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Vol. 5 No. 19

5c (6d)

20th SEPTEMBER 1962

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

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

# ELANDSKLOOF: BETRAYAL, UNCERTAINTY

#### By a Reporter

A N UGLY glimpse of the truth about race relations in South Africa was afforded by the march of 426 villagers of Elandskloof on 10th - 12th September.

Evicted from their beautiful valley and the thatched cottages they and their forebears had lived in for more than 100 years, the seventy families set out on the morning of Monday, 10th September, on the winding, mountainous road to Cape Town, 130-odd miles to the south. They were immediately joined by eleven families, evicted in 1961 when the former mission station was sold over their heads to a White farmer, Mr. P. J. Smit.

After about five miles, the community—ranging in age from 90 to five days—camped beside the road outside Citrusdal on the Cape Town road, while the powers-that-be got round to dealing with 426 of its second-class citizens.

After soft-soap and promises, the community went back to Elandskloof on 13th September, for a few days pause, while the powers-that-be sought subtler ways of breaking up the little community that tried to stick together.

What has gone before was itemized for me by one of the community's leaders on 12th September when I visited the marchers among their bivouacks:

- In 1960 the families were each offered R200 to leave Elandskloof as the Dutch Reformed Church had decided to sell the farm because of "losses". No one accepted the offer, feeling safe in a clause in the contract which made Elandskloof a mission station in perpetuity.
- Later in the year that clause was scrapped by the Governor-General-in-Council. The community then tendered R3,000 to buy the farm. ("We would have found the money somehow," I was told.) But they were told to hold their offer until June, 1960.
- In June, 1960, Elandskloof was declared a White group area so the offer fell away.
- In 1961, Mr. P. J. Smit, owner of their neighbouring farm, tendered R34,000 and got Elandskloof. He

evicted eleven families containing leaders of the community, including Mr. Jan Januarie, chairman of their Vigilance Committee. In November, 1961, the eleven families, who had stayed put through two court actions, finally left to save the community more costs, and went to live and work on White farms in the district.

- Mr. Smit charged the remainder 50c rent for each adult male, impounded their stock, which they later had to sell at a day's notice and at a heavy loss, forbade them to plant on his land.
- Finally on Saturday, 8th September, Mr. Smit called the community together in the church hall and told them they must be off his land by the night on Monday 10th.

#### This was no ordinary Landlord-Tenant quarrel!

The seamy side of baasskap as it affected "Coloured" people was soon revealed.

- The D.R. Church kept silent, its flock evicted, their mission homes sold over their heads.
- ◆ The Minister of Coloured Affairs, Mr. P. W. Botha, screamed abuse at the marchers, bravely spoke up: "The government will not under any circumstances be deterred or intimidated by this sort of behaviour", and cried about "agitation by certain Whites and Coloureds".
- ◆ The Red Cross held back in spite of pleas from early visitors to the marchers, until the Coloured Affairs Department asked them to help, on 12th September. By 14th September, when the community was back at Elandskloof no Red Cross assistance had arrived.

There were helpers though. Individuals from Cape Town, a group of Liberals who brought money collected in Cape Town with which leaders bought a day's food supply in Citrusdal, a consignment of food from the Coloured People's Congress. By the 14th September, the only officially-approved helpers who had come, however, were the S.P.C.A., with a tin of food for every Elandskloof dog.

Meanwhile the country waits for the next round in the struggle of the people of Elandskloof for their community and their homes



Elandskloof mothers and children — 210 of the community are under 15 years of age and 45 over 60.



Supplies are brought to the roadside camp, led (right) by Mr. Gouws, a member of one of the eleven families evicted in 1961.



Bath time, just the same! An Elandskloof mother and child on 12th September.

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#### SUBSCRIPTIONS:

#### AFRICAN POSTAL UNION

Surface:

R1.40 (14/-) per year R0.70 (7/-) per half year Airmail:

R2.70 (£1/7/0) per year R1.35 (13/6) per half year

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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.

#### COMMENT

## "BLUEPRINT FOR BONDAGE"

I N our leading article last fortnight we suggested that one possible reason for the publicity given to the "remove Africans from the western Cape" scheme was to create a propaganda smokescreen under which the government could introduce drastic legislation designed to remove any rights remaining to Africans living in the urban areas of South Africa.

This suggestion seems to be confirmed by a Cabinet Minister, Mr. M. C. Botha, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, in a report that came to our notice only a few days ago. Addressing the annual conference of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs at Mossel Bay at the end of August, he said:

"The time has arrived for a revision of the legal position under which (Africans) born in an urban area can remain there."

He said that this right "was often abused" and added, "The basic principle is that the (African's) presence in the White sector can be justified only by the need for his labour. It should also be impressed on the employers and the public that they must prepare themselves for the eventuality of an everlessening availability of (African) labour.

"Labour shortages which occur as a result of expansion and a natural increased demand should wherever possible be met on the strict basis of migratory labour — preferably single men."

A Special Correspondent of the Evening Post, in a report from Pretoria writes (8th September): "The government is now preparing legislation aimed at steadily reducing the number of Africans living in town areas.

"The legislation will take away the right of Africans born in the city areas to remain there.

"The emphasis will be placed on labour requirements. Africans will be permitted to remain in White cities only if they are wanted as workers.

"This measure, which is now being finalized, is being drawn up in consultation with local authorities.

"According to a Nationalist source, the legislation will stop 'the alarming increase of the Bantu population in urban areas'.

"It will be applied 'drastically'."

This is confirmed by a leading Nationalist addressing the Free State Congress of the Party:

"Legislation would probably be introduced at the next session of parliament to give effect to recommendations for dealing with 'superfluous Bantu in urban areas', said Mr. G. F. Froneman, M.P. for Heilbron and a member of the Bantu Affairs Commission." (Cape Argus, 13th September.)

We can only assume that the legislation will be similar to that proposed in the so-called "Bantu in European Areas" Bill which was drafted by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, but never placedbefore parliament because of opposition from local authorities, some of whose rights would have been stifled by the law. (The proposed law has been outlined fully in a Liberal Party pamphlet, Blueprint for Bondage\*.)

It is a piece of legislation which will reduce the status of Black South Africans to that always desired by the Nationalists: propertyless, voteless, rightless people, tolerated only for as long as they work in the mines, farms and factories which they do not own and in whose profit they can never share.

It is clearly to be introduced at a time when there is growing concern about the feasibility of apartheid (this concern the result, no doubt, of facts, the most striking of which is that the African population of the cities has been steadily increasing since 1948 when the Nationalists came to power).

NOW is the time to prepare the campaigns which will prevent the passing of this new legislation. Let us not wait until the law is upon us before we act. Let us show the government clearly that the people of South Africa will not be reduced to slavery.

\*Obtainable from Liberal Party of South Africa, 268 Longmarket Street, Pietermaritzburg, Natal.

### The Ban on the C.O.D.

THE banning of the Congress of Democrats removes from South African political life one more organization which was in its ten years of existence implacably opposed to the policies of the Nationalist government. Although a small organization, its work was additionally hampered by the banning of 60-odd of its members from attending gatherings; but by persistence and doggedness it managed to make its voice heard on nearly every major issue in South Africa.

That the Minister of Justice, Mr. B. J. Vorster, has thought it necessary to ban the organization is as much an indication of his blindness to the state of affairs in South Africa is as it is of the organization's effectiveness.

We join with the Liberal Party in condemning the ban, and support fully the statement of the Party's National Chairman, Mr. Peter Brown, who declares:

"We oppose the exercise of arbitrary powers by government officials like Minister Vorster. No appeal lies against his decision, taken in secret and without need for him to disclose his reasons.

"This is the hallmark of the police state which destroys the rule of law.

"The Nationalists believe they can crush the opinions of their opponents by suppression — but this cannot be done. The Congress of Democrats is entitled to exist for we believe that freedom of expression and association is essential to democracy."



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#### FORT HARE

# GOVERNMENT, N.E.U.M., FAIL TO BREAK NUSAS

FORT HARE students recently reaffirmed their affiliation to. and support for, the National Union of South African students (NUSAS) by signing a petition which was circulated at the College.

This was the culmination of a week of differences and divisions within the student body, but the overwhelming reaffirmation of affiliation to NUSAS has shown that the hopes for student unity within the College can be realized.

At the beginning of 1960 the government took over the control of Fort Hare. This destructive act - part of the cynicism and oppression of apartheid as a whole - has had effects more serious than is often imagined.

It is known that since Fort Hare was taken over by the government - and 7 staff members expelled and 11 students refused re-admission on what are clear political grounds - the academic standard and the status of Fort Hare as a University College has dropped considerably.

#### Effect on Students

But what has been the result of this cynical act at the student level? Here the effect of apartheid and the tribalization of higher education has been criminal. Fort Hare, prior to the onslaught of University apartheid, had a student body which ranked amongst the finest in the country. The spirit of the relations between students and staff were in most cases an example to the often frigid and formal relations between students and staff at other Universities.

A highly critical and analytical student body, with a high degree of political consciousness, existed at Fort Hare. In 1957 after four or five years of non-affiliation. Fort Hare reaffiliated to NUSAS and in the following three years, became one of the organization's most powerful centres, exerting great influence in shaping and formulation of NUSAS policy and action. This was particularly so during the time of the University apartheid campaign.

#### **NUSAS Banned**

In 1960 the government took over and banned NUSAS from the campus at Fort Hare. At the same time, in terms of the University apartheid legislation, regulations were promulgated which controlled the behaviour and activities of students in what can only be termed a totalitarian manner. Meetings could not be held without permission of the Rector, visitors could not enter the grounds without permission of the Rector, Students' Representative Council press statements could not be issued without the permission of the Rector, and no publication could be produced by the students without permission and censoring by the authorities.

The banning of NUSAS from the campus made contact between the students and fellow-students in NUSAS at an official level almost impossible. At an unofficial level this has always continued, but in secrecy and suspicion. in September, 1960, after reallirming their affliation to NUSAS at the beginning of the year, a crisis developed at Fort Hare and the students dissolved their SRC because it was, in terms of the above regulations, purely a puppet

"Mr. Hendrickse is classified as "Coloured" at home but says the whole stratification is nonsense: "At least twothirds of the three million South actually of mixed blood, as was President Kruger himself." He thinks the present racial division among political exiles is a mistake and wants to start up some form of "bridge" organization to link them. Non-South Africans would be welcome too."

Cape Town, was sadly mis-

body. It is neither autonomous nor free. At the same time Dr. Ross, the Fort Hare Rector, wrote to NUSAS saying, "Kindly note that your presence or that of any of your officials, on our campus, will in future be considered as trespassing and will be dealt with accordingly."

The two years since then have seen the graduation of most of the "old students" who knew the real Fort Hare. New students did not know the experience of the real Fort Hare, and in this situation, the authorities exploited the position by intimidation and fear with resultant suspicion among students about each other.

Because contact between NUSAS and Fort Hare was confined to a small group of students owing to the situation, tremendous disunity arose and various organizations tried to capitalize on this, not the least being the Unity Movement and its student wing, the Cape Peninsula Student Union and the Durban Students' Union, who were trying vainly to form a Progressive National Student Organi-

#### Unity Movement Disruption

The leadership at Fort Hare, worried by the disunity which was creeping into the student body and thus in many ways rendering it ineffective, tried to keep the students together and to prevent political disunity. In the midst of their attempts, various organizations were still trying to capitalize on the disunity and the leaders felt that it was important that the most simple criterion should be adopted for bringing students together which could prevent this disunity at a political level. NUSAS representatives, we understand, have been visiting the college

(Continued on page 8, col. 1)

march by sending messages through the local police sergeant, for instance.

Carstens would have got at the truth and pleaded for Elandskloof before the bar of public opinion in the way no lawyer could manage. For one thing, he would have heard the story told by some of the very old men of the community: that their forefathers lived on the land before the Church acquired it. that they collected among themselves the R100 to have the mountainous surroundings surveyed, and that Queen Victoria then gave them the land. Whether here again was reason for African people to complain of British betrayal it would take a scholar like Peter Carstens to determine.

MR. HARRY OPPENHEIMER delivered the 1962 Memorial Lecture to a University of Cape Town audience that contained many people unhappy at his being chosen as speaker. They seemed less uphappy, judging by the applause at the end, by what he had to offer, which was a spirited defence of colonialism in Africa, and a plea for a return to it, but this time "divorced from Imperialism". The main complaint was that Dr. J. P. Duminy, Principal of the University, had simply sent a notice round to staff and students informing them that he had invited Mr. Oppenheimer to give the address. The Davie lecture was established by the students to commemorate the work for academic freedom done by Thomas Benjamin Davie when Vice-Chancellor of the University from 1948 until his death in 1955. A strongly-worded leaflet issued

# They Didn't Like China

ON 19th April this year, we published extracts from an article issued exclusively to Contact by China Features, Peking, China. The article described the life of African students students at Peking University, and told how the African students lived and worked in an "Africans only" part of the Univer-

"Outside the University, and in this same general vicinity is located the Foreign Languages Institute where the African students live . . . Within the walled compound of the Institute are all the amenities needed for a comfortable but not luxurious life. . . . Institute classrooms and administrative offices are enclosed within the same compound."

That African students do not like this kind of university life has been shown recently with the expulsion of 30 Cameroun students from China.

The Sunday Telegraph (London) reports that the Cameroun students "Despite their 'privileged' position . . . found they were prohibited all forms of social contact with Chinese men and women. They were also banned from entering shops which were open to other non-African students.

"Their expulsion took place when they protested openly against this treatment."

The Sunday Telegraph report adds that this was not the first group of African students to find life in Communist China "too much".

A few months ago, for example, 20 Zanzibar students were deported after a fight with the staff of the Peace Hotel in Peking, where they had been staying. The trouble started when one of the students was not allowed to buy more than one packet of cigarettes.

by the left-wing students' Modern World Society to all who attended the lecture of 6th September and characteristically ignored by the Cape Town dailies, "unequivocally condemned the university authorities" for inviting Mr. Oppenheimer.

Mr. Oppenheimer was criticised for supporting the South African Foundation, "an apologist organization for the Government", and for "making arms which will be used by the Government to shoot down the people fighting for their rights in this country". This apart from his having no connexion with the cause of Academic Freedom which he has done nothing to support. To readers of the preface to his printed lecture, the latter point stands out, since we are told in it that "the annual lecture, as is fitting, is delivered on a theme related to academic freedom: to keep alive its faith that the lost freedom will one day be restored, and to keep its members vigilant lest further inroads into its remaining freedoms should be made".

Unlike his distinguished predecessors as Davic lecturers, ex-Chief Justice Centlivres, and Professors De Kiwiet and Z. K. Matthews, Mr. Oppenheimer disregarded the cause of academic freedom as firmly in the lecture as he is accused of having done during its crisis when the so-called "open universities" were closed to non-White students in The Modern World Society leaflet speaks of the motives of the University authorities in inviting Mr. Oppenheimer "as mercenary and hypocritical as those of Mr. Oppenheimer

## By Jacob Bam

# Personal Files

A n intriguing mixture of fact and fiction comes to me in a cutting from South Africa's loyal friend The Guardian, London (3rd September). The mistakes - Mr. Hendrikse is no teacher - are no doubt the fault of a hurried columnist, but I quote the passage, with warts, for its interest: FROM SCHOOL TO GAOL

"The arrival in this country of Mr. Kenneth Hendrickse is South Africa's loss and our gain. He is the energetic Cape Town teacher who led the in' campaign against the colour bar last year. He and other volunteers of various ethnic origins and skin coloration deliberately broke the Group Areas Act by going into coffee bars and hotels together, politely asking to be served. As a result, he says, his life fell into a pattern of five days a week in the classroom and two days at the weekend in

"He was also one of the founders and editors of the Cape Town Citizen, an irreverent journal which miraculously survived for three years, and a colleague of Mr. Patrick Duncan in the South African Liberal Party, which is nonracial.

OFF WHITE

"Under the strange provisions of the present laws he was refused a passport to visit Britain but was offered a permanent exit permit, which means he faces a lengthy gaol sentence if he attempts to return. He starts work here later this month in the LCC schools which care for educationallly subnormal children.

Africans officially classed as white are

THAT excellent scholar and Liberal, Mr. Peter Carstens of the University of the incident of the Elandskloof "marchers", still unresolved at the time of writing. He is touring the United States on a grant, and will not be back until next year. Peter Carstens did more than any outsider to seek justice for the Coloured community of Komaggas in 1957-8 when their pastor, the Reverend Mr. D. I. Morkel, was denied access to them. The story is told in Vol. 3 No. 2 of Africa South. The Elandskloof people were well served by their attorney, Mr. Ben Pienaar of Cape Town, a conservative Afrikaner lawyer, who believed himself to be the "White agitator" that Coloured Affairs Minister P. W. Botha accused of stirring up the community of Elandskloof. But he could only help them "through the proper channels"; he communicated with them during the

## LEBALLO TO U.N.



Mr. POTLAKO LEBALLO. National Secretary of the banned Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa, is to go from Basutoland to New York (he has been given a British passport) to lead a P.A.C. delegation to the United Nations. The delegation will consist of Mr. Leballo, Mr. Peter Molotsi (P.A.C.'s Ghana representative) and Mr. Nana Mahomo (P.A.C.'s London representative) and will present the U.N. with a petition calling for U.N. intervention in South Africa. The U.N. is asked to bring about the release of Mr. Robert Sobukwe, the former P.A.C. President who is serving a three-year sentence for his part in the 1960 anti-pass campaign. The U.N. is also asked to intervene militarily to break White supremacy, and organize democratic elections.

#### Kenyatta Condemns Mau Mau

M R. JOMO KENYATTA, president of K.A.N.U., has strongly condemned Kikuyu organizing and supporting secret and subversive organizations.

Speaking at Kiambu (near Nairobi), Mr. Kenyatta referred particularly to the Land Freedom Army. He said that if press reports that some people were making arms, taking oaths and preparing for civil war after independence were true, the Kikuyu must stop it.

Kenya's independence would be delayed if there were further trouble, and Mr. Kenyatta emphasized that after independence no African government would tolerate lawlessness and hooliganism. Mau Mau, he added, was a disease which had been eradicated and which must never be revived again.—

Radio Tanganyika, 9th September.

## "WHITES WILL HAVE SAME OPPORTUNITIES", SAYS UNIP LEADER

From "Contact" Correspondent

LIVINGSTONE: Speaking at a 4,000 strong rally here last week, Mr. Arthur Wina, formerly United States representative of the United National Independence Party, said that the solution to Northern Rhodesia's problems could be found in

## Guilty of Public Violence

From "Contact" Correspondent

FRANCISTOWN: Fines totalling R1,391 (or a total of 84 months' imprisonment) were imposed on 20 women and 12 men in the Magistrate's Court here recently at the conclusion of a public violence case following a demonstration in which they were said to have threatened to over-run and burn down the local police station.

Reconstructing the events of 22nd August in his judgment, Mr. D. C. Mitchell referred to assaults on police, indecent acts, screaming, shouting, singing and even crying among a crowd of about 200 people who were demanding the release of seven youths then being tried on charges of intimidation.

Those who were found guilty on the main charge of public violence and sentenced to a R100 fine or six months' imprisonment were Emily Oreeditse Chipisa, Margaret Bagele, Elizabeth Munamali Magagane, Chaladza Mmajere and Joseph Evans.

The following were found guilty on the alternative charge (disobeying an order to disperse) and sentenced to R33 fine or two months' imprisonment:

Tsupo Chakalisa, Anne Otogoleng, Selina Seanga, Bernard Chipisa, Agnes Tomotomo, Margaret Changate, Ketseletse Motswagole, Modisaotsele Mothibi, Elizabeth John, George Lejooa, Bagele Moseke, Pogesi Mmei, Joseph Nyati, Kgalekanye Dikgobo, John Moleta, Nana Samuel, Boy Magabane, Ester Thlabangane, Gakeenele O t u k i l e, Mmpadi Molefe, Gotsetsemane Phalomane, Teko Motswarateo, Sipiwa Matobo, Ester Tirelo, Batswaki Gaetulane, Alban Mandaba and Wilson Nyati.

Others who appeared originally with them had their charge withdrawn. the forthcoming elections, provided people voted the right way.

Discussing the future of Whites in Northern Rhodesia under a UNIP government, Mr. Wina said, "The Whites must learn to march with the times. The Dark Ages have gone and they must follow the 1960's in Northern Rhodesia."

He went on, "Those who want to stay in Northern Rhodesia under UNIP government can do so, and they will get the same opportunities as everyone else."

Addressing the same rally, Mr. Matthew Mwendapole, Secretary General of the United Trades Union Congress, declared that UNIP was the only Party suitable to control the government.

"We want a Party which will look after the interests of every worker," he said.

Commenting on the United Federal Party, Mr. Mwendapole said anyone who casts his vote in favour of it is not only a traitor but a murderer of African progress in Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Mwendapole said everyone knows the evils of the Federation of Central Africa and to bring it to power again is to retard the progress of the African people of Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Mwendapole asked all the workers to vote for UNIP as the only Party suitable to form the government.

#### Appeal Dismissed

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: The appeal of Mr. Jack Mosiane and thirteen others against their convictions on charges of public violence has been dismissed in the Basutoland Court of Appeal. The convictions arise out of the rioting which broke out in Maseru last October. Sentences of between three and 10 years imprisonment with hard labour labour were imposed.

The Appeal Court reduced the sentences (in Mr. Mosiane's case from 10 to 7 years).

# CAPE LIBERAL CONGRESS

The Cape Provincial Congress of the Liberal Party will be held in the Mowbray Town Hall, Cape Town, on Sunday, 23rd September, starting at 9 a.m. All members of the Party are invited to attend.



War in Angola:

tion Army leaves base for operations is full of ammunition, while the buc against the Portuguese is now a year



#### Help for Angola:

tmen in Exile at Leopoldville were MUNANGA, Parliamentary Secretary 1 Mr. PETER MBIU KOINANGE, re Conference in East Africa. They had to Mr. HOLDEN ROBERTO, and discusse and the Angolan Government in Exil Roberto, Carlos Kassel (Mr. Roberto's 2

# MOKHEH CO-OP

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: After an emergency conference held on the 28th June, as reported in Contact (28th June) by the Basutoland Co-operative Banking Union (B.C.B.U.), the former executive led by Mr. J. T. Mokotso was suspended and an emergency committee appointed to carry on with the work.

Mr. S. Mapheleba who was dissatisfied with the decision of the emergency conference took the matter to court. Judgement was given in favour of Mr. Mapheleba and the old suspended committee was reinstated. At another conference of the B.C.B.U. held early in August no agreement was reached and no business was transacted and the conference ended in deadlock. The purpose of the conference was to announce to the delegates the decision of the court to re-instate the suspended committee. The main quarrel was over delegation. The conference was postponed until 5th September.

At the conference on 5th September the old committee conducted the

business.

During the last session of the con-



From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: On 12th September 'the Tanganyika Minister of Health and Labour, Mr. Michael Kamaliza, welcomed to Tanganyika 26 American nurses, who have come to the country as part of President Kennedy's Peace Corps (which gives basic assistance in under-developed countries). The nurses will work in Tanganyika's hospitals which face an acute staff shortage.

Here Mr. Kamaliza is seen with some of the nurses in Dar es Salaam where they are now undergoing a seven weeks' course in the Kiswahili language, after which they will be assigned to various hospitals in the country.



A commando of the Angolan Liberaagainst the Portuguese. The box (centre) ket (right) contains explosives. The war and a half old.—Photo "Jeune Afrique"



Recent visitors to the Angolan Governleaders from East Africa: Mr. BHOKE o the Prime Minister of Tanganyika, and presentative of the All African People's dks with Angolan Prime Minister in Exile, d possible co-operation between Tanganyika e. In the picture (left to right), Messrs. Adviser), Munanga and Koinange.

# LE HEADS PRATIVE

ference elections had to be conducted and Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle (leader of the Basutoland Congress Party) was still away with the Constitutional Commission hearing evidence at Mokhotlong and Qacha's Nek. A special chartered plane was sent and within hours he was at the B.C.B.U. conference five minutes before elections were due. There is a clause in the B.C.B.U. constitution that absent members cannot stand for election. With an overwhelming majority Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle was elected President of the B.C.B.U. His opponents were shocked at his arrival.

The election of Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle to the Presidency of the co-operative is considered in political circles to be an indication of his leadership in the future Basutoland.

Other members elected were: Messrs. S. Raliboke (Vice-President, B.C.P.), M. Marake (B.C.P.), S. Mapheleba (Marema Tlou Party), S. Lebelouyane (B.C.P.), J. T. Mokotso (Marema Tlou Party), Raemile (Independent), E. Makhele (Independent), S. Molapo (National Party).

# BASUTOLAND DRAWS UP A NEW CONSTITUTION

### **Democracy at All Levels**

From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: The Basutoland Constitutional Commission is attending a series of meetings throughout the territory to collect oral evidence and written memoranda from the Basuto, on their proposals for a new constitution for their country.

Last week the Commission flew to inaccessible parts of the country—Mokhotlong, Qacha's Nek and Quthing—high in the mountains.

These meetings are attended by enthusiastic groups of peasants, commoners and chiefs. There is a general demonstration of keen interest in the constitutional "pitsos".

Anyone living in Basutoland can give evidence. Earlier this year the government invited anyone who wished to do so to communicate their views to the Secretary of the Commission in Maseru. Since then hundreds of memoranda (there were 1,140 by 1st August) have been received and analysed and scores of people from all walks of life have been testifying before the Commission.

The Commissioners are very thorough in their interrogation of witnesses and the people too are taking the proceedings very seriously indeed.

#### **Democratic Practice**

This democratic practice is praiseworthy and in the right procedure in constitution-making, unlike the Transkeian proposals which were imposed on the people from above.

And yet curiously enough, this progressive democratic procedure was waived in the case of a South African journalist, Mr. Elias Ntloedibe, who has lived in Maseru legally for more than a year and therefore qualifies for the right to testify before the Constitutional Commission and even to vote in a general election. He was refused permission recently by the Chairman of the Commission to give evidence.

An official of the Commission in a letter to Mr. Ntloedibe said: "It is considered by the Commission that you cannot be regarded as a member of the permanent community in Basutoland and the Commission has therefore directed me to inform you that it is not prepared to hear evidence from you."

It was clear however that this was done because of Mr. Ntloedibe's former association with a political movement in South Africa.

But setting aside this unfortunate incident, the Basuto generally are being given a fair chance to air their views on the terms for their new constitution.

#### Rights Safeguarded

They are working for a constitution which will safeguard their rights and those of every person who lives amicably in the territory. They want to set up a truly democratic government in the territory which will give them the enjoyment of a fully democratic self-governing state on the basis of one man one vote.

It is not too clear what the position of the White minorities will be. Observers are speculating whether there will be any drastic proposals to withhold the franchise from this ever-increasing flow of White traders, missionaries and industrialists. There are only two solutions to this problem—the creation of an entrenched Bill of Rights which will safeguard the views of the minorities or the relinquishing of dual citizenship and the acceptance of the Basuto nationality by the immigrant Whites.

In the background the powerful Congress Party and the National Party are making unilateral but parallel moves to demand complete independence from Britain. Their demands for independence have been made at all their conferences in recent months.

#### Position of Paramount

#### Chief

There is, however, a wide disagreement on the position of the Paramount Chief, Moshoeshoe II. Some politicians think he must act as a mere constitutional monarch within the framework of a parliamentary system of government, while others like the (Royalist) Marema Tlou Party maintain that he must have such executive powers as would make him a "strong man" in the Legislative and Executive Councils.

Will the Motlotlehi be like the Sultan of Zanzibar or will he be as powerful as the Osagyefo of Ghana? This remains to be seen.

The Basutoland Constitutional Commission consists of leaders of the four main political parties in Basutoland the B.C.P., the B.N.P., the Marema Tlou and the small Freedom Party, together with the appointed White members of the Executive Council. The Communist Party has no official representation.

(This new-born baby of Basutoland politics is conducting a bitter struggle against the better-organized Congress Party in an attempt to gain the support of the peasants and the commoners for their "revolution".)

During the last decade Basutoland's constitutional advance has passed through almost imperceptible gradations from one form to the other to meet the changing conditions in the territory.

Today the country is taking a significant leap forward to Responsible Government, marking the beginning of a new experiment in African government in southern Africa.

## Nyerere To Be President?

From "Contact" Correspondent

DAR ES SALAAM: Elections based on universal adult suffrage are to be held in Tanganyika on 1st November to elect the first President of the Tanganyika Republic which will be inaugurated on 9th December.

Two candidates have filed their nomination papers. The Tanganyika African National Union's candidate is Dr. Julius K. Nyerere, President of the Tanganyika African National Union who is seen here (left) submitting his paper to the Speaker of Tanganyika parliament, Mr. A. Y. A. Karimjee (centre) while Mr. Kisenge (right) Deputy General Secretary General of TANU looks on.



Every candidate must be supported by 1,000 registered voters.

Dr. Nyerere is likely to win.

His opponent is Mr. Zuberi Mtemvu, President of African National Congress of Tanganyika.

#### SWAPO - SWANU PACT

# KERINA, KOZONGUIZI REACH AGREEMEMT

By a Reporter

A N agreement which could lead to the creation in South West Africa of a United Pan African Party has been signed in New York by Dr. Mburumba Kerina, a leader of the South West Africa People's Organization and Mr. Jariretundu Kozonguizi, a leader of the South West Africa National Union, the two main, and rival, Parties in the territory.

The agreement calls for the dissolution of the existing political movements and the calling of a national convention to form a National Pan African Revolutionary Party.

#### **Accra Statement**

Contaci (26th July) published a report of a meeting in Accra, Ghana, between Mr. Kozonguizi and Mr. Sam Nujoma of SWAPO, at which a statement was issued calling for SWAPO and SWANU to take "positive steps towards unity", and proposing a plan of action for the achievement of unity. This statement has been circulated in South West Africa among SWAPO and SWANU branches there, and both movements are reported to favour working together, although neither seems ready yet to submerge its identity in a new movement. Negotiations are continuing.

#### Kerina-Kozonguizi

#### Agreement

The New York statement, signed by Messrs. Kerina and Kozonguizi reads as follows:

"We the undersigned take this opportunity to set forth our position as plainly as we can, with the aim of clearing all unnecessary obstacles in the



KERINA

way to national unity.

"We call your attention to the fact that all our peoples and Parties have been already preoccupied with the steps to be undertaken for the establishment of complete national unity in our country. One such step is demonstrated by the Accra SWAPO-SWANU agreement. All of us agree that national unity is the only solution to the present state of political chaos that prevails in our country today. On the other hand, we recognize that the differences which have existed between us during the past

#### SWAPO BULLETIN

THE Cairo office of the South West Africa People's Organization has begun the publication of a monthly SWAPO bulletin. Called Solidarity, its September issue contains articles by Messrs. Sam Nujoma and Herman Ja-Toivo on the international position of South West Africa. Solidarity is edited by Mr. Emil Appolus, 5 Ahmed Histmat St., Zamalek, Cairo, U.A.R.

year and a half have to a large extent contributed to the stalemate regarding the question of national unity.

#### "Immediate Steps"

"We therefore urge all our people to take immediate steps for the establishment of this unity before the convening of the forthcoming session of the United Nations General Assembly in order that we may be able to present a true solid united representation at the United Nations and elsewhere. The aim of bringing about this national unity through one national Pan African revolutionary Party is to effect a genuine unification of all our peoples on a permanent basis.

"We do believe that this national unity is of great significance for the success of our struggle for freedom and complete independence.

"We hereby appeal to all our peoples, political and non-political Parties to send representatives to a national convention with a view to:

(a) Dissolve all existing political Parties;

(b) Form one National Pan African Revolutionary Party;

(c) Establish a National Co-ordinating Committee to arrange for a General National Convention for the election of a truly representative Executive Committee of the new Party;

(d) Establish a fully representative Committee for the drafting of the constitution of the said Party.

"We avail ourselves of this opportunity to renew to all our people at home the assurances of our highest esteem and consideration.

(Signed):

Mburumba K. Kerina, Jariretundu F. Kozonguizi."

#### OVAMBOLAND

# POLICE NEEDED TO PROTECT GOVERNMENT CHIEFS

By a Reporter

O VAMBOLAND, home of 300,000 people, was without police stations until recently, law and order being kept by the people themselves and by the tribal chiefs.

If any crime was committed, the culprit would be caught and handed over on the spot to the chief or headman, who would try him with the help of the most respected and senior members of the community. If found guilty he would be punished and fined there and then. Only murder cases were taken to the court of the senior chiefs and referred from there to the High Court in Windhoek.

#### GERHARD COHN

Photographer

For home portraits of distinction

P.O. Box 4716 Phone 45-4050 Johannesburg

In 1961 the South African Administration established two police stations in Ovamboland, at Ondangua and Oshikango. This was not done because of any rise in crime in Ovamboland: was done firstly to protect the government-supporting chiefs and headmen because of their unpopularity with the people. These chiefs and headmen have become so unpopular because of their support for the apartheid regime that they have to carry guns in case they are attacked. Those they are afraid of are not criminals, but the politically active people who oppose apartheid and the South African Administration in South West Africa.

Government-supporting chiefs have been fining and beating up such people. Leaders of the South West Africa People's Organization have been lashed or placed under house arrest.

#### Angola Fear

Another reason for the police stations is that the government became alarmed at the outbreak of the liberatory war in Angola. South West Africa's northern neighbour. The alarm increased when villages in southern Angola were attacked. The government feared that

this war might spread to South West Africa through Ovamboland (which is cut in half by the Angola-South West Africa frontier).

A third reason for the police stations is to intimidate political people in Ovamboland. Their homes have been searched for documents and newspapers. When they hold meetings, the police attend and take notes. Meetings are often broken up.

#### "SWAPO Informers"

There are now four police posts altogether in Ovamboland. At first they were staffed entirely by Ovambo policemen under White officers. But because of the unpopularity of the police, young local men are reluctant to join the force. Those who are in the force already do not want to be used against their brothers. It is said that the government does not trust them: they are accused of being SWAPO informers and members of that organization.

Now the police posts are being staffed with "Bantu police" from other tribes, and especially with men from South Africa itself.

## REFUGEE'S STORY

A REFUGEE from South
West African political persecution who now lives in
Bechuanaland, Mr. Karusu
Hamatui, has written us the story
of his escape from South West
Africa and his attempt to reach
Tanganyika:—

"I was raided in South West Africa for political reasons while working at the Anglo American Corporation's mine at Tsumeb.

#### At 3 a.m.

"At 3 o'clock in the morning on 3rd May this year, I was called by the compound manager, who was accompanied by several policemen. When I came to them I saw that all had guns except the compound manager. They told me that they had received a letter from the South West African administration written by Mr. Bruwer Blignaut, the Chief Native Commissioner. The letter said that the police must come and search my house. They asked me if they might do so, and I told them that they might because they had a letter from the administration which made it legal for them to do so.

"They searched and left with books and a SWAPO document. They instructed the compound manager that I must not go around the area. I told the compound manager that I was leaving for home in Ovamboland and he permitted me to leave.

#### Four Months in

#### **Ovamboland**

"When in Ovamboland I stayed a period of four months, when the administration sent police forces to look for me in Ovamboland in order to deport me to Angola where they had deported other SWAPO leaders.

"When I heard that they were planning to send me to Angola, I ran away from the country. I walked for about four months in the bush to Bechuanaland across the Kalahari. I arrived on January 8th, 1962, and continued my way through Bechuanaland to Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia, where I took a train to Umtali.

"When I reached Umtali I was arrested there. They asked me for a travel document and for a passport, which I could not produce because I had neither of them. They asked where I was going and where I came from. I told them I was going to Tanganyika and was from South West Africa.

#### "Know Anyone in Russia?"

"They said I should write to the Tanganyika government. So I did back, the Rhodesian officials told me I am a politician. I told them yes I could be one. They asked me whether I knew anybody in Russia. I told them there was no one I knew in Russia. They asked me whether I knew Radio Moscow or do I listen to it. My answer was that I had heard Radio Moscow but it is unknown to me. Then the police said that we people from South West Africa are disliked because we want to bring Russians here to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and I was put in gaol until I could be deported back to South West Africa.

"After a long sentence of four and a half months I returned to Bechuanaland with a warrant containing the deportation order."

## READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS . .

# "I WAS A STAUNCH NATIONALIST"

SIR, - I am an Afrikaans-speaking South African, and, until recently, a staunch Nationalist. In addition, I love my country intensely.

Unfortunately my conscience does not permit me to add that my pride in my country equals my love for it. Indeed, I would be guilty of a gross exaggeration if I were to state that it even remotely approaches it in fervour.

You might be interested to become acquainted with my reasons for discontinuing my support for the Nationalist Party. I will attempt to be as concise as possible.

I cannot do any better than to quote an extract from the short article by Peter Brown in Contact recently -

"The law which Mr. Vorster put through Parliament recently was a totalitarian measure expressly designed to circumscribe the liberties of those with whom he does not agree.'

I disagree with the worthy Mr. Vorster: I will go further. If my liberties are to be circumscribed as a result thereof. I will cheerfully submit to any form of exquisite torture he may decide to inflict on me.

Already, my friends are rejecting my company as a result of my drastic change of opinion. In fact, they consider me a traitor to the cause of Afrikanerdom, whatever this hackneyed term may mean.

If liberalism is traitorous - then I agree with them!

I would appreciate it greatly if you

#### PRIZE LETTER

#### **OUR FAULTS**

SIR,—Everyone needs help or advice in life. Now then our faults are as follows:

#### Neglect of our responsibility:

This is the fault of leaving the freedom struggle to those who have already started fighting and those whom we think highly educated. But there is no one special made to fight for freedom, except that everyone who is an African is free to claim this country. No matter how poor you are or how little educated, Africa needs your help and will be grateful for any help you can give.

#### Inferiority complex:

This is another fault with Africans. I can't really say much about it, but amazes me that Africans just always feel they are inferior to Whites. You'll even find a rich or well-educated African who feels himself inferior. I cannot make out why, but there is one thing I can tell you, dear Africans: God created human beings, black, white or yellow with the same material, except that the paint which He used to paint the skin was of different colours. Using our common sense we can easily note that what matters is the material and not the colour of the skin.

We must take trouble to teach African children not to consider themselves lower than the Whites.

> MAY BULIE SOMKWITSHI. East Pondoland.

could put me into contact with people of similar views in my area (and elsewhere) and I would consider it a great honour if you publish this letter.

Assuring you of my deepest sympathy with your cause and all it is fighting

> J. P. VAN DER MERWE, P.O. Box 303, Klerksdorp, Tvl.

#### Leshoai Replies

SIR, - This is my reply to the letter from the South African Indian Congress published in Contact (23rd August) by K. Moonsamy:

"Your letter in Contact (23rd August) I regret has now brought to the open your correspondence with me on the question of Equity's ban on its members.

"If you were honourable, decent and honest you should also have published my reply to your letter. Your letter in Contact 1 regard as a cowardly assault on my dignity and integrity; and as such I despise and expectorate into the face of your congress with utter disdain and contempt for attempting to besmirch my name. And as my family and I have on many occasions paid the price for my views, I see no need to publicize them.

"Since when has your congress interested itself in cultural matters? What contribution has it made to the cultural advancement of the African? Misconstrue my use of the term African if you wish. Is your congress now shirking matters political for matters cultural to escape the political crisis that stares us in the face today? I now remind you that your history as an organization stinks to high heaven, hence the fact that it evaded the ban unlike A.N.C. and P.A.C. This is the true estimate of its potency as a political body.

"African men, women, and children have suffered bitter agony in a ruthless struggle for survival whilst your lilylivered congress squatted on the fence watching where the smoke was wafted. Yours is the battlefield where men fight and die, and not the soft and balmy cultural bed of roses where wallow cowards like me.

"And, by the way, some of us have

#### TO ALL READERS OF " CONTACT "

- This is your page, for your letters, for your opinions
- We like short letters on any topic
- A prize "Contact" free for a year — is given for the best letter of the fortnight.

not forgotten your most disgusting roles in the African tragedies of 1952 and

"You have now heard from me a second time."

BOB LESHOAL Pretoria.

#### A Matter of Ideology

S<sup>1R,-1</sup> beg to reply to the letter of Mr. R. J. Kalane in *Contact* (23rd August) about the expulsion of Mr. Motsamai Mpho as Secretary General of the Bechuanaland People's Party. It is folly for Mr. Kalane to reveal how politically immature he is. The whole commotion cropped up because of ideological differences. The B.P.P. with its Pan Africanist stand could not tolerate a multiracial Party formed by its members with the help of South African refugees who were former members of the African National Congress of South Africa.

> L. S. D. PATRIC, P.O. Box 76, Francistown.

#### Proof of the Pudding

SIR, - In reply to your footnote to my letter (Contact, 6th September) I would like to point out that I do seek to deny that there is a serious lack of social justice in this country. The point I am trying to make is that in spite of the present situation, the average African is probably happier and more contented than the majority of working class people in other countries. This may be due in large measure to the fact that they have traditionally experienced a lower standard of living than their European counterparts, and therefore are content with less, and also to their phlegmatic approach to life. I note that you do not challenge my "proof of the pudding" statement!

How do you account for the fact that

foreign Africans come here and do not want to leave? Evidently they do not regard this country as a "brutal house of bondage". Does Contact uphold Mr. Kalanc and endorse his opinion that South Africa is a "brutal house of bondage"? It seems to me that Contact concentrates too much on the mud and ignores what stars there are.

> V. G. DAVIES, Camps Bay.

[Most people would prefer prison to starvation.—EDITOR]

#### Support from the Youth

SIR, — The Bechuanaland People's Party has always been justifiably proud that a considerable part of its support comes from the young generation, which finds in its policy both the idealism and realism which are so characteristic of youth itself. Because the B.P.P. is forward-looking, great attention has been paid to this support and to starting youth activity in the Party.

The aims of the B.P.P. youth are mainly to assist the leaders in organizing all the various aspects of political activity. But the main function remains to convert and organize among young people. A most encouraging feature is the support received from young people who have grown up in the hardest life.

The ideals of freedom have inspired Africans to lead the people to achieve independence in Bechuanaland, and the

main issue now is to hold elections to change the constitution of the Legislative Council. The present constitution is unsatisfactory to the Africans because no one speaks for them.



BAARENG NGWAKO. Cape Town.

#### Tasks for South Africans

SIR.—We, the people of South standard of living and larger freedom, to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours.

We must unite our strength to maintain international peace and security and to ensure by the acceptance of principle and the institution of methods that armed forces shall not be used.

South Africa must develop friendly relations between Black and White, based on the principle of equal rights and self-determination.

> ADAM BAWA, Steenberg, Cape.

## Passports for Protectorate People

SIR,—It is sad to find that many of obtain a passport. An affidavit from risk of embarrassment or hardship to your fellow men in the Protectorates your parents that you were born in the the person concerned. are being discouraged from obtaining Protectorate and that they are willing "All other questions and provisions passports. Any person applying for a passport, no matter how honourable, honest or deserving, has to undergo some provoking questioning: e.g. How much money have you in the bank? He has to give a Trustee who will be able to finance him or her, and to obtain an affidavit from his father, mother or senior member of the family, that he or she is willing that so and so obtains a passport, and to say which countries he or she is going to and for what purpose.

This is done to bona fide people of the Protectorates, and to people wishing to obtain a passport to travel from one Protectorate to another through the Republic. You might have your birth certificate and all other credentials and taxes up to date, but still you cannot

for you to obtain a passport are essential. Is this the road we are intended to march together, Black and White? Why are such conditions made for Whites have no trouble Africans? obtaining passports.

Passports were introduced as a good thing, but when Africans apply they have to undergo many delaying tactics.

LINGENE, Swaziland.

Asked to comment on this letter, the Office of the High Commissioner for Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland states:

"Passport applicants, whatever their race, are asked to give evidence of means of support and of being able to meet the cost of repatriation in case this should be necessary in view of the

as to minors referred to by the writer are standard, being included in the form which all applicants, irrespective of race, are required to complete on the instructions of the passport authorities.

"Passports are not at present necessary for inter-High Commission Territories travel, though in their own interests travellers in transit are given permits showing the South African authorities that they will be re-admitted to the Territory of origin.

"We cannot comment on the allegation that applicants furnishing all the required particulars are refused passports unless supporting specific facts are furnished. The suggestion that Whites and government-approved persons have preferential treatment is untrue. Passport conditions apply to everybody."

#### Swaziland

# S.P.P. SPLIT ENDING

#### From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: The ending of the split within the Swaziland Progressive Party has started — as predicted in the last issue of Contact..

The split started nine months ago and resulted in Mr. J. J. Nquku being deposed as President with Mr. Ambrose Zwane taking his place. Mr. Nquku organized his own Swaziland Progressive Party.

Recently there were differences of opinion within Mr. Nquku's section, and many broke away from him. Under Mr. K. T. Samkete they also formed a Swaziland Progressive Party.

The three Parties were continually at war with each other. There was little time and energy available for the territory's constitutional struggle which has reached the crisis stage.

Now the groups led by Dr. Zwane and Mr. Samkete have come together. At a meeting at Kwaluseni on September 5th and 6th they discussed the unity of the Swaziland Progressive Party and agreed to sink their differences and to come together.

The executive of each group is to

#### FORT HARE:

(Continued from page 3)

regularly and it was felt that, with the simple criterion of what is called "studenthood", NUSAS could provide — as a non-party political organization, nevertheless committed to social, economic and political responsibilities in the society — the basis for unity.

#### "Disaffiliation"

After a recent visit of NUSAS representatives, a small group of anti-NUSAS students held a small "mass" meeting and passed a resolution by 43 votes to 35, of disaffiliation from NUSAS. After this meeting, there was great dissatisfaction amongst the majority, i.e., the rest, of the students at Fort Hare, both with the decision and constitution of the meeting. A second mass meeting was convened. The small group of NEUM supporters arrived determined to break up the meeting and did this by jeering, heckling, switching off lights and calling for closure. A motion rescinding the disaffiliation resolution was brought forward and no countermotion was submitted. At this stage, the rowdy and destructive elements became so active that the meeting was closed.

#### "Not Intimidated"

The students, however, were not to be intimidated by this sort of action and a petition was circulated, we have learnt, which reaffirmed Fort Hare's "affiliation to NUSAS", being "aware that in NUSAS we have a non-partisan student organization which is politically involved enough to unite the students of South Africa in the fight to destroy fascist Nationalist tyranny".

The petition was signed by about 140 students. There are approximately 200 students at Fort Hare. As an outside observer, it is our hope that this action by the students of Fort Hare will be instrumental in re-uniting the student body in order that the struggle against the authorities and the struggle against apartheid may be yet more effective.

nominate a three-man sub-committee. The joint committee of six will meet to prepare recommendations for unity.

Mr. S. Zwane, a leading member of Dr. Zwane's group, said that discussions had been friendly throughout.

"What brought about our unity was our common concern about the crisis in Swaziland caused by the proceedings of the constitutional discussions," he said.

According to reports it is hoped that Mr. Nquku — who is said to have only small support left to him — will still be brought into the re-united Progressive Party.

## DEMOCRATS LEAD ANTI-APARTHEID PROTEST

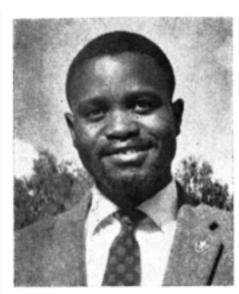
#### From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: Mbabane was taken by surprise on Wednesday, 5th September, when members of the Swaziland Democratic Party held a demonstration against apartheid. It was the first demonstration of its kind in the territory. The Swaziland Democratic Party is led by Mr. Simon Nxumalo.

The demonstration left the Party's office in Mbabane about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. Posters reading "DOWN WITH APARTHEID, LUBANDLULO MALUPHELE" were carried by Messrs. Solomon Dlamini and David Dlamini. The demonstration, which was joined by others as it passed through the streets visiting places which practise apartheid, ended at the South African Railways bus station and depot in the town.

#### To the Police Station

Mr. Nxumalo pulled down a notice reading "NON-EUROPEANS ONLY" from a waiting-room door. The demonstrators went into the ticket hall where White S.A.R. employees did not interfere with them.



NXUMALO

After the demonstration Mr. Nxumalo addressed a meeting at the market places, and then took the "NON-EUROPEANS ONLY" notice to the police station.

When asked if he would take any action against the Party, the S.A.R. stationmaster at Mbabane said that he could not comment.

## MADZUNYA AT SIBASA

From "Contact" Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Mr. Josias Madzunya, a former leader of the now-banned Pan-Africanist Congress who is famous for his thick black beard, long black coat worn in all weathers and his fiery speeches, has settled in Sibasa in the northern Transvaal after being endorsed out of Johannesburg.

Mr. Madzunya lived in the Johannesburg area for 29 years. Last November he was released from jail after a twoyear sentence for incitement arising out out the Pan African Congress anti-pass campaign in 1960.

For the past few years, he had bought and sold boxes and cartons from a "shop" on a street-corner in the city. Anyone who wanted to see him — including South African and overseas pressmen — went to his "shop".

#### Influx Control

After his release from jail, Mr. Madzunya was caught up in the tangle of influx control regulations between Johannesburg and neighbouring Alexandra Township. It ended with him being ordered to return to his birthplace at Sibasa.

In a letter to a friend, Mr. Madzunya says that the chief and tribal authority at Sibasa have accepted him there.

He adds that his wife gave birth to a

baby boy—their fourth child—two days after arriving at Sibasa from Johannesburg at the beginning of this month.

Before his departure, Mr. Madzunya told the Press: "I am sorry to leave Johannesburg. But the whole of Africa is my home. Wherever I am, I am happy."

### Poster Slogans call for One Man One Vote

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: Swaziland has seen its first mass display of poster-slogans. About 60 were put up in all parts of Manzini by Dr. Ambrose Zwane's Progressive Party on the afternoon of 4th September.

But by next morning all the posters had been removed. It is not known who was responsible for the removal.

The posters said: "ONE MAN, ONE VOTE", "WORKERS UNITE—DEMAND MORE WAGES", and "JOIN S.P.P.".

An official of the Progressive Party said that more posters would soon be put up in Manzini and in other parts of the country.

## Moves to Change Swaziland Constitution

From "Contact" Correspondent

MBABANE: Strong pressure will be exerted on the British government not to accept the constitutional plan for Swaziland proposed by the Swazi National Council and the European Advisory Council.

The two councils last week issued a joint statement calling on the British government to establish Swaziland's constitution "as a matter of urgency". The proposed constitution is the one prepared by a constitutional committee and published last November.

Under this, the territory's 250,000 Africans and 10,000 Whites will each have 12 representatives in a Legislative Council. The Whites will be elected by accepted, Western democratic methods; the Africans "by acclamation", in accordance with tribal tradition.

There will also be a Bill of Rights for all.

In their joint statement, the two councils also said that the Ingwenyama, Sobhuza II, should be recognized as the King of Swaziland.

Africans and those Whites who wished to do so would pay allegiance to him. But those Whites who owed allegiance to the Queen of England or to any other country could merely "respect his position and authority".

#### **Protected State**

The statement also asked the British government to redefine Swaziland's position as a Protectorate by making it a "protected State", and added that all mineral rights should be vested in the Swazi nation who should be allowed to exploit them in the interest of the territory without the restrictions at present exercised by Britain's Secretary of State.

The final decision on the constitution lies with Britain. And it is certain that the British Government will have to take a careful look at the proposed constitution because of the objections that exist against it.

Swaziland's political parties have been unanimous in condemning the constitution. They generally want at least some form of "one man, one vote". While the Parties still cannot claim to command mass support, they do tend to represent the educated African section and those living in the towns.

Theirs is a voice that cannot be

Also opposed to the constitutional plan are the territory's leading government officials. They are topranking men of intelligence and ability, and their words will carry much weight in London.

The officials are against the 50 - 50 representation principle. They do not at this stage favour a full "one man, one vote" system, but they feel strongly that the territory must at least start moving towards this goal.

They have pointed out that "50-50" has a racial basis to it — and is therefore undesirable and even dangerous if Swaziland is to succeed in becoming a non-racial democracy.



2 Published by the Proprietor, Selemela Publications (Pty.) Ltd. 47 Parliament Street, Cape Town Printed by Lincey & Watsor (Pty.) Ltd., 364 Voortrekker Road Maitland, Cape Town.