become Minister of Natural Resources in the country's first democratic government.

Nyasaland's voters, some of whom are seen at a polling station (below) gave Dr. Banda's Malawi Congress Party an overwhelming majority and a mandate to secede from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.





Liberal Party Youth League in Johannesburg, Chairman of the Youth League. They are ringed.

STUDENTS FALL FOR THEID

Correspondent

agandists seem to have had some success with students at present touring South Africa. They seem to have impressed them, and one, a Ferriman branch of the Nationalist Party, when he supported Nationalist policies, had insisted on looking round the country at a symposium of the Liberal Youth in Johannesburg. He asked their impressions of South Africa.

FOR AFRICA

Correspondent

series of books, written specially for the British firm of Penguin Books, of paper-backs.



HOPKINSON

U.C.T. Student at Youth Seminar

From "Contact" Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: Mr. Roger Jowell, Vice-President for International Relations of the National Union of South African Students, has just returned from the Pan African Youth Seminar in Dar es Salaam.

The topic for discussion was "The Role of Youth in the Consolidation of African Unity".

The conference was opened by Mr. Julius Nyerere, Prime Minister of Tanganyika. Mr. Jowell met Mr. Nyerere and is reported by *Varsity* as having said that he had been deeply impressed by him. Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, of the Northern Rhodesian U.N.I.P. also addressed the conference.

PAN AFRICA

Moves Towards Unity

AFRICA is developing a drive towards unity unexpectedly quickly. Except for South Africa, the Sudan, and the Congo, virtually all the independent African states are now committed to schemes of close co-operation, though not all to the same scheme.

There are even signs that the ideological division between the "Casablanca" and "Monrovia" groups of countries may yet be bridged.

Dakar Meeting

The Casablanca group (Ghana, Guinea, Morocco, Mali, the United Arab Republic and the Algerian government-in-exile) has decided to form a common market, an economic development bank, a council of economic unity, a joint air and shipping line, and, eventually, a political union.

The Monrovia group has twenty members drawn from most of French-speaking Africa, plus Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tunisia, Libya, Somalia, Ethiopia and Liberia. It has rejected the idea of political links, but is in the midst of a series of businesslike discussions about almost every form of co-operation.

The most recent meeting, held at Dakar, produced a list of intentions similar to the Casablanca group's list — including the formation of a

common market and an economic development bank. Eleven of the member states already own a joint airline, Air Afrique, and are urging the others to take part.

It is becoming fashionable to deprecate this division into two camps, and talk of uniting everybody. Ghana has concluded a customs pact with its neighbour, Upper Volta, even though it belongs to the other group. The Nigerian prime minister calls for co-operation between all African states; his new foreign minister, Mr. Jaja Wachuku, believes that political unity is, in the long run, inevitable. Gambia, approaching independence, may form a small link between French-speaking and English-speaking Africa by joining Senegal. Mr. Nyerere of Tanganyika, a pan-Africanist himself, refuses to commit himself to one existing group or the other. And Mr. Modibo Keita, of Mali, is said to be looking for a way of attending meetings of the Monrovia group while remaining a member of the Casablanca group.

(By permission of "The Economist")

BASUTOLAND from page 8

Government and all the other demands to which you refer ought to be granted now," he told me. "I know," he added, "that it is not yet two years since the present constitution came into being.

"In comparison with the doldrums in which Basutoland had been stuck for sixty years, the new constitution was quite a big step forward.

First Ripple of Democracy

However, though it was quite a big step forward in comparison with what had gone on before, this constitution was really nothing to write home about. It was merely the first ripple of democracy on the Basuto shores. It was the best we could obtain at the time from a cautious British government, and from the more conservative members of the chieftainship.

The Professor then spoke to me of the position of the Paramount Chief Moshoeshe II. "His position is perhaps the biggest shortcoming of the present constitution," Professor Cowen told me. "That the Basuto King should be a constitutional ruler advised by an Executive Council responsible to a democratically elected legislature, is entirely right. But this, in my opinion, will never work out unless there be a complete surrender of sovereignty by Britain to the Basuto by Queen Elizabeth II to King Moshoeshe II. I do not, of course, advocate the withdrawal of Britain, for the Basuto still need British protection. But it should be a real protectorate position. The Government of Basutoland should be the Paramount Chief's Government, with the British Government as the protecting power. The relationship should be exactly the same as the relationship between Queen Elizabeth II and the Sultan of Zanzibar."

I asked Professor Cowen if such changes would not be contrary to the spirit of the schedules to the South Africa Act that envisage an eventual transfer of the three High Commission Territories to the Union. The Professor replied: "I am aware that changes like this might involve some academic disputation about the schedules. But the schedules are, in any case, as dead as the dodo. In my own considered judgment the cession of sovereignty involved would not be contrary to any obligations which Britain may still have towards South Africa. From an international point of view the change from colonial to genuine protected status would be a formal change, yet within the territory itself it would make it

possible for the Paramount Chief's position to be greatly strengthened, and made more appropriate and dignified."

Professor Cowen said that he believed that the Basuto are almost unanimous in wanting this position for their leader, Moshoeshe II, and added that such an arrangement was what the founder of the Basuto nation, Moshoeshe I, had asked for from the British year after year. "The whole Basuto nation," he told me, "have wanted such a relationship for perhaps one hundred and twenty years. Their desire has never varied. In my view the time has come to give them what they want. I personally support these demands.

"The British," concluded the Professor, "hope that the three High Commission Territories will become models of economic, social and political advance in Southern Africa. I am sure that when the British realize that the Basuto are determined to get these new political advances, and also that they are fully ready for them, they will be glad to grant the demands."

SWAZILAND from page 8

adults irrespective of race or colour, on this roll. Then there might be 20% nominated by the King in the traditional manner. And there might be another 20% consisting of nominees and officials."

"This legislature would elect a substantial number of members of an Executive Council which would be an emergent cabinet. The Swazi King would be a constitutional monarch. He would be the constitutional head of the nation — King of all Swazilanders instead of being, as at present, merely 'Paramount Chief' of the Swazi Africans. His position would be similar to that of the Sultan of Zanzibar. British protection should of course continue.

"The advantages of this plan would be:

- (1) increased status and power for the King over the whole population, Black and White
- (2) a reasonable advance towards non-racial democracy
- (3) an open door for the modern man and
- (4) a compromise with the tribal system, not a killing of it as would happen under the second ("Bechuanaland") scheme mentioned above."

I asked Professor Cowen if he

S.W.A. CHIEFS, SWAPO CALL FOR U.N. COMMITTEE "WITH POWER"

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: The South West African People's Organization, together with Chiefs Hosea Kutako and Samuel Witbooi, have again expressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations their conviction that "only United Nations intervention will save the situation in South West Africa", which, they urge, "is explosive and can lead to war".

The letter, dated 23rd August, expressed "bitter disappointment" at the inability of the United Nations Committee to enter the territory when sent by the General Assembly to do so in July.

Key sentences in the letter read:

"Where on earth can criminals agree to the investigation of their crimes? Crimes must be investigated without the consent of the criminals.

"We commended the decision of the United Nations to send the United Nations investigating committee to South West Africa but we were bitterly disappointed that the committee were unable to enter South West Africa.

"Our view is that although the committee were determined to come to South West Africa they were not given the necessary power and protection to enter the Territory. The committee were prevented by force from entering the Territory. It is our earnest hope that the United Nations will this time send the committee with the necessary power so that it can implement the decision of the General Assembly.

"We totally reject the proposal made by the South African Republic that a person of international standing should be appointed by the United Nations and the South African Republic who will investigate the allegations that the situation here is a threat to international peace and security.

"Our view is that such a person will be one-sided, favouring the South African Republic, such as the Good Offices Committee of the United Nations which sided with the South African Republic in 1958, and which suggested the partition of South West Africa."

thought that the British Government would be happy about conceding so much power to the Swazi. He replied that there should be no real difficulty on this score. "In the final resort the decision about the new constitution will be taken by the House of Commons in London. I can only tell you that this scheme that I envisage is far more modest than nearly every other constitutional scheme now being considered in Whitehall. I think indeed that the British will be glad to offer a real advance to this territory which has suffered so much in the past from economic and political neglect."

Could be Model Land

In conclusion I asked Professor Cowen to give his views in general on Swaziland. "Swaziland is a microcosm of the Union," he said. "It has a sizeable White minority with nearly all the economic power. It has mineral riches and can stand on its own feet. Investment and modernization are coming fast. If good relations are maintained it could be a model land, moving smoothly and surely into the modern world. But if a new constitution is introduced which leaves little or no room for the modern man and which jumps the White settlers into a position of power which will allow them to do very much as they like in the territory, then I tremble for the future of Swaziland."

N.D.P.'s AFRICAN SOCIALISM

IN an interview with the Dakar (Senegal) weekly newspaper, *Afrique Nouvelle* (28th June), Mr. Leopold Takawira, Secretary for External Relations of the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia, outlined the political situation in the territory and stated his party's policy both domestic and foreign.

Mr. Takawira said, "The first objective of the N.D.P. is to obtain universal adult suffrage. But our party is also a socialist party. Our people have always been socialists. Our party wants to establish in Southern Rhodesia a real democracy; this does not mean that we want to copy what the West means by the term 'democracy'. Democracy in Africa should adapt itself to our way of thought, and take account of our traditions."

Mr. Takawira went on to say that before the arrival of Whites in Africa, the system of private property did not exist. Africa was the land of socialism. He added that it was regrettable that the Russians and the communists had taken over the word "socialism" and given it a special meaning.

Speaking of the foreign policy of the N.D.P., Mr. Takawira said that the Party believed in the liberty and unity of all states of Africa, according to the principles laid out by Dr. Nkrumah and George Padmore. For this reason, the N.D.P. was a member of the Pan African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa and looked forward to the time when all countries which were members of that organization would be joined in a federation.

In conclusion he declared: "The N.D.P. believes in total and complete neutrality."

Swapo Leaders Deported

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: Members of the South West African People's Organization (Swapo), both in South Africa and in South West, continue to suffer political persecution.

Members have been deported from Upington and Walvis Bay to Ovamboland, and in Ovamboland itself the regional chairman of Swapo has been fined £70.

Four Swapo men in Upington, Cape Province, Messrs. T. J. Kambonde, E. Ngila, A. Kapena and J. H. Mongui, had Swapo stationery and savings book confiscated by the police who told them that the goods would be returned in Ovamboland where the men are being deported.

They will be tried by the chief from whose area they came originally.

Walvis Bay

Two residents of Walvis Bay, Messrs. Christof Nakanyala and Petrus Nanyemba, both Swapo office bearers, have been fined R40 each and deported to Ovamboland where they are being held in detention by chief Martin Ashikoto, a government supporter.

Messrs. Nakanyala and Nanyemba are old residents of Walvis Bay, married with children.

Mr. Adolph Eliah, of Eko, near Onguediva mission in Ovamboland, has been fined R140 for holding an illegal meeting.

Mr. Eliah is the Ovamboland regional chairman of Swapo, and is still in detention at the kraal of chief Ashikoto.

Mr. Eliah, who is about 45 years old, is the best carpenter and builder in Ovamboland. Most of the best mission

"SOAPY" WILLIAMS IN SALISBURY

From "Contact" Correspondent
SALISBURY: Speaking in Salisbury during a visit here while on his second tour of Africa, the American Under Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr. G. Mennen "Soapy" Williams, said that people of the world over want governments of their own choosing.

They want a better life for themselves and their children and want to enjoy the full recognition of their dignity as human beings.

Commenting on his visits to newly independent African countries, Mr. Williams said he was impressed by the sincerity and conviction of African nationalist leaders who had told him their aspirations.

First among these was the desire to be free from any form of outside domination, to be independent in the fullest sense.

Speaking of Southern Africa, Mr. Williams said that where preparations for inevitable change have not yet begun, the hour is dangerously late.



Mr. G. Mennen Williams, United States Under Secretary of State for African Affairs, talking to Mr. Joshua Nkomo, President of the National Democratic Party, during Mr. Williams's recent visit to Salisbury.

SWAZILAND TELLS BRITAIN

"We are Allies for Democracy"

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: An appeal to Britain to co-operate with the Swaziland Progressive Party in establishing democracy in the territory was made by party leaders when they met Mr. Bernard Braine, M.P., the U.K. Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

During Mr. Braine's recent visit to Swaziland, he met leading members of the party, including the president, Mr. J. J. Nquku; the secretary, Dr. A. P.

Zwane; and Mr. MacDonald Maseko, Mrs. R. D. Twala and Mr. O. M. Mabuza.

They presented a memorandum to him dealing with the Swaziland situation and giving their views on the Constitutional Reforms committee which is sitting at present.

"Cannot Compromise"

In a welcoming address, Dr. Zwane assured Mr. Braine that the S.P.P. would always assist in the maintenance of good order and government.

"We cannot, however, compromise on principles," he said. "Our stand here is for the establishment of democracy. In this respect we expect Britain to co-operate with us and not to thwart our ambitions relentlessly."

"We are aware that democracy as a way of life is being challenged by several forms of totalitarianism. In this great battle of ideologies, it is our firm hope that you will regard the Swaziland Progressive Party not as an enemy but as an ally."

Dr. Zwane said that, primarily, the S.P.P. stood for the establishment of a non-racial democracy in Swaziland. To bring this about, the party insisted on universal adult suffrage.

"This does not necessarily mean that the Whites will be swamped in the forthcoming Legislative Council, as the reserved seat technique could be employed."

Whites Won't be Swamped

At the same time, the S.P.P. was opposed to communal representation based on racial lines—because this was "nothing but apartheid in disguise".

Dr. Zwane added: "Wherever possible,

one should avoid stereotyping and perpetuating existing racial divisions and thinking. This is perhaps the main reason for rejecting the principle of communal or separate representation whereby the community is divided into separate electorates registered on separate rolls."

He asked Mr. Braine to use his influence "to enable the people of Swaziland to enjoy a non-racial constitution", similar to that extended to Kenya, Basutoland and Tanganyika.

Non-racial Club Formed

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: Africans, Coloureds and Whites have come together in Swaziland to form the territory's first non-racial social and sports club. Its aim: to foster better race relations.

Called the uNgwane (Swazilander) Club, the inaugural meeting was recently held at an hotel in Mbabane.

The meeting elected Mr. MacDonald Maseko, well-known Swazi leader, as chairman, with Mr. Lucas Abner, an assistant storekeeper, as vice-chairman. The committee includes members of all races.

With membership open to all, the club's first activity will be the organizing of a talent contest. This will be held in all the main centres of the territory.

Also planned are sporting events, including boxing tournaments, and art functions.

S.A. NYASAS TO CELEBRATE

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Nyasas living in South Africa joyfully greeted the news of Dr. Hastings Banda's recent mammoth election victory in Nyasaland.

Mr. Nkaramba C. Kaunda, chairman of the Malawi Congress Party in South Africa, sent a cable to the Great Kamuzu congratulating him "on our victory".

The cable added: "Secession from Federation."

Mr. Kaunda also asked Malawi branches throughout South Africa to hold celebration gatherings in private homes.

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buildings there are his work. He also runs a guest house at Onguediva.

Note: Chiefs are known to have sentenced political "offenders" to 24 strokes with a heavy cane and then deported them to Angola.

Swapo Leaves United Front

THE new chairman of the South West African People's Organization, Mr. Mburumba Kerina, in a message to *Contact*, has reported that Swapo has withdrawn from the South African United Front.

This disclosure follows hard on the heels of the report in *Contact* (24th August) that grave differences had arisen between the representatives in the S.A.U.F. of the Pan-Africanist Congress and of the African National Congress.

Mr. Kerina told *Contact* that the break happened in mid-July.

Leads Struggle

Swapo continues to lead the struggle of the South West African peoples for freedom. After Professor Enrique Fabregat, chairman of the United Nations Committee on South West Africa, issued his call for the termination of the mandate, Mr. Kerina, in a statement on behalf of Swapo, said: "Swapo calls upon the Security Council or the General Assembly this year to intervene in the situation in our country and to terminate the mandate forthwith."

Mr. Kerina further called for the establishment of a United Nations Police Force in the event of the revocation of the mandate, for independence, and for the holding of free elections.

READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

Modern farming methods needed

SIR,—The dispatch from your correspondent in Moletsi, which you published under the heading "A Country Campaign Against Cattle Culling", is, as you say, "a valuable first-hand account", but I would add "of how people in the Reserves are living in a dream world".

We are critical of the B.A.D. Department because it is trying to perpetuate an ancient and played-out system of rule by chiefs (now Government controlled), because it is trying to drive people back to tribalism in this year of grace 1961. But your correspondent J.M. wants to go further back still.

He says: "The men of Moletsi . . . still hope to bring about the total abolition of the trust cancel system, and to be free to own land and cattle as before, perhaps even to re-live the plentiful days when a year's harvest outlived two summers, when a man could not count his livestock."

Earlier in his dispatch he says: "Plots have been, and still are, being reduced to negligible size as the sons and daughters of the nation bud from the family tree to become land owners. Today the possession in land of a family is barely 12 yards in breadth and hardly 150 yards in length." One sympathizes with J.M.'s desire for more land and would support the wish of the Bapedi to have access to land outside the Reserves which is now monopolized by Whites. But this is not the whole story.

Nowhere in J.M.'s account do we learn why the authorities are trying to cull the cattle. Nowhere does he tell us what the trust cancel system aims at doing. He objects to the outlawing of donkeys and goats, but does not tell us why they have been outlawed.

It may be that the B.A.D. Department is carrying out its policy with a heavy hand. It may be that African tribalists feel that it is not their government. Nevertheless the trust cancel system is based on a sound idea: that people should only be allowed to occupy land on condition that they use it properly; that the number of cattle on any piece of land should not be allowed to exceed a certain limit; that donkeys and goats are destructive and a menace to vegetation where grazing is limited. All over the world progressive governments are insisting that the bad farmer must be removed from the land and

prevented from ruining it. Of course this should apply to all, both Whites and Blacks.

It is possible that a year's harvest in Moletsi could again outlive two summers, but this would require modern methods of agriculture, in which apparently J.M. is not the least bit interested. He would like to do it by shifting cultivation, as in the good old days. But there is no room left today for tribal methods.

I am sorry for the tribalists, but I do not share their hankering after the past. Our complaint against the government is that it seeks to perpetuate tribalism under conditions which have long ago made tribalism impossible. The "problem of the Reserves" can only be solved by abolishing the Reserves, and with them the whole antiquated system of chiefs, cattle-cult, communal grazing, etc.—in fact, those things which J.M. wishes to retain.

EDWARD ROUX,
Botany Department, University of
the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

To real freedom

SIR,—We have complained of laws that oppress Africans only. We have complained of the imprisonment of our leaders; of their being arrested while carrying out their duties to freedom. These and other things have been heavy on our necks.

Verwoerd's "Western civilization" is to lead Africans into freedom of dom passes and Bantustans. I appeal to the sons and daughters of the soil, can the secretary bird lead the snake to real freedom?



GRIMAS QINISILE,
Cape Town.

Problems to deal with

SIR,—While everybody is busy criticizing the policies of the various White political parties it would be most helpful if some of the educated Africans would tell us how they would deal with the problems of influx control,

TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- As there is an election on, remember that we have to publish your full name and address with political letters
- But don't let this stop you from writing
- Send a photo of yourself too if you like.

prevention of over-stocking of rural areas and soil erosion in the reserves.

If Mr. Lutuli or other leaders can or will offer some practical solution it will go a long way towards demonstrating that the Africans have not only a desire to improve the conditions of their people but the ability to do so. I am sure that you could find space for a considered reply to this suggestion.

E. H. BYSSHE,
P.O. Kwelela, C.P.

Only baas Nel to lose

SIR,—I was surprised to read in the imperialist press that the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development had been lecturing a stooge body, a so-called Bantu Authority, in the Transvaal recently and warning them that the Russians, Indians and Chinese want to take away our land.

He went further to tell them that Black and White should stand together to defend the fatherland. The stooges did not reply.

If Russians or Indians happen to take over the country, we have nothing but baas Nel to lose: to us that makes no difference.

What a shame when a man who has shed the innocent blood of men and women at Langa, Pondoland and Sharpeville and when those who escaped his bullets are languishing in jail for periods of up to three years because they dared to protest against injustices done to them, has now to come forward leaving our brothers in prison to tell us that we should stand with him to defend his position of dominance over us.

Let it be clear to him that there can be no co-operation between an oppressor and the oppressed, between a slave and a master.

C. MLOKOTHI,
P14a, Nyanga, Cape.

Rising prices

SIR,—Things are changing with great speed here in Swaziland.

A White man expects an African to pay more money when he enters his store. The government expects a man to pay more tax, yet an African's wage is not a third that of a white man, even with the same qualifications.

How can a married man support his family and educate his children on R3.00 a month, especially as he lives in his own home and buys his own food (unlike those in the compounds)?

P. P. MLATSHWA,
Manzini, Swaziland.

Increasing unemployment

SIR,—I would like to know the reason for the increasing number of unemployed Africans here in Swaziland. Is it because Swazis are not educated enough to get work? If such is the case, why is it that even people who have passed Std. VI and Junior Certificate can get no work?

J. SPARKS,
Manzini, Swaziland.

"Who are the Imperialists?"

SIR,—May I make one or two points about the editorial in *Contact* of 27th July headed "Who are the Imperialists?" The writer criticizes an article in *Africa South* by John Berger. Mr. Berger, he says, "ludicrously" equates imperialism with Europe and America, the fight against imperialism with the pro-communist countries. Ludicrous? But the writer himself seems to have a very nebulous idea of the nature of imperialism. Surely he is aware that the imperialism he speaks of is no longer (except in the case of Portugal and France) the overt exploitation of one country by another on the old British pattern, but something far more subtle and insidious. "It is above all the Western countries that have, in the last twenty years, given up their colonies." True enough, for they have realized that at this late stage of history exploitation is far more efficiently carried on by large-scale economic investment and control than by open colonial rule. And it is the United States that has brought this method to perfection, so that she effectively dominates most of the West European and South American countries, and is at this moment doing her best to penetrate large parts of Africa, making at the same time hypocritical professions of anti-colonialism. Only the adequate recognition of this fact (fairly patent, I should have thought) and appropriate action will ensure that emergent Africa becomes and remains free, in the fullest sense of that word.

RAYMOND THOMS,
Johannesburg.

SIR,—I am interested to learn that *Contact's* original editorial on colonialism "drew attention to the fact that the only real imperialism and colonialism in the world is Soviet imperialism and colonialism".

It will no doubt be a relief to the Algerians and Angolans to learn that at any rate the type of imperialism and colonialism with which they are being afflicted, is not real imperialism or colonialism.

MASHAYINQAWA,
Durban.

The European nations have clearly decided to give up their colonial empires. Even Portugal is beginning to bend before the wind of change. Of course many mistakes are made, since no nation is perfect. But the imperialism of the communists is "real" in the sense that neither the Chinese nor the Russians show any signs of giving up national independence to the many territories they have won by conquest. Nor do they show any intention of giving democratic personal freedom to the many scores of millions of non-Chinese and non-Russians who form the imprisoned colonial peoples of the communist empires.

This correspondence is now closed.
—EDITOR

All political comment and headlining in this issue is unless otherwise stated by Patrick Duncan and Timothy Holmes, 4th Floor, Parliament Chambers, Parliament Street, Cape Town.

THE GOD THAT KILLS

SIR,—When reading the newspapers reporting the court proceedings of the trial of Adolph Eichmann, you find that some of the persecutions he inflicted are similar to those suffered by Africans these days.

We Africans have good reason to sympathize with the Jewish people of whom six million were killed only because they were of a different race from those who killed them.

There is a murder committed every hour of the day in one or other African's home in South Africa by a certain powerful man. He is more than Eichmann, he is almost a god.

There is an African lying sick and cannot afford the doctor's fees. (In fact for an African to go to the doctor is a luxury.) To secure the African's early death he (the god) sees to it that:

- the wages of an African are very low
- there are so many regulations that he cannot breathe without committing an offence
- he is in need and therefore cannot resist the inclination to steal and so land in jail.

The god has an archangel called Apartheid. The angel is the driving force who sees that the name of the god is praised, even by force, all over the country. People are convinced and converted to the service of the god. The converts have to see that people of different races were born to serve and suffer, their homes broken.

Banish anyone who complains; whoever asks for bread shall get a bullet. Thou shalt not protest if your wife is taken away from you and endorsed out of town.

Greatest, to them, is this god who brings malnutrition in every African home. This god is directly or indirectly responsible for any early death of an African in this country.

His mighty name is White supremacy.

J. S. NCAPAZELI, Nyanga, Cape.

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SWAZILAND, BASUTOLAND FACE BIG DECISIONS

Britain Must Cede Sovereignty Now, says Cowen

SWAZILAND: SOBHUZA MUST BE HEAD OF STATE

By the Editor

WHEN I learned, on 2nd September, that Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, had been appointed by the British Government to advise the constitutional committee in Swaziland, I went to Professor Denis Cowen, and asked him how it tied in with his own appointment as constitutional adviser to the Swaziland Progressive Party.

"Sir Charles's appointment does not affect my position at all," he said. "He will work with a government-backed committee consisting of British officials, representatives of the European Advisory Council, and of the traditional Swazi council under the Paramount Chief Sobhuza II.

"I represent two legitimate groups who have been denied representation, namely the S.P.P., and the Coloured community who are not satisfied with a mere right of audience before a committee on which they have no representatives.

"At the moment," said Professor Cowen, "there is only one person who, according to written law, has any power in Swaziland, and that is the High Commissioner.

"But, of course, according to custom, the Swazi King, Paramount Chief Sobhuza, has in practice very great powers in any matter that concerns the Swazi nation. Even though these powers are not written down in the laws, they are recognized by the British authorities.

Out of Date

"However, the power of the High Commissioner is out of date. Nowadays no people anywhere in the world are satisfied with a state of affairs where power is given to authorities who are not answerable to the people. People want to rule themselves and, if necessary, to make their own mistakes.

"Also the power of the Swazi King is out of date. Nowhere in Africa are people content to be ruled on a feudal basis in a purely tribal and traditional system. Two world wars, education, and the pressure of events have produced modern men who wish to be ruled by, and who wish to share in the rule of, governments that are modern."

I asked Professor Cowen if he thought that Sir Charles had been chosen to go to Swaziland to persuade the traditionalists, and others who might be fearful of change, to accept something which the British government might be able to support.

"It is not for me to say," answered Professor Cowen, and added: "The trouble is this. The scheme which the powers that be have been favouring for some time is quite unsound." I asked him to expand this remark, and he did so.

Two Bodies

"At the moment, as you may know," he said, "there are two bodies in Swaziland through whom the High Commissioner rules indirectly. One is the traditional tribal authority, namely the Swazi National Council, and the other is the European Advisory Council. This latter body is correctly described as an 'advisory council' for it has no real power. Everyone now agrees that Swaziland, like Basutoland and other British territories, should have a real legislative council whose consent—as distinct from mere advice—will be necessary for the making of laws. And it follows that the power which this council will gain will be taken partly from the High Commissioner and partly from the Para-

mount Chief (for political power is at present substantially in their hands).

"The scheme apparently favoured by the authorities is one under which approximately half the new legislature would be elected by the White settlers, who number only 10,000 out of a total population of 250,000. This would be an enormous increase in their political power, in addition to the economic power they already have in the territory."

At this stage I asked the Professor to explain how the Swazi and the Coloured community fitted into the official scheme. He told me that King Sobhuza had suggested publicly that the Swazi should appoint their share of the members of the new legislature (approximately 50%) in their own traditional way, without elections and the use of political parties, which King Sobhuza did not think suited African societies. Although this had been backed by many civil servants and some of the settlers, it would be a very primitive form of communal representation.

Objections to Scheme

I asked Professor Cowen to elaborate his objections to this scheme. "Firstly," he said, "there would be no room in such a legislature for the more politically-aware, independent-minded, and educated Swazi. There can be few countries in the world which would think of introducing a new constitution which makes absolutely no provision for democratic elections by the people of the country." Professor Cowen said that he was quite convinced that for this reason alone the King's scheme had no chance whatever of being accepted by the British government.

But there were other objections too. Under this scheme King Sobhuza would have to face the world with only the more tribalized and often less-educated part of the tribe behind him. In this age of complex laws and rapidly-evolving science, the Professor felt that vested interests would be able to make rings round the King's nominees. "Many of these nominated men," Professor Cowen said, "are wise men and good rulers in traditional matters. But they don't understand the modern world. It is no fault of theirs: it is just that too few of the traditionalists have had the opportunity of higher education."

Professor Cowen said that he felt that many of the British administrators must realize the disadvantages of King Sobhuza's scheme, and that some of them knew that it would not be acceptable in London. He felt that Sir Charles Arden-Clarke would be able, with his great experience in Africa and Asia, to point out convincingly to the King that his scheme would not do.

Bechuanaland Constitution

I then asked the Professor about another scheme, similar to the Bechuanaland constitution, which I understand the British are trying to adapt for Swaziland. Under this scheme the settlers would elect their members and the Swazi would elect theirs on separate, communal rolls. They would not be "traditionally appointed" or nominated, as under King Sobhuza's scheme, but

would be elected by modern democratic means. I remarked that this at least sounded more democratic than the King's scheme, but the Professor cut me short. "It would, in my view, be even worse than the King's scheme," he said. "For under the King's scheme the Swazi national tribal system would at least have remained untouched. But the second scheme would speedily wreck the tribal system by substituting wholesale democratic elections for nominations. I am opposed to wrecking the Swazi nation in this way. At present the continued well-being of the nation is essential to the well-being of the Swazi people. What is needed is a compromise which would allow modern democratic elections for those Swazi who desire them and at the same time allow the traditional system to operate while adjusting itself to modern conditions. Such a compromise was found necessary in Basutoland where 22 chiefs have a place on the Legislative Council *ex officio*."

"But my big objection to both these schemes," continued Professor Cowen, "is that they are racial schemes. We have seen in Tanganyika and Kenya, not to mention the Union, how these racially-segregated voting rolls spoil good relations between the races. I believe that all who live in Swaziland should become Swazilanders—irrespec-

tive of race, colour or creed. Only if the Whites throw in their lot with the Swazi and the Coloureds and forget that they are 'Europeans' (most of them have never seen Europe anyway), are they in my opinion entitled to any say at all.

"The S.P.P. have from the beginning seen this point very clearly. They have from the beginning called for a single common roll for all, and for adult suffrage. But they are not extremists, and are prepared, very generously in my view, to consider various techniques (e.g. nomination and reserved seats) in order to allow the minorities to be represented—I mean the 10,000 Whites and the 2,000 Euraficans.

Truly Non-Racial Party

"The S.P.P. have adopted a reasonable attitude not only on the vote; they have, in addition, wisely kept their doors open to all irrespective of race, and have thus become a truly non-racial party. I am excited by the news that some fourteen Whites have joined the party recently."

At this stage I asked the Professor if he would give me his own ideas for the new constitution. He did so, but stressed that his ideas were provisional and liable to revision as the discussions progressed.

"The fundamental point on which we will not compromise is the single, non-racial common roll for all," he said. "We envisage about 60% of the members of council being elected by all

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BASUTOLAND: RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT FORTHWITH

By the Editor

ON 11th September the new session of the Basutoland Legislative Council is due to open in Maseru, the territory's capital. Although the new "Cowen" constitution is not yet two years old, demands are already expected to be made for the next instalments in constitutional advance. These demands are likely to be far-reaching.

The present system is a system of Representative Government. That is to say, one half of the 80 seats are filled by democratic elections. All taxpayers, in other words, nearly all adult men, and some women, have the vote, but the Executive Council is not answerable to this Legislative Council.

Transition

This means that even if a majority of the members of the Legislative Council vote against a decision of the Executive Council, the Executive Council can still go ahead and carry out its own decision. Representative Government has, in many cases, worked fairly well as a transition from a backward government to a more democratic system, but, in itself, it has rarely lasted long in any country.

The step that usually follows it is called Responsible Government. Where there is Responsible Government the Legislative Council has the power to control the Executive Council. And if the Executive Council loses the confidence of the Legislative Council, then it is removed, and a new Executive Council, which has the confidence of the Legislative Council, is put in its place.

It is the view of nearly all parties and leaders in Basutoland that the time has now come for the switch to Responsible Government. Such a demand will come, almost certainly, from Mr. Ntsu C. Mokhehle's Basutoland Congress Party, and from Chief Leabua Jonathan's Basuto National Party. Mr. B. Makalo Khaketla, leader of the Freedom Party, speaking in New York on 28th August, called for Responsible Government by 1964. This

demand will also probably be made by one wing of the Marema Tlou Party.

Other related demands which I understand will be made by nearly all the Basuto at the same time are:

- Elections to the Legislative Council should be direct. At present they are indirect. That is to say, at present the voters vote for District Councillors, and then the District Councillors elect the elected members of the Legislative Council.
- There should be an elected majority. At present the elected members are in a minority.
- There should be a chief minister in an Executive Council, which would, in addition, have increased unofficial representation. At present there are four official and four unofficial members, three of the latter being elected by the Legislative Council.
- Under Responsible Government this Chief Minister would be the leader of the party that had won elections, and the Executive Council would be removable if it were to lose a Legislative Council vote of confidence.
- A Court-enforced Bill of Rights.

I discussed these coming demands with Professor Cowen, on whose advice the present Basutoland constitution was established.

"How do you view these probable demands?" I asked him.

"I feel strongly that Responsible

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