

# contact

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as a Newspaper

## **APPALLING CHILD DEATH-RATE IN S.A. TOWNSHIPS**

— see page 3

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



**K. T. MOTSETE**, President of the Bechuanaland People's Party. At the party's first conference he voiced the people's discontent with the new constitution which has been imposed on the Protectorate.

**THESE TWO MEN** lead the Bechuanaland People's Party. During the last year this party has made its impact on the protectorate. Everywhere the power and wealth of the land are shared by the British and the chiefs. A new constitution gives half the seats in the Legislative Council to what are virtually nominees of the chiefs, and half to the handful of White settlers. Everywhere the young men, and the rising class of educated, modern men, feel left out in the cold. It is from these that the B.P.P. has drawn its support. Everywhere in the protectorate people are talking about the B.P.P. and the young men favour it. It has held meetings in places such as Kanye where political meetings have never been held before. Our representative covered their first conference. His report on it is on page 5.



**MOTSAMAI K. MPH O**, Secretary-General of the Bechuanaland People's Party, which has just held its first conference in Lobatsi, Bechuanaland. Though only one year old the B.P.P. has made its mark on the Protectorate.

## **BECHUANALAND PEOPLE'S PARTY CONFERENCE**

— see page 7

# 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

## NAT. DEFEATISM

SOME of the top Nationalists are becoming defeatist about their chances of maintaining their rule in South Africa. This is clear from a careful reading of *Die Burger's* chatty weekly political column signed by "Dawie". On 30th December "Dawie" put up a completely unrealizable scheme for Southern Africa which amounted to a united front by Europe and America to protect South Africa from the assaults of the anti-colonialist world. "Behind such a Western front there would be hope of saving Southern Africa for civilization and for the West," said "Dawie". "Without such a front, I fear, we are doomed, and with us also the rest of Africa, which will be irresistibly drawn into the anti-Western camp if the last reliable Western strongpoints on the continent should fall."

"Dawie" continued by saying that any talk of standing alone is for South Africa and Southern Africa strategic nonsense. "We can only remain standing if the West protects its vital interests as vital interests. In such circumstances our own military strength has significance; but in other circumstances it is without importance. And insignificant military power has a habit of never being used."

There is much else that is worthy of quotation in this remarkable article, but there is no space here to quote it. The parts quoted are, however, sufficient to show how "Dawie", columnist of the best Nationalist newspaper in the country, has lost faith in the survival of his government's power. On details I

think he is wrong and I believe he will probably be disproved by events as they happen: firstly that "we" (presumably White South Africans) are "doomed" if the Americans and British do not protect South Africa. "Dawie" will, one hopes, learn that it is apartheid that is doomed, and that White South Africans will learn to live with other South Africans on a basis of equality when the time comes. Then, despite his intelligence, "Dawie" is, I believe, mistaken in equating (like Sir Roy Welensky) race-equality with belonging to "the anti-Western camp". It is becoming quite clear that despite the recent rush of African freedom, not one African country is anti-Western.

"Dawie" has been working himself up for some time to this outburst of pessimism and defeatism. On 9th December he wrote: "It is becoming for me every day clearer that South Africa cannot be ruled on the basis of a multi-racial single state, not by its own government, nor by any imaginable external power." I have emphasised those words to show that a month ago "Dawie" was writing publicly of the possibility of South Africa being ruled by an external power. Two weeks ago "Dawie" had thought a bit further. Under a headline "Talk of Occupation" he wrote: "Behind the scenes important people in the West are talking of a possible Western occupation of parts of Southern Africa if things in the sub-continent reach a crisis. The idea would be a preventive move to save Southern Africa from being neutralized out of the Western defence system through chaos, or, even worse, becoming a hostile base against the West through communist penetration."

"Dawie" is thus now constantly thinking in terms of a foreign occupation of what he tactfully (no doubt to spare Dr. Verwoerd's feelings) calls "Southern Africa", an occupation either by the Western powers or by the United Nations.

These remarks, by a leading Nationalist, show how deeply defeatism has bitten into the Nationalist leadership, despite the artificial cheerfulness in Dr. Verwoerd's New Year message.

## A Family Destroyed

THIS story of how apartheid smashed a family was put together after many hours of research by a welfare worker.

From a Special Correspondent

MR. PHILIP TELITE and his wife Anna, according to official records, originally came from Mohale's Hoek, Basutoland.

They went to live in Langabuya location, Paarl, in 1952 and were prohibited on 13th June, 1957. After that they were arrested and appeared in court many times—probably about a dozen times. A doctor's letter was produced in court stating that Mr. Telite was ill with tuberculosis and should not be moved. The Telites' daughter was also in a T.B. sanatorium. Despite this Mrs. Telite was expected to leave the area.

In 1959, Mrs. Ballinger, then a Liberal M.P., appealed to the minister, Mr. de Wet Nel, on behalf of this family and several others. The final ruling which Mr. de Wet Nel gave regarding them was that "they must be treated with every possible sympathy, but must leave as soon as places can be found in the reserves for them" (according to the press).

Mrs. Sanna Mariete, their daughter, aged about 30 (and one of seven Telite children) told us that she first came to Paarl in 1951, about four years after her parents. Before she came she had been living in Aliwal North with her husband, Mr. Kleinbooi Mariete.

In 1952 she and her husband had a house in the location and a permit.

In 1957 her permit and rent book were taken from her by the location superintendent, Mr. le Roux. She was ordered to leave the area. She remained.

In 1960, "soon after Sharpeville" she was arrested (while expecting a baby), and fined £5. Shortly after her release she was arrested again and was given to understand that her previous fine of £5 was to be used to pay her return to Sterkspruit, under police escort.

(Sterkspruit is near the border of Basutoland and near Aliwal North.) So she was sent to Sterkspruit. On arrival the police took her before the Sterkspruit magistrate who (according to Mrs. Mariete) said he knew nothing about her and that she could not remain there. The police replied that they must leave her there as they only had a single railway ticket for her.

She wrote to her parents explaining her predicament and they forwarded £5 to enable her to return.

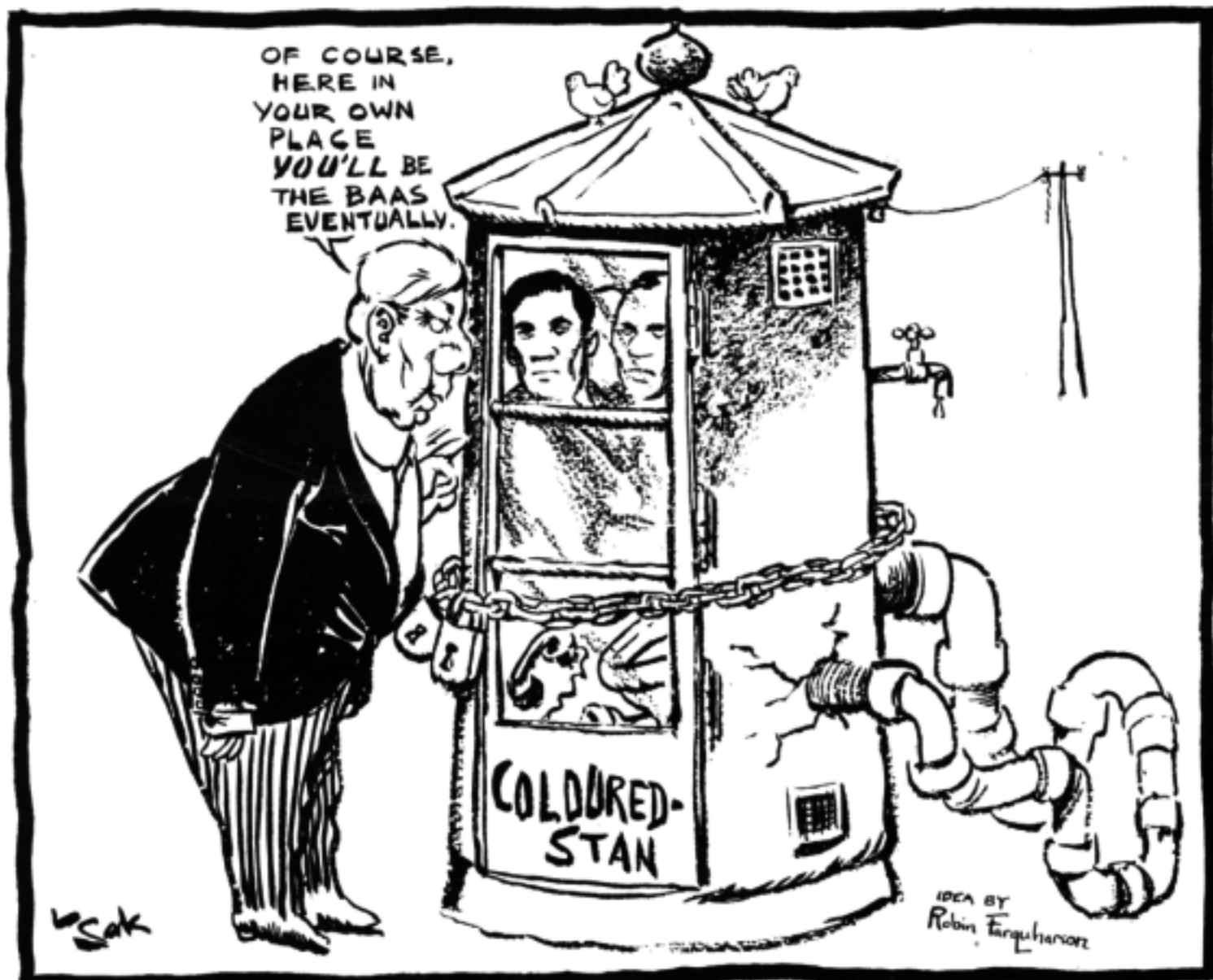
In July when she arrived back in Paarl, where her mother had been caring for her small baby, she found that her husband was missing, together with all their household belongings and his bicycle. The neighbours told her that he had been arrested shortly after her, and that the police had then returned for their belongings.

Her husband, Mr. Kleinbooi Mariete, had been employed at the K.W.V. for about a year until 10th December, 1959, when, according to factory records, he was dismissed. No reason for the dismissal was given.

In October, 1961, Sanna Mariete was again arrested and fined £5, which she paid with her family's help. On her release she was told that she would be arrested again in two weeks or so.

Mr. Mariete has not turned up again since his arrest in 1960. His wife has no idea where he might be. All her family are living in the Western Cape.

I made enquiries at the police headquarters in Paarl and at the magistrate's court and discovered that Mr. Mariete was sent to Sterkspruit. It was not known where he was sent to after that. The police said, "Our job is only to take them as far as we are told then it's the magistrate's business at the other end."



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47 PARLIAMENT STREET  
CAPE TOWN  
P.O. Box 1979 Phone 2-4524  
Telegrams:  
CONTACT Cape Town

Editor: Patrick Duncan  
Asst. Editor: T. Holmes  
Manager: J. C. A. Daniels

CORRESPONDENTS  
Johannesburg, Pretoria, Pietersburg  
Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Dundee,  
Port Elizabeth.

Windhoek, Maseru, Mbabane,  
Palapye.

Salisbury, Bulawayo, Lusaka,  
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# FOOD GOES TO WASTE WHILE PEOPLE STARVE

By "Contact" Staff

WHILE hungry children can be seen all over South Africa, and the whole non-White population is undernourished in comparison with the White population, "surplus" food is being exported at a loss. And some is even being thrown away in an attempt to keep up the price. Here are some facts recently released:

## Food Thrown Away

Milk is thrown away at times by the Cape Town Milk Board. This was admitted by the secretary, Mr. J. H. van Rooyen, in an interview with the *Cape Argus* (24th November). Mr. Van Rooyen made it clear that any welfare organization could have the dumped milk provided that it fetched the milk, and paid the 1½ cents (2d.) per gallon cost of pasteurizing it. The main cause of the occasional dumping appeared to be an absence of factories that could use the surplus.

The Board sold about 1,000 gallons of sweetened pasteurized, skimmed milk each school day to the Peninsula School Feeding Association on behalf of about 7 non-White schools in the area. These sales were at the rate of 7 cents (9d.) a gallon (about a quarter of the price of whole milk).

Lowveld farmers have been dumping bananas and letting them rot, in an attempt to keep the price up. Distributors suggested to the farmers that the surplus could all be sold if the price were dropped to below 7 cents (9d.) a pound. The farmers refused. (*Rand Daily Mail* 18th October.)

## Food Exported at a Loss

Owing to improved farming and the use of hybrid seed, South Africa's maize (mealie) farmers produced 52 million bags (200 lbs. each) of maize during 1961, which is a record. According to Mr. M. G. Clarence, a leading miller, reported in the *Natal Daily News* (18th November) it would be necessary for government to export about 20 million bags, at a loss of about 50 cents (5 shillings) a bag.

Here again there is a refusal to lower the home price. Lower maize prices at home would mean

- more to eat for people whose staple food it is
- more to eat for cattle, and thus more and better meat for people.

A correspondent in NAUNLU, journal the Natal Agricultural Union, writes

(22nd December, 1961) "... We have the farming community faced with fantastic surpluses. Millions of pounds of butter costing fortunes to store are then being sold on the London (England) market at a loss of 1/6 per pound. Cheese is in the same sorry state. Fresh milk producers are having to impose quotas on themselves."

The major cause of death from gastro-enteritis and kwashiorkor is under-nourishment and especially shortage of milk in the child's diet.

## Potatoes

Potatoes, too, are over-produced. Normally South Africa produces 4,500,000 bags of 150 lbs each (*Evening Post*, 23rd October). Only about four million bags are eaten, leaving a surplus of about half a million bags.

COMMENT: There are similar underlying causes of both the food surplus and the high level of malnutrition and disease among non-White South Africans.

The chief of these is the poverty in which the majority of South Africans live: they cannot afford to buy butter, milk or great quantities of maize.

Pressure for a high price of food is maintained by the farmers who have great influence on the government, largely elected by farmers' votes.

The immediate cure seems to be

- to increase wages
- to subsidize food so that poor people are able to buy more
- to set up a system of marketing which will ensure fair prices not only for the producer but also for the consumer.

In every case the problem needs government money.

So long as the scandal of under-feeding exists in this country it is unjust that a single grain of maize be exported, it is unjust that a single banana or pint of milk be dumped, merely in order to keep up the price to the producer.

The problem is the government's. Let it not be said that merely because most producers have the vote, and most consumers have not, this government has allowed children to go to bed hungry.

In a statement, the National Chairman of the Liberal Party, Mr. Peter Brown, says:

"Present difficulties over the disposal of fresh milk and milk products can be turned to the advantage of all South Africa if we will learn the lessons of past mistakes.

"For years we have subsidized the sale of butter at an uneconomic rate on the London market. Now this market

has been restricted and a crisis precipitated.

"At the same time we face a second crisis. This is a crisis of malnutrition amongst non-White South Africans, particularly amongst our African people and most particularly amongst African people in the once self-supporting reserves, and in other rural areas. This malnutrition is a growing drain on the country's human resources. It also costs vast sums in avoidable hospital expenditure each year.

"It is to be hoped that the government and the dairy industry will now embark

## APPALLING CHILD DEATH-RATE IN TOWNSHIPS

By "Contact" Staff

AFRICAN children are dying at an appalling rate in the nation's townships. That is the one hard fact to emerge from a recent public health survey carried out by *Contact*.

Perhaps alone among industrialized countries, South Africa has never published vital statistics for the whole population. The Union Yearbook has for many years published birth and death rates, and other vital statistics for the White population, and for the Coloured and Indian people. But it has never yet published any for the Africans.

Statistics concerning Africans cannot be healthy. For, though full records of

on a long-overdue programme which will bring milk products within their means to those people of all groups who so badly need them—and particularly to the African people of the reserves."

## TWO SCANDALS

HERE ARE FACTS about two terrible things that are going on in South Africa today: the appalling death rate of African children, and the throwing away of food in order to keep up the price for the farmer. The two scandals are connected.

births and deaths are not kept, local health authorities do keep records of deaths. These fragmentary records point to a serious infantile mortality rate among Africans, especially as a result of gastro-enteritis, the summer "dysentery" often called "apricot sickness".

*Contact* has managed to collect some of these fragmentary records. Here they are:

### 1. INFANTILE MORTALITY, CAPE TOWN, 1960

For every 1,000 live births, the following numbers of infants under the age of one year died in Cape Town:

White	25.3
Coloured	74.4
African	181.3
Asian	38.5

(Medical Officer of Health, Cape Town.)

### 2. GASTRO-ENTERITIS IN CAPE TOWN, 1960

Among non-Whites in Cape Town, for every 1,000 children's deaths, the following numbers were due to gastro-enteritis:

0-1 year	369
1-5 years	477

(Medical Officer of Health, Cape Town.)

### 3. TOTAL DEATHS OF CHILDREN AGED 0-5 YEARS IN JOHANNESBURG CAUSED BY GASTRO-ENTERITIS AND KWASHIORKOR, BY RACE, 1960

White	13
Coloured	35
Asian	7
African	869
Total	924

But, the White and African populations of Johannesburg being approximately equal, the rate among Africans is thus sixty to seventy times as heavy as it is among Whites.

### 4. DEATHS, BY RACE, IN THE PRETORIA MUNICIPAL AREA FROM GASTRO-ENTERITIS AND KWASHIORKOR, 1960

Gastro-Enteritis	African	Asian	Coloured	White
Under 1 year	188	1	2	5 = 196
1-5 years	169	0	1	1 = 171
Over 5 years	18	0	0	1 = 19
Totals	375	1	3	7 = 386
Kwashiorkor				
Under 1 year	22	0	0	0 = 22
1-5 years	55	1	0	0 = 56
Over 5 years	6	0	0	2 = 8
Totals	83	1	0	2 = 86

(Office of Pretoria Medical Officer of Health)

### 5. TOTAL CHILDREN'S DEATHS IN PORT ELIZABETH IN 1960 FROM DIARRHOEA AND ENTERITIS

Under one year	374
1-5 years	141
Total	515

COMMENT: In Britain, deaths from "gastritis, enteritis and diarrhoea" amounted to a total of 2,341 for 1958, or a rate of just four per thousand deaths (of all ages).

The enormous rate which appears to exist in South Africa's townships to judge from the tables above suggests that there is a crisis in South Africa's public health. It also proves that there is serious inequality in the public

health facilities for Whites and Africans.

But the figures, official as they are, are only fragmentary. There is a clear and urgent duty on the government to begin now to keep proper records of births and deaths among all South Africa's citizens, including Africans. With knowledge our health officers should be able to tackle this scandalous state of affairs: at present they are largely working in the dark.

## Mission Church Promotes Apartheid

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: The Dutch Reformed Church here appears to have entered into a partnership with the B.A.D. (Bantu Administration and Development) Department as already mentioned in our issue of 14th December. B.A.D. propaganda is being announced in church and handed out on church premises by a minister of the D.R.C.

I attended service at the N.H. Kerk in Atteridgeville on 3rd December when my cousin, six-month-old Alletta, was baptized.

Before the baptismal ceremony, the resident minister, Rev. J. A. Lebitsa,

informed the congregation that before leaving the church after the service, they should wait until they received 'valuable documents' from church elders. As a newcomer in this church, I expected bibles or pamphlets relating to church affairs. After the service when parents were receiving the baptismal certificates of their children, we were all of us handed a copy of the Bantu Administration and Development journal, *Tswelopele*. At first I thought it was a mistake, but on inquiry I learned from members of the congregation that it was a regular practice. After each service, the latest copy of *Tswelopele* (which means "progress") is handed to everyone present in church in the vernacular desired.

# Radio Bantu: Nat. Propaganda

From "Contact" Correspondent

**PORT ELIZABETH:** The S.A.B.C.'s Radio Bantu is giving its listeners a highly distorted news service. This is shown by surveys of its news bulletins which have been published in the Port Elizabeth newspaper, *Evening Post*.

The *Evening Post* has a Xhosa-speaking reporter who has been monitoring Radio Bantu's early morning newscasts. According to his survey, Radio Bantu ignores many important news items which are critical of the Nationalist Government.

Recent events at the United Nations have been particularly distorted: criticism of apartheid has usually been completely suppressed while prominence has been given to the few speeches in defence of the Nationalists.

These are some of the significant happenings that have barely been mentioned by Radio Bantu. Most of them were reported on the front pages of South Africa's main newspapers — Nationalist and Opposition.

## In the dark

Radio Bantu kept its listeners in the dark about the U.N. censure vote against South Africa. It also ignored U.N. criticism of the administration of South West Africa.

It did announce that Britain had proposed a five-man commission to study the South West Africa question. It also mentioned that South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr. Eric Louw, had offered to invite three former U.N. presidents to visit the territory.

But Radio Bantu suppressed the news of South Africa's narrow escape when the sanctions motion failed to get a two-thirds majority. It did not report the news that by a vote of 86 to one the U.N. Trusteeship Committee had approved steps to make South West Africa independent.

On the other hand, the return to South Africa of Mr. Louw, and his "bold stand" in defence of apartheid, were featured in several bulletins.

Other news items suppressed by Radio Bantu include:

## Cuts for Praise

**JOHANNESBURG:** While a European woman, Miss Faith Jennifer Seaton, was waiting for a train on the Johannesburg station on 27th December, a 20-year-old African cleaner walked past her and remarked: "Lady, you've got nice legs."

Yesterday the cleaner, Mr. Alfred Majola, was sentenced in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court to eight cuts for crimen injuria.

Miss Seaton said that she felt very embarrassed by the remark. "It is bad enough when my own people say it," she said.

The Magistrate, Mr. F. Drieselman, told Mr. Majola, who had no previous convictions: "I think the punishment is well suited to the crime."

(*Cape Times*, 4th January)

## THE NEW AFRICAN

A Monthly Review for Radicals

The first 16 page issue (January, 1962), will carry articles by Dennis Brutus, Rev. Ndabangi Sithole, Anthony Delius, Fr. Trevor Bush and others.

Subscriptions: R2.00 (£1) per year  
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## Instrument

- Dr. Hastings Banda's assurance to non-Africans that they need have no anxiety about their future in Nyasaland;
- The accusation by Mr. Lewis Sowden, of the *Rand Daily Mail*, that Mr. Eric Louw was telling half-truths to the U.N.'s General Assembly;
- The Supreme Court case concerning Mr. Anderson Ganyile, the Pondo leader who is alleged to have been kidnapped in Basutoland and imprisoned without trial in South Africa.

Radio Bantu did not report that Princess Margaret had given birth to a son. This was mentioned for the first time almost a month later when Princess Margaret and her son returned to Kensington Palace.

## Lutuli's Peace Prize

Mr. Albert Lutuli's arrival in Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize for 1960 was briefly mentioned at the time. His important speech in Oslo, his

## GANYILE CASE

# MINISTER SIDE-STEPS HABEAS CORPUS

**UMTATA:** Mr. Anderson Khumani Ganyile, the Pondo leader, appeared in the Magistrate's court here on 5th January and was formally remanded in custody till 19th January when he will appear at a preparatory examination on allegations of attempted murder and incitement to commit murder.

**Footnote:** The fact that the remand took place in Umtata does much to confirm the fact, exclusively published in *Contact* (16th November, 1961) that Mr. Ganyile was being held in solitary confinement in Umtata goal.

Probably Mr. Ganyile would have been held in Umtata indefinitely under the excuse that there is a state of emergency in the Transkei if it had not been for the habeas corpus application brought by his uncle, Siwele. After a delay (described on appeal as regrettable) of seven weeks, Judge Wynne refused the application. But,

## Journalist Refused Passport

From "Contact" Correspondent

**PRETORIA:** A young African journalist has been refused a passport which would have enabled him to further his education abroad.

He is Mr. Robinson Matseke, who is on the staff of the Bantu Press. Mr. Matseke applied for a scholarship from the Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie. Place for him was reserved in the faculties of either Arts or Science at Addis Ababa university.

In the middle of 1961, he applied for a passport from the Minister of the Interior, but up to the present has not had any answer from that department.

As it stands, he should have left for the University of Addis Ababa last September.

He told me he wanted to study B.Sc. in Engineering, a six-year course after matriculation. He intends applying for an exit permit soon. An exit permit would be granted, subject to the condition that Mr. Matseke, a South African, renounces his right ever to return to South Africa.

activities there, and the South African Government's refusal to let him visit Stockholm, were not reported.

Radio Bantu mentioned President Tshombe's criticism of the U.N.'s action in Katanga, but not Dr. Conor O'Brien's allegations against the Katanga regime. The bombing of Katanga homes and hospitals was stressed, but the U.N.'s point of view was ignored.

During the week preceding the granting of independence to Tanganyika nothing was said about this important event. The fact that the South African government had not been asked to send a representative was also not broadcast.

**FOOTNOTE:** Dr. Albert Hertzog, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, last month (December) set up a Bantu programme control board. Not one of the board's five members is an African.

Dr. P. J. Meyer was appointed chairman of the board. He is also chairman of the S.A.B.C.'s Board of Governors. According to Dr. Hertzog's announcement, the new board will assist the Board of Governors in presenting a comprehensive and full-time radio service for Africans.



The first detachment of Indian mounted to

# GOAN NATIONALIST STATES CASE THE PORTUGUESE COLONY

**WAS** Goa, the 1200 square mile Portuguese colony on the west coast of India, happy under foreign domination? Was it in fact 'a part of Portugal'? Did it want to be 'invaded' by India?

Important answers to these questions were given by Mr. Tristão de Bragança Cunha in an article written in 1957. He was a Goan nationalist and founder of the Goa Congress Committee, a group that worked together with Gandhi, Nehru and the Indian Congress Party in the days before India achieved its freedom from Britain in 1947. He was also president of the Goa Action Committee.

Mr. Cunha wrote: "According to the Portuguese, the inhabitants of Goa are different from other Indians: the majority, they say, are Christians. This is not true. The most recent census shows that there are 234,275 Christians as compared with 388,488 Hindus, Muslims and other non-Christians."

To show that this part of India is in fact 'part of Portugal', the Portuguese claim that the Goan Christians have Portuguese blood, that they have assimilated the culture and customs of Portugal, that they have taken Portuguese names.

Mr. Cunha commented: "If the Christians of Goa have Portuguese names it is because they were converted in mass to the Catholic religion by the methods of force used by the Portuguese in the 16th century (Goa was colonized in 1501). The truth is that 95% of them do not speak the Portuguese language, nor do they understand it."

## Poverty, emigration...

The impression has been given that Goa is a wealthy jewel rudely seized by India for her own enrichment. Mr. Cunha had this to say on this point:

"From the point of view of material and economic development, the Portuguese administration has reduced the country to ruin and misery. Modern industry does not exist. Portugal has never invested the least capital in the colony. The only railway in existence, as well as its port terminal Marmagao, were built by a British company.

"To steady the economic balance, Goans emigrate in large numbers to Bombay and other Indian cities and also to Africa. A third of the population leaves the territory to live and earn a living for their dependants at home."

Do the Goans like being ruled by the Portuguese? Mr. Cunha wrote: "Portuguese propaganda leads one to believe that the fight for the liberation of Goa is contrary to the wishes of the Goan

## S. A. Liberal Wins American Science Prize

From "Contact" Correspondent  
**JOHANNESBURG:** Dr. Robin Farquharson, research officer in the Marginal Mines Research Unit at the University of the Witwatersrand and a member of the Liberal Party's Transvaal executive, has been awarded the 1961 Monograph Prize in the Social Sciences by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

The manuscript which won the prize is entitled "Theory of Voting", and consists of the application of mathematical and logical methods to the study of procedure and strategy of voting in committees. He makes use of a method known as the "Theory of Games", originated by John von Neumann, the mathematician, and Oskar Morgenstern, the economist, to deal with games of intellectual skill and economic competition.

The prize is awarded annually as the result of an international competition: its value is \$1000 (R714), which Dr. Farquharson will use to publish the work.

## Non-aligned Nyerere

From "Contact" Correspondent

**DAR ES SALAAM:** In accordance with his government's policy of non-alignment, it is likely that Dr. Nyerere will permit the establishment in Tanganyika of diplomatic missions from both communist as well as non-communist and non-aligned countries.



# contact

# Freedom Calendar

# 1962

January

SUN	..	7	14	21	28	..
MON	1	8	15	22	29	..
TUES	2	9	16	23	30	..
WED	3	10	17	24	31	..
THUR	4	11	18	25	..	..
FRI	5	12	19	26	..	..
SAT	6	13	20	27	..	..

February

SUN	..	4	11	18	25	..
MON	..	5	12	19	26	..
TUES	..	6	13	20	27	..
WED	..	7	14	21	28	..
THUR	1	8	15	22	..	..
FRI	2	9	16	23	..	..
SAT	3	10	17	24	..	..

March

SUN	..	4	11	18	25	..
MON	..	5	12	19	26	..
TUES	..	6	13	20	27	..



WED .. 7 14 21 28 ..  
 THUR 1 8 15 22 29 ..  
 FRI 2 9 16 23 30 ..  
 SAT 3 10 17 24 31 ..

April

SUN 1 8 15 22 29 ..  
 MON 2 9 16 23 30 ..  
 TUES 3 10 17 24 .. ..  
 WED 4 11 18 25 .. ..  
 THUR 5 12 19 26 .. ..  
 FRI 6 13 20 27 .. ..  
 SAT 7 14 21 28 .. ..

May

SUN .. 6 13 20 27 ..  
 MON .. 7 14 21 28 ..  
 TUES 1 8 15 22 29 ..  
 WED 2 9 16 23 30 ..  
 THUR 3 10 17 24 31 ..  
 FRI 4 11 18 25 .. ..  
 SAT 5 12 19 26 .. ..

June

SUN .. 3 10 17 24 ..  
 MON .. 4 11 18 25 ..  
 TUES .. 5 12 19 26 ..  
 WED .. 6 13 20 27 ..  
 THUR .. 7 14 21 28 ..  
 FRI 1 8 15 22 29 ..  
 SAT 2 9 16 23 30 ..

July

SUN 1 8 15 22 29 ..  
 MON 2 9 16 23 30 ..  
 TUES 3 10 17 24 31 ..  
 WED 4 11 18 25 .. ..  
 THUR 5 12 19 26 .. ..  
 FRI 6 13 20 27 .. ..  
 SAT 7 14 21 28 .. ..

August

SUN .. 5 12 19 26 ..  
 MON .. 6 13 20 27 ..  
 TUES .. 7 14 21 28 ..  
 WED 1 8 15 22 29 ..  
 THUR 2 9 16 23 30 ..  
 FRI 3 10 17 24 31 ..  
 SAT 4 11 18 25 .. ..

September

SUN .. 2 9 16 23 30  
 MON .. 3 10 17 24 ..  
 TUES .. 4 11 18 25 ..  
 WED .. 5 12 19 26 ..  
 THUR .. 6 13 20 27 ..  
 FRI .. 7 14 21 28 ..  
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**BECHUANALAND****PEOPLE'S PARTY CALLS FOR FREEDOM IN 1963**

From "Contact" Correspondent

LOBATSI: The first conference of the young Bechuanaland People's Party was held from 28th-31st December. It was a success beyond the expectations of the organizers, and up to 800 people attended the public sessions.

Mr. K. T. Motsete, the party's leader, addressed the conference on the afternoon of 29th December, and voiced the people's concern about the land laws of the protectorate. He claimed that one farm had even been bought by a Nationalist cabinet minister, and pointed to the danger that under the present constitution he, and others who had bought land like him, could vote for the Bechuanaland Legislative Council, and be voted into it as members.

**Call for unity**

The party's Secretary-General, Mr. Motsamai K. Mpho, who had just returned from a conference in Ghana, called for unity within the protectorate and also between the free African states.

Many resolutions were passed. Among them was one condemning the existing Legislative Council system where Whites are directly elected and Africans are indirectly elected on a separate roll. It called instead for the electoral system

to be "made democratic and non-racial for all". In line with this the conference demanded that civil service salaries be paid on a non-racial basis and that a uniform system of taxes equally applicable to all be introduced.

**No incorporation**

Opposing the incorporation of Bechuanaland with either South Africa or the Central African Federation, the conference asked the British Government to grant self-rule by 1963 with independence following.

It also objected to the employment of "foreign labour"—Africans from South Africa—in the protectorate.

Although still in its infancy and one of the newest of the continent's African nationalist organizations, the Bechuanaland People's Party was able to draw crowds of up to eight hundred to the public sessions of the conference. Two of the party's leaders have already spent several months travelling in Africa under the auspices of the All African People's Conference.

The conference was held in an enthusiastic atmosphere. Delegates had come enormous distances from within the territory, and also from South West Africa, the Federation, and South Africa. Freedom songs were sung, and "Afrika" and "Izwe Lethu" shouted out.

**Basuto Conservatives Call for Responsible Govt.**

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: In Basutoland it appears as though the more conservative forces in the nation are grouping themselves around the Basutoland National Party, founded in 1957 by Chief Leabua Jonathan.

The party held its third annual national conference here from 31st December to 1st January 1962, a week after its powerful rival, the Basutoland Congress Party, had held its 10th annual meeting.

In his opening address Chief Leabua reminded delegates that the entire Basuto nation was watching the party's deliberations with the keenest interest. Chief Leabua said he hoped that the conference would "bear for Basutoland better fruits than those produced by noisy conferences that bring nobody any good".

The burly 48-year-old chief continued amidst tumultuous applause when he stressed the absolute need for unity during the "constitutional developments towards responsible government".

While, a week before, the B.C.P. had demanded "Independence for Basutoland Now!", the soft-spoken Chief Leabua said that the B.N.P. "demanded that Britain restore to us our responsible form of government according to the terms which the Paramount Chief, Moshoeshe II, had presented to the Legislative Council".

**"No suicidal independence"**

Referring to the demand of the B.C.P. for "independence", Chief Leabua said the B.N.P. "desired no premature and suicidal independence". "We of the Basutoland National Party," continued the chief, "see no reason why a system of responsible government should not be allowed to evolve naturally under the protection of Great Britain."

Chief Leabua was greeted with wild cheering when he appealed for unity between political parties in the country and said: "This is the time when the whole nation is bound to bury all differences. Let us again unite so that we can simply say to the British that they

should restore to us our responsible government."

He warned that the people would have to endure more hardships in the Basutoland of tomorrow with a responsible form of government and consequently advised that "the people must be taught responsibility in preserving the soil of their country, by combating soil erosion; they must be taught responsibility to improve their grazing lands; responsibility in the conservation and use of water; responsibility to develop the economy of the country; responsibility to provide employment to the thousands of unemployed in Basutoland."

The president reiterated the anti-communist stand of his party and said: "I must direct my thanks and congratulations to you as members of the B.N.P. because of your brave stand in the fight against communism, which at the beginning was said to be a fabulous monster to frighten grown-ups."

Thanking the president on behalf of the conference for the address, the National Chairman of the party, Mr. E. D. Letete, a former prominent leader of the B.C.P., said the Basuto had advanced sufficiently educationally to shoulder all the responsibilities associated with a responsible form of government.

At the conclusion of Mr. Letete's speech the crowd in the Fraser Memorial Hall gave the B.N.P. V-sign and shouted "Victory!"



LEABUA JONATHAN

**S. Rhodesia****New Party will be "Stronger than N.D.P."**

From "Contact" Correspondent

SALISBURY: Intensified political action can be expected in 1962 in Southern Rhodesia if the plans of the African-led, non-racial new party, the Zimbabwe African People's Union, succeed.

The party will be 'out on its feet' to fight for human rights after 10th January when the ban on meetings is lifted, Mr. Robert Mugabe, the party's national Press and Information Officer, told *Contact*.

**Policy programme**

He said although the party's policy programmes have not yet been worked out "it is certain that the 'first step' the party would take would be to enrol members throughout the colony. As soon as this is done, the party will be 'out on its feet' again to fight for its objectives: majority rule on the 'One man one vote ticket', by implementing the 'second step' which will be an 'anti-voters campaign' so that no Z.A.P.U. member takes part in the forthcoming general election under the new constitution which offers only 15 seats to Africans," said Mr. Mugabe.

**Stronger than the N.D.P.**

Mr. Mugabe also assured our correspondent that it was no secret that the new party was going to be stronger than the banned N.D.P. When asked why, he answered: "We have learnt quite a lot of mistakes from the experience of the N.D.P. So, for efficiency and better organization, the new executive is twice as large as that of the outlawed party."

Asked to tell why Mr. Nkomo (who is presently travelling on diplomatic missions for the Z.A.P.U. in Africa, and perhaps America), was elected to lead the party, Mr. Mugabe said that Mr. Nkomo was the only experienced man who has international contacts and also one who is loved by the Southern Rhodesia people.

Observers here believe that the president's current tour is intended to give the countries he is visiting first-hand reports on the situation and difficulties Africans are facing here, with the aim that the matter be raised in the United Nations, as was the case last year.

**N. RHODESIA:****Report on Disturbances Hits at U.N.I.P.**

From TITUS MUKUPO

LUSAKA: The report by the Northern Rhodesia government on the 1961 political disturbances, which has just been published, is likely to draw sharp counter-comments from the United National Independence Party as well as renewed demands for an independent inquiry into the disturbances.

The 78-page report which was compiled by government officials strongly refutes allegations of brutality and other acts which the party claimed were committed by the security forces during the July to October period when they went there to quell the troubles.

The U.N.I.P. allegations were contained in a special issue of the party organ *Voice of U.N.I.P.* which was called *A Grim Peep into the North*.

In one section, the report deals with the U.N.I.P. allegations one by one and examines them.

In a summary of conclusions, the report says that allegations of brutal treatment and U.N.I.P. accounts of six serious riots in which people were killed, were greatly distorted.



A.F.P. Radiophoto

oops arrives in Goa, 21st December, 1961.

**NATIONALIST SE AGAINST TUGUESE**

people and that it is inspired by the Indian government. To realize the falseness of this claim one has only to glance at the history of Goa under Portuguese domination."

There have been no less than thirty revolts, both armed and unarmed, against the Portuguese. These have taken place at fairly regular intervals, and one remembers the revolts of 1582, 1739, 1755, 1780, 1823, 1852, 1869, 1870-1, 1895, 1912.

All social classes have taken part in these campaigns, from the warrior Ranas to Catholic priests.

**Indian national movement**

Goans took part in the great Indian national movement against the British. In 1928 a Goan committee of the Indian Congress was founded, and functioned until 1946. The Goans have always considered themselves to be Indians like the other inhabitants of India.

In 1946, a year before India became independent from Britain, a strong civil disobedience movement was launched in Goa. Hundreds of people were arrested by the Portuguese; some were imprisoned and others deported to Portugal or to Portuguese colonies in Africa. They were sentenced to terms of deportation ranging from four to twenty-eight years by a military tribunal.

After the 1946 campaign, Portuguese oppression grew worse, till in 1954 there was another campaign aimed at the liberation of Goa. Large numbers of demonstrators paraded in the towns and villages of Goa. Some came from Indian territory, others had been organized in Portuguese territory itself: they had Indian flags wrapped round their heads.

These demonstrations were the signal for another wave of imprisonments and beatings. Thousands were arrested and hundreds were imprisoned.

Mr. Cunha explained that the little enclaves over which the Portuguese ruled for centuries are not to be thought of other than as integral parts of India, occupied by a different country than that which ruled the greater part of the sub-continent.

The enclaves are closely bound to India by reason of geography, race, language, culture, economy and customs. The problem of their future is a purely national one, and does not call for foreign intervention.

Since writing this article in 1957, a year before his death, Mr. Cunha's greatest wish has come true, and Goa is once again part of India.

—Jeune Afrique (2nd January)



## BASUTOLAND

## Mokhehle Triumphs over Communists

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: When the Basutoland Congress Party's tenth annual conference opened on 23rd December there was anxiety and excitement among the 286 delegates (a record number) who came from all parts of the territory and the Republic. Against this background there was a rumour that the B.C.P. leadership was to be unseated and the conference attracted great attention. Known members of the Basutoland Communist Party had come in great numbers, some of them with the hope of gaining admittance as delegates as they are also members of the B.C.P.

A thorough screening was however conducted and one delegate from Mafeteng was refused admission. Outside the Fraser Memorial Hall Messrs. Motloheloa and Sejake exhibited Red literature, were selling *New Age* and were passing unhealthy remarks at delegates as they were going into the hall.

## Mokhehle's Presidential Address

In his presidential address, Mr. Mokhehle went into a wholesale attack on the communists in Basutoland. He delivered his speech for two hours mainly concentrating on the evil and the danger of the communists. He made repeated references to Mr. Joe Matthews, Mr. Motloheloa and Mr. Nimrod Sejake. Mr. Mokhehle said, "We tackle communism in the same way as we tackle imperialism. We regard them as equal enemies when it comes to their

## THE PLAN THAT FAILED

**B**ASUTOLAND'S communists, members of the only legal communist party in Africa south of Morocco, were crushingly defeated over the Christmas week-end in a trial of strength with the leadership of the powerful Basutoland Congress Party.

The trial of strength was of the choosing of the communists. As described in "Contact" (16th November) the communists made no secret of their plans to smash Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle's career "locally and internationally". On 17th August "New Age" launched an all-out attack on Mr. Mokhehle, and has continued ever since to try to destroy his standing with the Basuto people.

The plan of the communists was told to "Contact" by Mr. Mokhehle himself: for some eighteen months key political workers, many of them refugees or expellees from the Union, have been carefully stationed all over Basutoland with instructions to try to take over the Basutoland Congress Party at local branch level. Such branches would, on this plan, try to get a new leadership, pliant and willing to take communist instructions, voted in in place of Mr. Mokhehle at this very conference.

This plan has totally failed. The B.C.P. emerges stronger than ever, on its guard against communist infiltration. Mr. Mokhehle's prestige stands higher than it has ever stood, and when Basutoland gets responsible government (this might happen in 1962 as Britain has no objections) it is virtually certain that Mr. Mokhehle will be the first Chief Minister.

In this dispatch our Maseru correspondent gives an eye-witness account of this historic conference.

desire to imperialize Africa ideologically and materially."

## To be Leader for Five Years

The conference was highlighted by an amendment to the constitution which allowed Mr. Mokhehle to hold office as leader and president for the next five years. The usual procedure allowed for an election of the whole executive annually. This announcement was greeted with loud applause from the delegates. Mr. Mokhehle was re-elected almost unanimously (only one abstention) as president of the B.C.P.

Among the resolutions passed was one

demanding immediate self-government for Basutoland and the formation of a shadow-cabinet by giving portfolios to its executive members in preparation for a complete take-over.

## Trade Unions

The Conference resolved that trade unions be encouraged but that they should not take any action without party authorization. The conference voted the executive power to dissolve any branch whose activities do not comply with the policy of the party.

Mr. Chakela, the B.C.P. representative in Cairo, addressed the conference for

(Continued on page 8, col. 1)

## S. Rhodesia

## First African Doctor Joins "The Bitter Struggle"

From "Contact" Correspondent

SALISBURY: The first Southern Rhodesia African medical doctor, Dr. T. S. Parerenyatwa, has resigned his post in the government service to join hands with the newly-formed Zimbabwe African People's Union as deputy president. The move follows the invitation by the party to the doctor when it was formed.

In a letter to the secretary of the party, he said he had accepted office "in the bitter struggle ahead for the



PARERENYATWA

freedom of our people", and went on to say that in his view, "in 1962, we must strive to achieve equality and opportunity for all, and open avenues for everybody in all aspects of life and activity. The advancement of our people should not be impeded by the fallacies of false standards, which are in effect a protection for White interests . . .".

## Land Distribution, Franchise

The deputy president said the injustice in land distribution has made Africans look upon Whites as land-grabbers. "There will always be bitterness and suspicion between racial groups if the injustice in land distribution is not removed", Dr. Parerenyatwa said.

On the question of the franchise, the doctor said that he believes the question "can never be solved until every man and woman in our community is accorded the right to vote". He concluded by saying that the present "highly qualified and complex franchise is intended to perpetuate White supremacy and domination in the government".

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## Personal Files

**I**N Christmas week a small party of American officials, led by an officer of the U.S. armed forces, whose annual custom this was, drove out of Cape Town to a half-starved pondokkie settlement on the sandy wastes of the Cape Flats. They were laden with food and sweets. In a matter of minutes they were the centre of a swarming mass of ragged, undernourished children, who came running at them from unseen acres of pondokkies. One of the officials' wives said afterwards: "We were dismayed. There seemed so many, and they had nothing. Even those few who got something, now know what they are missing." This was no stunt. The candy wasn't labelled: "A Gift from Uncle Sam". These were people, Americans as it happened, acting as too few people try to do.

THE OFFICIAL U.S. policy of local acceptance of the *status quo* in South Africa belies the generosity and humanity of private people in America. Another instance comes from the urgent raising of \$420 to pay the fees of a young South West African student at Dar es Salaam's Kivukoni College (for social studies). A group of students and staff of Harvard University and its sister college for women, Radcliffe, found the money when the appeal came through. The student had sneaked out of the Republic and made an arduous journey to take the place at Kivukoni which South African friends had secured him. The half-promised donation from elsewhere to meet his fees did not materialize, Kivukoni obligingly waited,

and eventually a personal letter from one of the South Africans to a young friend at Harvard produced an instantaneous "We'll pay". The student (name withheld) is one of a tiny group of South West Africans studying in Cape Town, Sweden, East Germany, Yugoslavia, Cairo and Accra.

**W**ELL may President Kennedy snub Mr. Eric Louw in Washington. Yet Johannesburg dinner tables were reassured with a remark reported by a local businessman who had been Kennedy's personal guest at the White House. His visitor taxed Mr. Kennedy with the United States' strictures at the U.N. against the *status quo* in South Africa. Kennedy's alleged reply: "Don't worry, our bark is sometimes worse than our bite!" Inside South Africa, many have ceased even to hear the bark.

AFTER THE LOSS of markets in West Africa, Malaya and Burma, the once-thriving canned pilchards export trade from South and South West Africa is strongly rumoured to be in greater peril still. In 1960, one-third of the 5 million cases packed went to the Philippines. Now there is a threat that Philippine opposition to apartheid will close this vital outlet in 1962. This loss of a third of their export market will cause a major disaster to our fish-canning industry.

The Philippines is by far the greatest single market for South and South West African canned fish. The fish is sold under old American brand-names, taken from the Californian pilchard industry, which collapsed in the '50's, just as S.A. and S.W.A. were developing their fish industry. A report in the newspaper *Suisan Tsushin*, Japan, explains: "the Afro-Asian bloc, which strongly opposes the apartheid policy of South Africa is advocating the adoption of these measures" (i.e. a ban on S.A. fish exports).

**C**OLOURED plainclothesmen of the Political Police have been seen carrying revolvers when raiding an alleged secret political meeting, thus breaking a cast-iron taboo on arms for any non-Whites in South Africa.

AFTER CHIEF TUTOR NDAMASE'S outburst to Mr. De Wet Nel, for "Transkei independence now", when the latter visited West Pondoland in October, Chief Tutor, Paramount Chief Victor Poto's son, his cousin, Chief Douglas Ndamase and others were whisked up to Pretoria for a lecture and some briefing. While the story spreads that Verwoerd is planning total Transkeian independence, complete with membership of the U.N., Mr. De Wet Nel is issuing equivocal denials. The Chiefs' cold feet over Independence (there are great exceptions) are due to fear of the introduction of a democratic system, which will lose many of them their power, or what they value more, their civil service pay. Transkeians are talking of the possible emergence of public figures like Mr. N. Honono and Mr. D. Joyi over the heads of the Chiefs, many of whom are drunken, corrupt and ignorant.

**T**HE Scandinavian-planned Inter-African High School at Dar es Salaam, to which Chief Lutuli has given his support, aims to be an adult recruiting centre for university studies in Tanganyika or abroad. The hundred-odd South Africans to be catered for will mostly be exiles in Tanganyika. Part of the aim for them is to fill the widening gap between Bantu Education and university entrance. South African exiles who have studied, can then help to build the new African countries, "until they can return to their own country", says Mr. Cato Aal, energetic secretary of the Norwegian South African Committee, who are behind the scheme. (Their address: Norwegian S.A. Committee, Kristian August gt 21, Oslo, Norway.)



# READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

## Apartheid in Swaziland

**SIR**,—Apartheid is now seen in all its nakedness here in our beloved mother Swaziland.

Swaziland has bluffed many understanding people inside and outside our country that apartheid or discrimination as they call it, has been crushed in this beloved country of ours (the Tourists' Paradise as well as the niche to the Commonwealth). But strangely enough, this policy is getting ripe and that means the table is prepared. Africans are ready for breakfast, dine, and sup on this "good meal" reserved for NON-WHITES ONLY.

It is our daily meal to be discriminated against. Four cookhouses of apartheid have I seen in Swaziland.

Apartheid is mainly brought here by the apartheid-saturated Afrikaners of the Republic of South Africa, that very land where the Swazi is refused room and is called a "Foreign Native".

If these imported oppressors come to our country to help us economically, it does not follow that they may oppress us. If those exploiters have come to work and have a permanent residence

here, they must be really warned against such acts.

The policy of Mr. Nel and Company must not be applied here in Swaziland because Swaziland does not form part of Verwoerd's empire. It forms a part of the Commonwealth of Nations and is under the protection of Her Majesty's Government in Britain.

In order that the Afrikaners get fair treatment from the Swazi people let them bury their master's policy and take orders from us.

But the fact is if the Republic does not want "foreign natives" it will soon follow that Swaziland will not be prepared to take "foreign White



"HOWLER SPECIAL",  
Mhlambanyati, Swaziland.

Natives" from the Republic of South Africa. We would prefer foreigners from overseas rather than accept Verwoerd's "Apartheiders".

## TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- This is *your* page, where you can air your views on any subject, so write in.
- Send a photograph of yourself if you like
- A year's free subscription to your paper, *Contact*, is given for the best letter of the fortnight.

## More dangerous than atom bombs

**SIR**,—Apartheid, the grandson of tribalism, is a dangerous weapon used by the oppressors to create disunity among the indigenous inhabitants of the mandated territory of S.W.A. This horrible monster threatens our lives, and it is more dangerous than the feared nuclear test.

During 1958, the inhabitants of the Hoachanas reserve, who have lived peacefully for more than three centuries in the place of their ancestors, were the victims of this inhumanity. They were told to leave their birthplace, to move to a desert where no one could exist, and they refused (though some of them, about one-eighth, agreed to move out of fear)—the usual procedure followed and many defenceless people were wounded and left on their own. Those removed by the authorities with many golden promises, which have never been fulfilled, nearly died of hunger, and have now again been told to remove somewhere else. This sort of behaviour from the authorities is callous and cruel.

As I do believe in practical Christianity all men are in the same degree God's sons and must regard themselves as brothers, no matter what his colour or origin may be. Tribalism, apartheid, and discrimination must be wiped out. These sordid ideologies are in conflict with the U.N.O. Universal Declaration of Human Rights which says that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity.

G. D. F. DAUSAB,  
Walvis Bay.

## "Those days are gone for good"

**SIR**,—For years and years Africa has been the footstool of imperialism, exploitation and degradation. From the north to the south, from the east to the west, her sons have languished in the chains of slavery and humiliation and Africa's exploiters and self-appointed controllers of her destiny strode across our land without honour. Those days are gone and gone for good.

N. LIMAKATSO,  
Cape Town.

## This Africa belongs to Africans

**SIR**,—On 10th November I got the sack wrongfully from my employer. This man had taken me in 1960 from the place where I have been working since 1955. He wanted me to work for him because of my experience as a general garage worker.

Now, two days later, I went to the Labour Bureau to report that I was out of work, and to ask for permission to look for other work.

## NEHRU RIGHT OR WRONG?

**SIR**,—I understand that the invasion of Goa by India has stirred a great deal of criticism amongst the leaders of the world.

Funnily enough, the colonization of Goa by Portugal from 1510-1961 has caused NO criticism. Secondly, India has been too tolerant for twelve years trying to get this matter settled peacefully.

Some critics are trying to blame the United Nations Organization for failing to intervene and there has been talk in the South African press that the older nations should found their own U.N. that would be ready to defend colonialism. Britain has also been blamed for failing to help Portugal.

Let us look at these things in their perspective. India is being criticized because it is a Black country attacking White foreign imperialism. There is a struggle going on between France and Algeria and the very same critics have not asked the U.N. to intervene. Why?

Because France is a White man's country defending its position of dominance over the Blacks.

There is also a struggle going on between the Angolans and the Portuguese and the U.N. has not been asked to intervene because Portugal is a White man's country defending its position of dominance over the Blacks.

When the Black man is the White man's victim there is no appeal for intervention, but when the Blacks appear to be stronger than their White victims the whole western world appeals for intervention.

I salute the peoples of India for the restoration of their fatherland to its rightful owners namely the Indians.

C. MLOKOTHI,  
P.17a, Nyanga, Cape.

**SIR**,—December seems to be the month in which your standards reach an all-time low. In 1960 it was that astonishing tirade against the Progressive Party, and now the possibly even more astonishing white-washing of Nehru.

What on earth is the function of the World Court or U.N.O. if complainant nations are entitled to sweep away laws and constitutions? On the personal and on the national level, such unilateral action as taken in Goa is rightly described as murder and theft.

Read your own leader "Stop the Bombs" which adjoins. The two expressions of opinion cannot be reconciled.

The sad thing is that by his adoption of the South African "The dead hand of the past" attitude, Nehru has lined himself up alongside our own "national heroes". His integrity will always be suspect. At one stroke he has diminished his own stature and slapped U.N.O. in the face. He has, over a world-respected signature, issued on open invitation to aggression by all in whom the processes of law exhaust patience.

And you approve.

P. M. HARKER,  
Muizenberg, Cape.

**SIR**,—It is not often that I disagree with your editorial comment, but the juxtaposition of your two editorials, "Stop the bombs" and "Why Nehru is right", calls for criticism.

If non-violence was good enough for Gandhi in India and is good enough for us in South Africa it should be good enough for Nehru in his dealings with Goa. It does not matter how much of a moral claim India has to Goa the method of the take-over is reprehensible and should have been criticized as such. Anyone can talk about geographical anomalies: Basutoland is one and Nyasaland is another, but this does not mean the Basutos and the Nyasas should be forced to become parts of political entities they do not like. What do the Goans want?

It is not pleasant to criticize one's friends and although Nehru has shown himself to be a friend of Africa and a humanitarian this does not make him above criticism. No man is perfect and some are less perfect than others.

It behoves Liberals, in Africa particularly, to attack departures from civilized behaviour whether these arise from their traditional friends or from their enemies. Not to do so is, to say the least, two-faced. And the world is sick of two-faced men like Hitler, Khrushchev and Verwoerd.

W. M. A. BROOKER,  
Johannesburg.

*In the editorial against bombings we did not state that violence is always wrong. It is our view that this kind of violence in South Africa is wrong at this time. Such is not our view about Goa.—EDITOR.*

I found no respect in the Labour Bureau office for Africans. The White clerk there said to me that I do not belong to the Union, and therefore that I have got to get out of the Union, just because I am from the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

Now I have to go home to my homeland. I arrived in the Union in 1947. Ever since I arrived I have been studying the White people.

As soon as I reach Bechuanaland I intend to join the Bechuanaland People's Party, and to tell the leaders of the B.P.P. everything about the Union.

Verwoerd, whatever you do to us Protectorate people, don't forget that



this Africa belongs to the Africans.

Africans, we must not give up fighting for our rights. We must fight for our unity. Unity is Strength.

G. M. KEEAIKITSE,  
Port Elizabeth

## PRIZE LETTER

### "DESTROY RACIAL AND COMMUNISTIC DOMINATION"

**SIR**,—Apartheid, which was meant to solve the racial problem in South Africa, has itself become a dangerous problem.

The bomb-blastings that took place during the weekend of 16th December aimed at apartheid buildings on the Rand and Port Elizabeth, clearly show that the policy of apartheid is going too far with its destructions in this country.

Now we hear that Mr. Vorster is to introduce another Bill to deal severely with those who fight apartheid. He is doing nothing to eradicate the cause of dissatisfaction, which is apartheid.

It is high time for the Africans to take over. There can be no future security in this country unless racialists are removed from power. It is idle to think that the Africans only want to govern themselves. Actually the Africans want to rule Africa. Nothing less will satisfy them. Africans of all races must reject apartheid and White supremacy now, whether intimidated by Saracens, machine guns or more blood-thirsty regulations.

Let us all replace apartheid and terror with peace and happiness by fighting for a non-racial democratic United States of Africa.

Forward with African nationalism and destroy racial and communistic domination.

J. N. S. MCAPAZELI,  
Nyanga East, Cape Town.

## Freedom will come to Zimbabwe

**SIR**,—The Z.A.P.U. (Zimbabwe African People's Union) has proved that the banning of the N.D.P. has profited nothing. The new party, founded soon after the N.D.P. banning still stands for "one-man-one-vote" and total FREEDOM.

With Joshua Nkomo at its helm the people can be sure of a party which will tolerate no nonsense from Welensky's Federal stooges. Z.A.P.U. still has to show its worth but I am sure that it is destined for success.

Let the banning of the N.D.P. be a lesson to all fighting for liberation. As soon as a party has been banned a successor—or (as in the above case) a new party—must be formed.

One thing is certain—freedom will come to Zimbabwe.

It will also come to South Africa.

Yours for freedom,

"A YOUNG NON-RACIALIST",  
Cape Town.



# CONGO CHAOS DRAWS TO AN END

## CENTRAL GOVT.'S POWER GROWS

THE main political battle in the Congo is still between the central government led by Prime Minister Cyrille Adoula and the secessionist Katanga province led by Moïse Tshombe supported and maintained in power by foreign mining companies (see *Contact* 14th December, 1961).

The central government has now extended its authority over all the Congo, with the exception of the southern half of the Katanga province (northern Katanga fell to the Congolese National Army in November last year when Albertville, the principal town of the region was the scene of a revolt against the Tshombe administration).

Another secessionist leader is Mr. Antoine Gizenga, premier of the Eastern Province (Orientale) whose capital is Stanleyville.

### "Lumumba's Successor"

Ever since the murder of the Congo's first Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba, Gizenga has claimed to be his successor in the leadership of the Congo, and his successor as Prime Minister. He established a regime in Stanleyville which he called the "legal government" of the

whole Congo. This government was for some time recognized as such by many African and Asian states, as well as by the Communist countries.

Mr. Gizenga has now accepted office as deputy-premier of the Congo, under the Prime Minister, Cyrille Adoula, but still seems to harbour ideas of establishing an independent government in Stanleyville. He is faced with two major setbacks, however:

- countries which formerly recognized his government as the "legal government" have all withdrawn their recognition and moved their embassies to Leopoldville where they deal with the Adoula government
- he has lost the support of both General Lundula, Lumumba-supporting military leader who has come to terms with the central government
- he has lost the support of the Eastern Province provincial assembly (*Courrier d'Afrique*, Leopoldville, 28th December, 1961).

### Katanga

Southern Katanga and the Katanga government are likely to come under the central government in the near



—A.F.P. Photo.

Mr. Cyrille Adoula, prime minister of the Congo (centre), with Dr. Sture Linner (left) U.N.'s director of civil operations in the Congo, and Dr. Ralph Bunche, assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations.

future, thanks mainly to the United Nations which has been waging war against Tshombe in the interests of Congo unity.

Katanga has sent a parliamentary delegation to Leopoldville, thus recognizing the authority of the central government.

It is now only a matter of time before

the whole Congo is reunited, and foreign soldiers and "advisers" removed from Katanga. And unity will mean that the Congo will be able to devote its attention to development instead of wasting its energies on civil war.

That this situation has been reached is largely due to the United Nations operation in the Congo, both civil and military.

## BASUTOLAND CONGRESS PARTY

(Continued from page 8)

90 minutes outlining the political situation in Africa and the world. Thunderous applause greeted him when he said: "We are prepared to follow the path of Pan-Africanism and all that it involves, no matter where it will lead us." (Mr. Chakela returned to Cairo last week.)

### "B.C.P. is African Nationalist"

Mr. Elias Ntloedibe, the former Pretoria leader of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress, gave a fraternal message to the conference and said, *inter alia*: "The B.C.P. is an African nationalist organization and it must therefore deal a death blow to external ideas which are likely to be imposed upon the African people—ideas which are not for the purpose of uniting us but for the purpose of dividing us."

On communism, Mr. Ntloedibe said that it was an extreme and severe form of socialism and therefore must be opposed as indeed most socialist movements outside the Iron Curtain are against it. He concluded: "Communism denies all forms of individual freedom—an individual is turned into a mere object of utility—it will destroy the African Personality. Ultra-revolutionary philosophies such as communism are completely foreign to the tradition and nature of the African people."

### Mokhehle Thanks Delegates

In closing the conference, Mr. Mokhehle thanked the delegates who

attended for having elected him again leader of the B.C.P.—this time for another five years—and said that what they had done was an answer to Messrs. Matthews, Motloheloa and Sejake who with their communist manoeuvres had hoped to rape the B.C.P. but failed dismally. He, however, hoped that the B.C.P. would exert more effort in their organization during the coming year by going to villages all over the territory to recruit more members into the party.

The communists have shown a hysterical reaction to the proceedings of the conference and have sworn vengeance on the B.C.P. "We are now going to fight the B.C.P. as we have never done before," commented the secretary of the Basutoland Communist Party, Mr. John Motloheloa.

At the close of the conference there was an attitude of general relief and satisfaction among the delegates at the complete failure of the communists to take over the B.C.P. There were songs and poems of praise for Mr. Mokhehle sung by young men and women.

### New National Executive

The new national executive elected consists of the following: Leader, Mr. Mokhehle; deputy-leader, Mr. N. D. Molapo; secretary, Mr. G. M. Koli-sang; assistant-secretary, Mr. C. D. Mopeli; national chairman, Mr. G. P. Ramorebodi; treasurer, Mr. S. R. Mokhehle; propagandist, Mr. L. Masoabi.

## "If Katanga Question is Solved there will be no 'Congo Problem'"—U.N.'s Khiari

The above cautiously optimistic view is supported by a remarkable interview with Mr. Mahmoud Khiari, a Tunisian, who is Director of the United Nations' civil operations in Katanga. It was originally published in "Jeune Afrique" (2nd January).

### ● What does your job in the Congo consist of?

Essentially in technical and economic assistance. We have more than 500 experts at our disposal; teachers, doctors and others in all fields. We establish schools, hospitals, development centres. Our essential task is to make the young people of the Congo able to run their own affairs.

### ● What is the role of the Union Minière du Haut Katanga in the Congo affair?

This company practically governs Katanga. Its men advise Tshombe, it looks after the government's finances, supplies it with arms and ammunition, and at its workshops at Kolwezi makes bombs and equipment for the Katanga army.

### ● Does the Union Minière fear that the Adoula government will nationalize it when they take control of Katanga?

I don't think so. In the Congo there is a long way to go before nationalization is considered seriously. On the other hand, Mr. Adoula's political foresight will bring him to maintain for some time to come the present economic system. Mr. Adoula could not nationalize unless the Congolese were able to work the mines themselves. This is not the case. It won't be the case for another fifteen years.

### ● Where do the mercenaries come from?

Mostly from South Africa, Rhodesia, Britain, France and Belgium.

### ● Do you think that the central government is true to the spirit of Lumumba?

I have no doubt that the present government is directed by a most able man, Mr. Adoula; and he is assisted by nationalist ministers chosen from all the important political groups. The majority of the ministers in Lumumba's government are at present serving with

Mr. Adoula and they support him firmly.

Mr. Adoula is a man of great courage, upright and not committed to any power, to any person. He is trying to put into practice a nationalist policy, an Africanist policy. He is on the road marked out by Lumumba.

### ● In the Katanga affair, what is the attitude of the people of Katanga themselves?

They are divided into to main groups—the Balubakat\* and the tribes supporting that party, and the Conakat, and tribes supporting it. These two groups are roughly equal in strength. The tribes hostile to Tshombe (who is leader of Conakat—Confederation of Associations of Katanga) are those in the north, the Luba people. These people are the most useful members of society because they have the most initiative and are the hardest workers. They form the framework of the administration. The economy of Katanga rests on them, they are the technicians, the employees of the Union Minière. If the Baluba stopped work Katanga would come to a halt.

Those truly responsible for the secession of Katanga are the provincial government and its foreign supporters. It is absolutely certain that the Congolese people in the state are for unity.

### ● What in your opinion is the way to end the Katanga affair?

It seems to me that the determination of the United Nations is the key to the problem. If the U.N. finds a solution to the Katanga question, there will be no more "Congo problem".

\*Mr. Jason Sendwe, leader of the Balubakat and a member of Mr. Adoula's cabinet, is now the central Congolese government's administrator in Elizabethville.

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FOR RATES SEE PAGE 2



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