

# GOVERNMENT vs. SABATA:

# contact



# TRANSKEI TENSION

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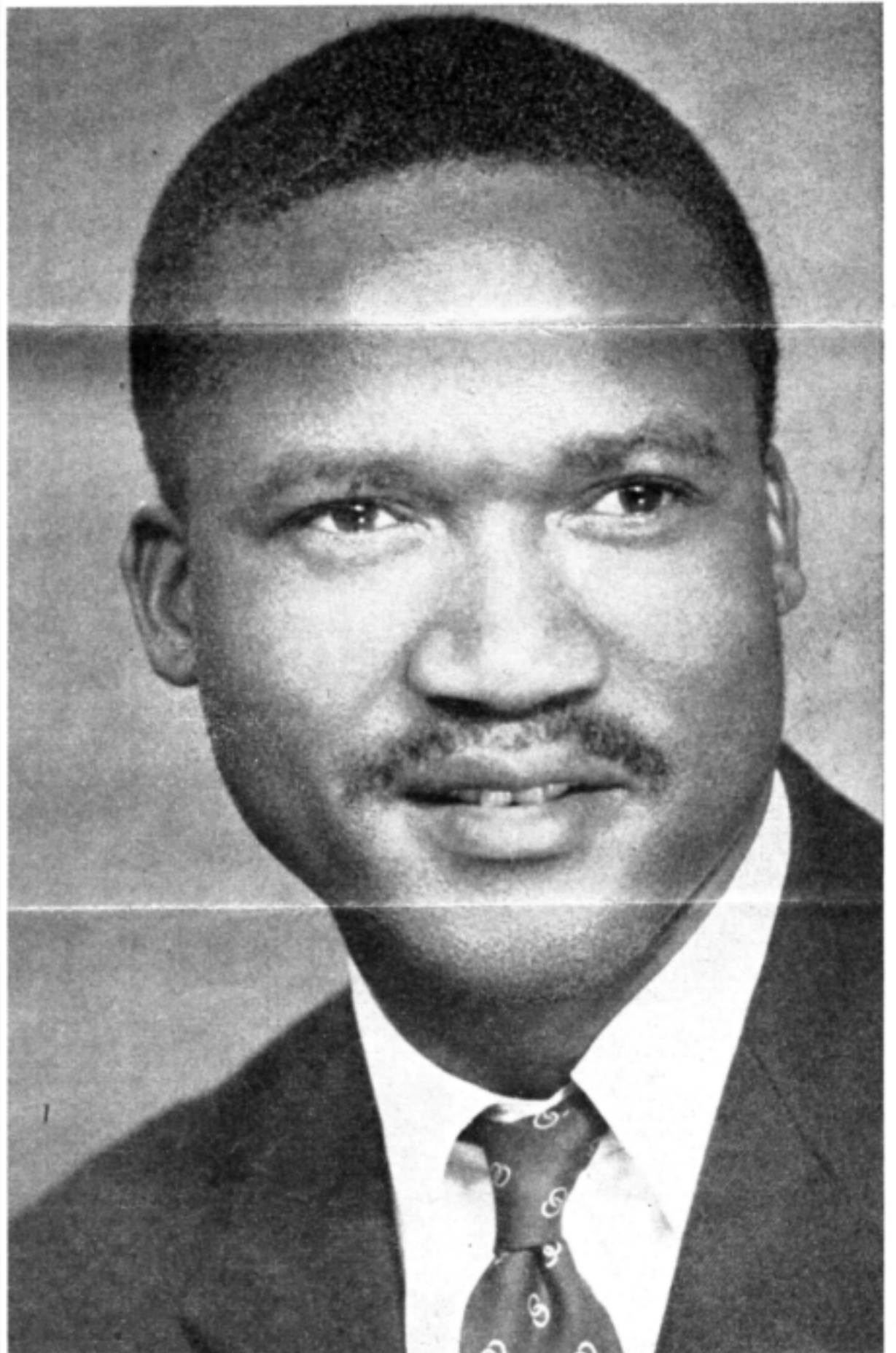
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SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

## ZWANE: DOCTOR TURNED FREEDOM FIGHTER

- On Sharpeville day, 21st March, 1960, Swaziland's first African doctor handed in his resignation from government service to enter the struggle for the liberation of his people. Since then, Dr. Ambrose Phesheya Zwane has become an important voice in Swaziland politics with a growing influence on the people. "Contact" visited him at his home at Kwaluseni, a village half way between Mbabane and Manzini, to talk to him about his beliefs and his career. This was not easy as he is reluctant to talk about himself.

(See page 4)



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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

# SOUTH AFRICAN CANCER

THE word "cancer" has been bandied about in Nationalist circles in attempts to analyse the state of society in South Africa. A few weeks ago the public was entertained by a series of radio talks on "communism" in which the ideology was likened to a "cancer" in the body of society, the stages of the real and metaphoric disease being compared step by step in an imaginative ten-minute lecture.

The word is used again by *Die Burger* (23rd November) in its comment on the tragic rioting and innocent deaths in Paarl the day before. The Nationalist newspaper declares that the authorities and the police, in doing all they can to prevent a recurrence of the rioting, to punish the guilty, and to "remove the cancer of disorder and violence", can be assured of "fiery support".

It is dangerous for anyone to use

metaphors glibly, as the best of poets know; and particularly dangerous to apply the superficial popular concept of a disease to comparisons with society. Cancer is a disease which grows and spreads, until it has consumed the whole body, or at least enough of it to cause death. It is also a disease which is almost impossible to cure, unless it is caught in its early stages when the symptoms are often so mild as to be imperceptible. When it has reached the stage of violent symptoms and sharp pain, it is usually too late to effect a cure. It is certainly too late to talk as if "removing the cancer" would restore the body to health.

It is appreciated in medical circles that it is difficult for any disease to establish itself and grow in a healthy body. It is likely too that it would be impossible for social "cancer" to establish itself and grow in a healthy society. The leaders of Nationalist opinion, therefore, such as the S.A.B.C. and *Die Burger*, would do well by their public to point out that the "cancer of communism" and the "cancer of disorder and violence" are probably no more than symptoms of a society in a state of bad health; and that the remedy may lie not in giving "fiery support" to the cause of *post facto* justice and precautionary measures, but in restoring to society its well-being. This can only be done by removing factors which actively promote illness, and one example of these must surely be the conditions under which men live in locations like the one at Paarl. We hope that the judicial commission which the government has set up to investigate the Paarl riot will have terms of reference wide enough to include consideration of aspects of South African society such as these.



# The English Language and the Freedom Movement

**By a Correspondent**

NOW that the struggle to maintain the strength of the English language in South Africa has become detached from the jingoism of certain sections of White South Africa, particularly in Natal, we are able to take a closer look and perhaps form a clearer opinion of the issues at stake.

No one doubts that it is not the policy of the government actively to encourage the growth of English in South Africa, and many are beginning to suspect that, in fact, the Nationalists' intention is the very opposite—something closer to the ideal presented by a Pretoria University professor addressing the annual conference of the Afrikaanse Studentebond in Stellenbosch earlier this year: a purely Afrikaans-language republic.

It seems hardly probable that any nationalism as strong and immature as that represented by the Nationalist Party, will forego one of the cherished aims of any nationalism—the superiority of its language over the area it rules; and we would be wise to expect the government to make ever increasing efforts to extend the influence of Afrikaans, to strengthen its hold in school and university, in business, trade and in the public service, until it becomes possible to declare South Africa a *de facto* Afrikaans state.

The principal opposition to this trend has in the past come from English-speaking politicians, seeking mainly to restore

the Afrikaans language to its position under the linguacidal regime of Milner, and to hoist the pennants of English in a proud, and eternal, display of cultural top-people-ism. More recently, as the influence of the blimps declined, it has become possible for the intellectual leaders of the English-speaking communities in South Africa to enter the field of active opposition to the erosive policy of the government without being accused of cultural or political jingoism. The campaign of these people has been by and large unsuccessful: in spite of active support from many English-language newspapers, the foundation of an English Academy, chiding and encouragement from the pulpit and headmaster's desk, the decline of English continues; this is seen most clearly in education where there is no increase in the number of English-speaking teachers, the teaching of the language falling into the hands of those whose mother tongue it is not.

### "White Politics"

The battle for English has been one of the many elements of "White" politics in South Africa, an issue so obscured in Brit-Boer bitterness and resentment, that it was not seen as part of the essential struggle for freedom in South Africa until the passage of the Bantu Education Act. Then it became clear that a major, if not the principal, aim of the government's African education policy was to

prevent Africans from acquiring the only available language which would put, and keep, them in touch with a system of thought and an attitude of life rejected as inimical by narrow Afrikaner nationalism, and to tie their minds to concepts provided for them only by the speakers of Afrikaans.

### World Language

It may be difficult for a White English South African, who enjoys the use of his language as a birthright, to appreciate its value, but Africans were not slow to realize that the loss of English (through lack of opportunity to learn it) would cut them off, not only from the major English speaking nations of European descent, such as England, America and Australia, but from a major part of the newly liberated African continent where former British colonies have or are adopting English as the official language (one thinks of Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda to name only three). Even countries which are in no way English, such as the Soviet Union, China, Japan, Germany, present themselves to Africa through the English language.

It is the knowledge that English is the language of more than three hundred million people, and the second language of a further six hundred million at all latitudes and longitudes, that has persuaded African political leaders in South Africa that English is the language which will best serve the interests of the people for whom they speak, while not denying

the validity of the indigenous languages (Sobukwe, an advocate of English, was a lecturer in Bantu languages at Witwatersrand University before his imprisonment).

In the face of the desire for English, the government, taking full advantage of the powers it has in terms of the Bantu Education Act, embarked on a campaign, which is still being carried on, to make it as difficult as possible for Africans to learn the language: the commonest method has been to insist that African children learn not only their "mother tongue" and that primary instruction be through it, but that they also learn both Afrikaans and English as compulsory subjects. If the immediate result of this policy has been to increase the strength of the "mother-tongue" at the expense of both English and Afrikaans, it has had the complementary effect of preventing the child from learning English adequately while at the same time equipping him with enough Afrikaans to understand the instructions of a future employer.

The consciousness of government intentions, and the evidence of nearly ten years of Bantu Education, have this year reached even the most conservative levels of African opinion, where opposition to the government is the rare exception rather than the usual rule. Concern about the language policy of the Bantu Education Department is now coming from the servants of that department them-

(Continued on page 8, col. 1)

# KGOSANA IN ADDIS ABABA

PHILIP KGOSANA, the young Pan Africanist who played a leading part in the anti-pass campaign in 1960, and led the great march of Africans into Cape Town during the strike in March that year, is now in Addis Ababa, capital of Ethiopia.

A friend of his writes:

"Ata (Kgosana) has now joined the university of Addis Ababa and is reading pure science with the ultimate intention of going on to study pharmacy in Germany. This has been his long-standing wish as all his former classmates at Lady Selborne High School knew. When he was in matriculation he applied to do pharmacy, but was told that there were no facilities for Africans in South Africa.

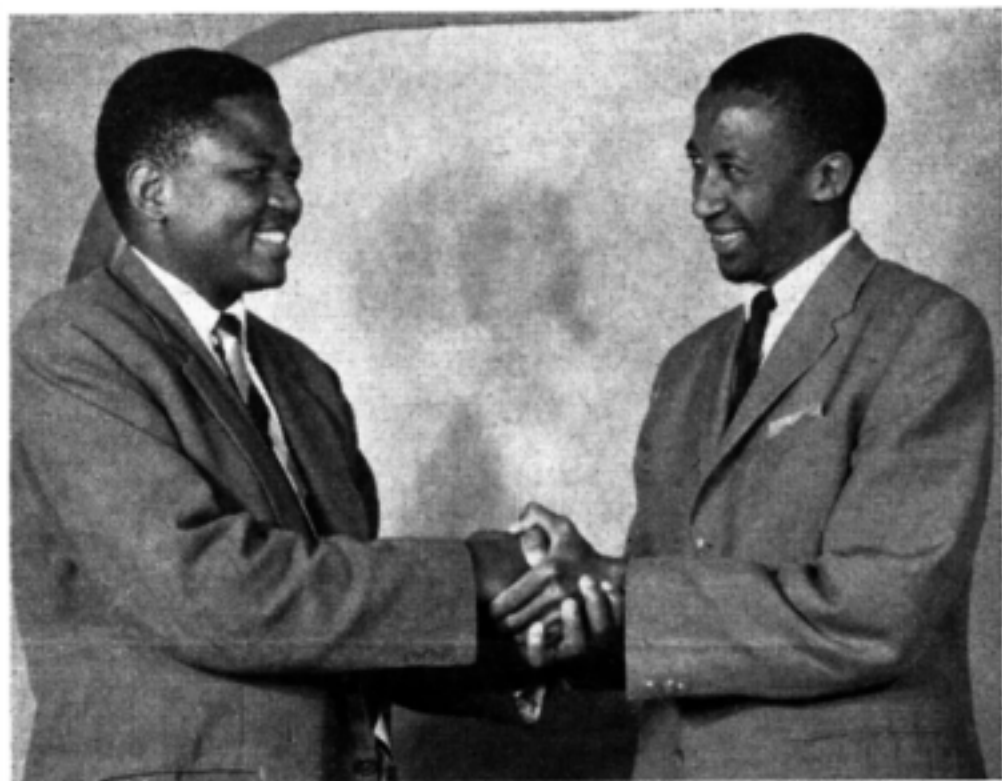
"He now carries books under his

arm like any other student, and the glory and fame he won as a political leader seems to have been forgotten. But the fact that he has gone to university does not mean that he has shirked his ideals as a politician.

"In his pensive moods when we relax in the hotel where I am staying, he often muses about the United States of Africa which will come into being one day.

"He does not smoke or drink, and spends much of his spare time reading the works of twentieth century English writers. He likes to listen to the South African records that are broadcast on Ghana Radio. He is studying German in evening classes at the university.

"With him are six other South African refugees being supported by the Ethiopian government."



Philip KGOSANA (left) greets Robinson MATSEKE, the Pretoria journalist who escaped from South Africa to take up a scholarship at the Addis Ababa University.

## Permits Refused, So Whites Tape Speeches

From "Contact" Correspondent

PRETORIA: Within the area locally referred to as Cape Reserve/Asiatic Bazaar, where most of Pretoria's Coloureds and Indians live, is a small section which was Gazetted in 1925 as a "Coloured" area and which Whites may not enter without a permit.

For some time the Pretoria branch of the Liberal Party was unaware that its White members were breaking the law every time they attended a public meeting on the corner of Nawab and Jerusalem Streets. These meetings had become part of the local scene: police and Security police always attended, but no one was ever warned that the law was being broken. But with the passing of the Sabotage Act the atmosphere changed. The sergeant at the local police station warned Coloured Liberals that their White friends would be arrested if found in this area and the branch committee realised that it would be asking for trouble to be caught in the area without a permit especially as no member would be able to prove that he was there for a non-political reason.

The branch secretary therefore applied for a permit for a few members to enter. At first she was told that she should report at the Non-European Affairs Department of the Pretoria City

Council when "a permit will be issued while you wait". But when she arrived and the man in charge, Mr. Van Wyk, realised that she was from the Liberal Party, he said that for political meetings permission would have to be obtained from the Management Committee which met each month and that it was too late to apply for that month's meeting. The branch then applied in writing to the Management Committee to hold a political education class in the restricted area every Friday evening, at which Whites could attend, and also for a permit to get permission at short notice for Whites from other areas, such as Johannesburg, to come and lecture. No answer has yet been received to this application.

Meanwhile, Mrs. E. Leyds, who is a resident in Cape Reserve, wanted to invite certain Liberals and other friends to a tea-party in her home. She applied, on the advice of the Non-European Affairs Department, for permission to have these friends to tea. She was told that she must bring a list of the names and addresses, and also the names and addresses of the Coloured friends who would be attending. She said that she could not furnish Mr. Van Wyk with the names of her Coloured friends, but she took him a list of her White friends. When Mr. Van Wyk saw that the list was headed: Mr. and Mrs. Walter Hain, he said: "But these people are Liberals!"

Mrs. Leyds agreed to this and he then asked her whether she was also a Liberal. She said that she was not but in any case the Hains were coming to tea and not for politics. He answered that he could not give her a permit for any of her White friends and further stated that Liberals were agitators.

After this it became clear that the branch would not stand a chance of obtaining a permit to hold a public meeting in Cape Reserve so the committee decided that the non-White members alone should hold a meeting to protest against Mr. Vorster's threats about Liberals and also to speak about house arrest.

The following Friday a meeting was called. Mr. Aubrey Apples chaired the meeting and the speakers were Alban Thumbran, Poen Ah Dong and David Rathswaffo. Walter Hain, Chairman of the branch, and Adeleine Hain recorded their speeches on tape and these were broadcast over the loudspeakers. Both Mr. and Mrs. Hain and other White members stood a few hundred yards away from the meeting place in a "free" area and listened to the speeches which could be heard clearly throughout the "restricted area" and right down in Asiatic Bazaar.

All speakers condemned the government for its totalitarian actions and appealed to the public to be calm and un intimidated.

## Common Market "NO BENEFITS FOR S. AFRICA"

By a Reporter

THE South African Minister of Economic Affairs, Dr. N. Diederichs, has had talks with top officials of the European Common Market in an attempt to prevent losses by South Africa when Britain joins the community. But he may not be successful.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, in close association with the European Trade Union Secretariat, which represents its affiliated organizations in the six member countries of the European Economic Community, is confident that no preferential treatment will be granted by the Common Market countries to the Republic of South Africa.

This statement was made by Mr. Omer Becu, I.C.F.T.U. General Secretary, in connection with an expected request for special consideration for South African exports for a lengthy period of adjustment.

The stand of the international free trade union movement, repeatedly expressed in its policy statements and resolution, has been to urge governments to impose economic sanctions on South Africa to force its government to end its policy of racial discrimination and to restore human and trade union rights in the country. A similar recommendation was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 6th November. In view of this resolution and of the world-wide condemnation of the present policies of the South African government, the I.C.F.T.U. feels sure that the E.E.C. will not consider a South African request.

This statement was communicated to Mr. Jean Rey, President of the External Relations' section of the European Economic Community by Mr. Harm Buiter, Secretary of the European Trade Union Secretariat, who expressed his profound conviction that the E.E.C. will not undertake any negotiations with the South African government.

## Steps to Preserve Game in B.P.

AN important step forward in game preservation has been taken in the Bechuanaland Protectorate where Batawana in the Ngamiland area have agreed to form a game conservation association. Tribal representatives have also decided that designation of an area of tribal territory as a permanent breeding place for animals should be discussed in kgotla (tribal council) during March.

It is intended that the fauna conservation society, of which the formation has been approved by the Regent, Mohumagadi Moremi, should be multi-racial. Its executive committee will probably include representatives of the Regent and the tribal council, and Whites willing to provide guidance.

### Threat of Extinction

The decision to apply conservation measures was made at a recent meeting in Maun, addressed by Mr. Robert Kay, who for some years has been advocating protective measures. He said that numbers of wild animals in Africa were being quickly reduced for reasons that included

extensions of farming activity and measures to prevent transmission of disease.

It was possible that several more species would be extinct within 10 years.

Ngamiland, continued Mr. Kay, was one of a few areas in which wild life continued to exist in strength. The variety to be found in and around the Okavango Swamps was unequalled elsewhere in Africa, and people from many other countries were prepared to pay much money for the unique privilege of watching it.

The Batawana were now the only African people with such resources. If they preserved the animals the animals would preserve them.

Two consultants of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature are touring the Bechuanaland Protectorate and will report on possibilities of exploiting wild life resources. Mr. Peter Hill, formerly agronomist at Urambo with the British Overseas Food Corporation, and Mr. Thane Riney, an American zoologist, are making the visit at the invitation of the B.P. government.

## Addresses Wanted

Will the following readers please send us their full addresses:  
Mr. Duncan Mahlangu of Springs,  
Z. J. of Windhoek.

## TASK FOR JUDICIAL ENQUIRY

# Did Paarl Riot Have Political Motive?

By a Reporter

ONE of the tasks of the judicial enquiry appointed to investigate the riot in Paarl on the morning of 22nd November when at least eight people were killed, must be to determine whether there was any direct political motivation behind the incident.

### Poqo

For several months the western Cape has been rife with rumours about the so-called Poqo organization, believed to be a terrorist offshoot of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, not recognized by the P.A.C. in exile. Several cases involving Poqo have been heard in the courts. One, in Stellenbosch in July, involved the existence of an alleged plot to murder all Whites in the town: the court heard stories of oath takings, and was shown a collection of lethal weapons, home made some of them, and of the panga type.

In Cape Town, cases involving public violence and extortion have been heard in the courts. The happenings on which the charges were based took place in

Langa township, where, from the evidence, it appears that a state of gang warfare existed. It was alleged that a cause of the "warfare" lay in political differences between a Poqo group and others. Considerable damage was done in the course of the "warfare" which lasted for months: for example, hundreds of windows were broken and scores of lamp posts knocked over. Witnesses have described open street fighting between different groups.

In a statement on the Paarl riot, a police officer hinted at the existence in the Paarl location (Mbekweni, where two to three thousand single men live in barracks) of an underground terrorist movement which they knew little about, but denied that the riot itself had a direct political motivation.

It would certainly appear from police and newspaper reports that the group which attacked in the centre of the town shortly before dawn on the morning of 22nd November, was capably and intelligently led and organized, making its entry to the town along a pre-arranged route where there would be the least possibility of detection. It seems inconceivable that the raiding party could have been assembled, armed and

ready, at that hour of the morning, unless they had behind them an active, underground, organization, of either a political or criminal nature.

The existence in other nearby areas of underground political terrorist groups, suggests that it is highly likely that the Paarl riot was staged by a similar body, but it will be for the judicial enquiry either to confirm or deny rumours to this effect.

### Arrests, Vigilance

In Paarl itself, some 400 Africans have been arrested since the riot, and the two locations have been sealed off. The police, both before and after the mass arrests, put on a "show of force".

White residents of the town are deeply concerned about the ease with which the rioters reached the centre of the town without being detected, and a group of prominent citizens, including the M.P. for Paarl, is to investigate means of tightening security and vigilance.

One citizen commented to the *Cape Times* (23rd November): "If a hundred can do this amount of damage, think what a thousand or ten thousand could do."

## COURSE OF EVENTS

PAARL HAS A HISTORY of violence and civil disturbance going back several years:

November, 1959: The Mafekeng riot; thousands stoned cars, burnt out stores, assaulted Whites near the home of Mrs. Mafekeng after her banishment. At least one killed by police. Violence again the next night. Seventy people arrested.

December, 1959: Police van stoned in Langabuya location. Disturbances quelled by armed police. Flared up later and spread to Mbekweni location, offices fired.

April, 1960: Location school burned out, offices fired, shop fired, passes burned in centre of Paarl.

April, 1962: District Commissioner of Police, Col. Carstens, shot in arm when police patrol attacked in Mbekweni location. Police fired on attackers.

November, 1962: Eight killed in rioting in centre of town, six Africans by gunfire, two Whites hacked to death by rioters.

## PATON ON COMMUNISM

From "Contact" Correspondent

DURBAN: Addressing a Liberal Party meeting in Durban last week, the Party's National President, Mr. Alan Paton, condemned communism in these terms:

"We believe that citizens have rights which no state should infringe: the Communist Party does not and has a notable ally, Mr. Vorster."

# ZWANE OF SWAZILAND

(Continued from page 1)

"WHAT do you want me to tell you?" Dr. Zwane asked. "Anything about yourself from your earliest years until now," I told him.

As he related the story in bits and pieces, I discovered that like African leaders in other countries who left the civil service through frustration, the love of their people and countries, Dr. Zwane gave up his job for the same reasons. He sacrificed all the privileges he enjoyed as a doctor to bring himself to the level of a common Swazi.

"Was it worth the trouble really?" I asked.

"Oh yes," he retorted in his usual tiny voice, "Look what they have done to our King, the Ngwenyama. They call him Paramount Chief when in fact he is a King. My loyalty goes to him first and I am struggling that his rightful position be restored and that the Swazis take their place in the world political struggle by building a non-racial democratic state."

"Don't you think you would have served your people much better if you had remained in the government service?" I asked.

"There is nothing one can do as a government servant. When he is a politician he can fight for the cause of his people without fear," he answered.

He continued, "There are many bad things in the government which I couldn't fight when I was in the service. But since I left the service I have been fighting them vigorously and some of them have been put right."

Born thirty-eight years ago in Manzini

district, Dr. Zwane is the eldest son of the late Mdolomba Zwane of Enkambeni district and the first to graduate as doctor of medicine from Swaziland. His father was one of the councillors whom Sobhuza II sent to England in the 1920's to inquire about the land question. To mark the memory of his overseas trip, Mdolomba named his son who had just been born Phešheya (which means Overseas).

### Education

Dr. Ambrose Phešheya Zwane, though a Catholic, was educated at different mission schools: he went finally to Inkamana High School in South Africa in 1943 to do his matriculation. He passed in 1945 with distinction in physical science. He was awarded a scholarship by the Swaziland government to go to Fort Hare where he did his first year medicine.

In 1947 he went to Witwatersrand University where he graduated as a doctor in 1951 with four other Africans, Drs. N. Mokeke, M. P. Stwene, V. R. Ntsege and V. Kunene. From there he went as houseman to the Charles Johnson Memorial Hospital, Nqutu, in Zululand.

At Wits. were political groups where some political leaders used to address the students. Among the African leaders Dr. Zwane remembers as speakers are Sobukwe and Mandela.

In 1953 he came back to Swaziland and worked in the Swaziland government until he resigned in 1960. It was while he was working in the government that Dr. Zwane suffered the evils of apartheid because of his black skin.

"I tell you I had a raw deal from the Swaziland government. They underpaid me for six years; I got three-quarters of what a White doctor was paid because of my colour. This was besides the mudslinging and the White supremacy which I had to stomach."

He continued, "At one time they said that I would be transferred to Piggs Peak Hospital. Later they told me that the Whites at Piggs Peak had handed in a memorandum objecting to my appointment. Instead a White doctor was imported to come and take the place."

"Even the National Council had to protest against such discrimination, but nothing could be done," he added.

After Dr. Zwane resigned, Mr. J. J. Nquku approached him to come and lead his Swazi people because old age was catching up with him.

In the same year the Swaziland Progressive Association had been formed into a political party (the Swaziland Progressive Party). This was done at a meeting at Kwaluseni on 30th July. Dr. Zwane was elected as Secretary-General with Mr. Nquku as President.

### "Shot in the Arm"

Dr. Zwane's step into politics was a shot in the arm for political life in Swaziland. The membership of the S.P.P. suddenly doubled. Many Swazis who used to look at the Party with suspicion began to realize that the S.P.P. was the only organization which fought for their liberation and their rights.

During 1961, Dr. Zwane travelled abroad, to Rhodesia, to Ghana, and to the All African Peoples' Conference which was held in Cairo. He met many African political leaders, all faced with one common cause, to liberate their countries from the yoke of colonialism and imperialism.

Dr. Zwane listened patiently as the leaders from other countries spoke one after the other. He grasped what he could and took notes of vital points. When he returned he told his people what he had experienced up north and

said that they should take up the struggle seriously.

When the Swaziland constitutional talks began, Dr. Zwane, Mr. Nquku and Mr. O. B. Mabuza (Dr. Zwane's Deputy Secretary) were appointed by the Ngwenyama as individuals to serve on the Constitutional Committee with members of the National Council. When Mr. Nquku differed from some of the members he was expelled. Dr. Zwane and Mr. Mabuza resigned in protest.

The Swaziland Progressive Party briefed Professor D. V. Cowen of the University of Cape Town to draft their constitutional proposals which they presented to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Maudling.

"How did your split come about with Mr. Nquku?" I asked.

"I don't think we should talk about it," said the doctor, "it was widely reported in the papers. My aim is for unity, and to write about it will only revive the old wounds."

### "Red"

More determined than ever, Dr. Zwane has never been deterred; he continues with the struggle and people flock to his meetings in hundreds. This is the first Swazi doctor whom the government frustrated and who decided to give up everything in order to liberate his people. Luxury and comfort are things of the past to him. He is continually busy touring the dusty mountainous country of Swaziland, educating his people politically and telling them of their rights.

"What's all this talk I hear of you being red?" I said.

"Red?" he replied. "My experience has taught me that anybody who takes positive action for the liberation of his people is labelled red. They would say the same to you if you were in my boots. So I am not surprised when they call me a communist."

"These people forget that I am a Catholic, and if my politics clash with my religion, I would rather resign from politics. For what will it profit a man if he gains the whole world and loses his soul," he emphasized.

## ATTEMPT TO KILL KAIZER

From "Contact" Correspondent

UMTATA: The attempted assassination of Chief Kaizer Matanzima is of a piece with the many rumours of attacks on chiefs and headmen that are recurrent in the Transkei.

The alleged murder of Headman Ncetywe Nememva of Dwa-dweni location on about 10th November started a fresh crop of rumours. The daily press has so far not reported this headman's death, which local residents say was the result of retribution for his harsh rule as headman.

"Contact" was told that two arrests had been made, both of Durban men believed to be visiting the location to arrange lobola for a marriage.

## Personal Files

A FAR CRY from the days of Cetshwayo's greatness is the present role of Paramount Chief Cyprian Bhekuzulu, head of the Zulu people and descendant of the Zulu kings of old. Paramount Chief Cyprian has kept up the role once played also by Paramount Chief Botha Sigcawu of Eastern Pondoland, that of a seemingly-convinced collaborator with the apartheid policy. It took the terrible happenings in East Pondoland in 1960-1 to get the message to Chief Botha that though he might like apartheid, his people didn't. His own full-brother, Chief Vukayibambe Sigcawu was butchered in the process. Yet Cyprian continues as the pawn in the Nat's Bantustan game. The hour of his greatest usefulness to the White supremacists is yet to come: with the imminent announcement of "self-government" for the Zulus. This could be Verwoerd's master-stroke, for the Zulus are known the world over, and if they ask for their "freedom" and Verwoerd appears to grant it, the anti-apartheid case will suffer a staggering blow. It cannot be many months before the birth of Zulustan is to be announced, though the government's Transkeistan headaches may delay it. The corruption of the Zulu kingship, through Cyprian's collaborator-role, might even be a strong enough card to trump a Transkei failure with a Zulu triumph.

THE SALE of Sehlebathebe store in Basutoland for a reported R17,000 was news in itself, indicating as it did a rise in confidence in Basuto trading prospects. Interesting as well was the story that Khotso, the wealthy Lusikisiki herbalist, had wanted to buy Sehlebathebe but had been refused by the Basuto. The most likely reason is, of course, Khotso's public exhibitions of his affection for the Nats. in South

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# Government to Move Against Sabata?

From "Contact" Correspondent

UMTATA: Speculation about imminent government action against Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo is still rife in the Transkei. No retribution for Chief Sabata's defiance of the press ban placed on him and the Dalindyebo Regional Authority members has yet been reported, and an anxious wait-and-see attitude is noticeable among Chief Sabata's close supporters.

A typical viewpoint was expressed

Africa. He makes a point of personally cleaning Mr. De Wet Nel's car when that Minister visits him in Pondoland, and his lavish entertaining of Nat. dignitaries is always widely reported. Not that he has been unrewarded: *Drum* reported in 1958 that Dr. Verwoerd had paid Khotso £100 for a charm necklace to give to one of his sons. The Basuto have 'apparently not forgotten these things.

M.A.I.G.S.I. could be the letters representing the apartheid state, as S.P.Q.R. did the Roman. They stand for Major Patrick Wall's description of apartheid as "morally abominable, intellectually grotesque (and) spiritually indefensible", when speaking on South Africa as Britain's delegate to the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations. Though a striking phrase, the words can only be called cant, though magnificent cant indeed. For Major Wall also defended the sale by Britain of thirty Buccaneer bombers to the South African government, and spoke against economic or military sanctions being imposed on South Africa by the United Nations. He has also recently praised Salazar and defended Portugal's colonial policy in Africa. But other British opinions should also be heard. Thus Mr. Harold Wilson, shadow Foreign Secretary in the Labour opposition in the British House of Commons: "This country should now immediately institute an embargo on shipment of all arms and military equipment to South Africa". And thus the *Liberal Guardian*, in a leading article: "It was not an easy job to succeed Sir Hugh Foot, who had the confidence of African delegates and who resigned rather than speak to a brief he did not believe. But Mr. Patrick Wall has made the job a good deal harder for himself, and the government has not helped him, by this telling juxtaposition of brave words and depressing deeds."

NEVILLE RUBIN, ex-President of NUSAS and a national committee member of the Liberal Party, has been appointed a research officer in the School of Oriental and African Languages at London University. The job will take him to London for three years, with his wife Muriel and infant son Guy. Muriel Rubin trained in fine arts and is the daughter of Jack Lewsen, Johannesburg Liberal and former City Councillor, and Mrs. Phyllis Lewsen, who lectures in history at Wits. University and edited the John X. Merriman letters for the Van Riebeeck Society. The Rubins will remain very much South Africans: Neville Rubin is to retain his joint editorship of the radical review *The New African*, published in Cape Town.

By Jacob Bam

to *Contact* by an elderly farmer, Mr. Wilson Mnxanga, who said: "The Paramount Chief belongs to us Tembus and we shall always support him and give him what he needs, whatever the government says or does. People should know this." He added: "I am of an age with Chief Sabata's late father, whom I also knew. You can use my name."

Another countryman said: "What should be remembered is that Chief Sabata's forefather brought the White people here—missionaries and traders—and promised them his protection. This government behaves as if it has conquered us. The Paramount Chief is actually their protector and they are treating him and his wishes as if he is their inferior. It is unbelievable to us that they should try and tell him who he can and cannot have as his advisers, for instance."

Meantime Chief Sabata's well-known support for non-racial ideas has been disappointingly responded to by some Transkeian Whites giving evidence to the Commission of Enquiry regarding "Europeans" in the Transkei. Several have said they are "not against government policy" but merely want "confidence restored" so that the values of their businesses can be restored. The Chairman of the commission, Dr.

J. E. Holloway, has stated that to hand over trade and other largely White-controlled functions to the Africans in the Transkei will be "a hundred-year job".

The commission is scarcely of help to the Transkei's many non-racialists, who can point to few signs of pro-African sympathy in the evidence the commission has heard. Preferential or special treatment for Whites has been the call from many of the spokesmen, and has been assured by Dr. Holloway.

### Fate of Coloureds

While White interests are thus being closely examined, the fate of 10,000 Coloured people of the Transkei is still unknown. The general opinion is that they will be "moved out" to the Mount Currie district, which though part of the Transkei is a "White spot" (around Kokstad). And the general feeling is that they do not want to go.

Their interests and services dovetail with the needs of the Africans as closely as do those of the Whites. Many are mechanics, builders, carpenters, plasterers, providing services the Africans can afford. Many families have lived for generations among the Africans, with whom there is considerable mutual respect. Yet they are apparently not being consulted.

## NO SWAPO-KUTAKO SPLIT

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: The alleged split between the Council of Chief Hosea Kutako and the South West Africa People's Organization has been categorically denied by both the members of the Council and SWAPO. The joint statement issued to the press accused persons in the organization "bribed to create disunity and spread falsehoods". It further added: "These persons were also endeavouring to create ill-feelings among the non-Whites."

The allegations, first reported in the *Windhoek Advertiser* and subsequently given prominence in local and Cape Town Nationalist papers, were a sequel to the meeting convened at committee level between these two bodies on the initiative of the Council; the meeting discussed the possibility of dissolving the Council and SWAPO and laying the foundation for the immediate unification of all the political organizations in the country, as suggested by Dr. Mburumba Kerina, former Chairman of SWAPO and now the spokesman of Chief Hosea Kutako at UNO. The first meeting, however, did not reach agreement as some of the SWAPO members were reported to have strong belief in the views of Messrs. Sam Nujoma and Jacob Kuhangua who appealed that SWAPO be maintained at all costs limiting co-operation with other bodies to participation in a "united front".

This disagreement unfortunately led to a press statement describing Chief Hosea Kutako and his Council as "innocent-looking patriarchs with a flair for paternal rule who were in fact totalitarian dictators who regarded themselves as completely capable of handling political matters".

A spokesman for the Chief's Council

described this as an attempt to prejudice further discussion between the bodies concerned. He added that great understanding still continues between the Chief's Council and SWAPO and they will go forward with discussions until complete agreement is reached. Discussions will also be held with other organizations including the South West Africa National Union in this regard.

The allegation that SWAPO members were dissatisfied about financial matters in their organization, reported in the Nationalist papers, is without foundation. No financial matters were discussed at the meeting. SWAPO's financial records were taken by the Bantu Affairs Department for auditing but no fault has been reported.

## OVAMBOLAND CRISIS

From "Contact" Correspondent

WINDHOEK: A serious crisis between government officials and the chiefs and headmen is reported to be growing in Ovamboland. Meanwhile, the government has tightened all security measures outside and inside Ovamboland. All travellers, including Whites, travelling towards the northern reserve are thoroughly searched for firearms.

The chiefs and headmen have started to complain about the way the authorities treat their people. They say that they are used to oppress their own people and as a result, ill-feeling was created between them and the people.

The recently appointed commission to investigate the five-year development plan failed to meet the majority of chiefs. Wherever they went, they were directed to the political leaders like Herman Ja-Toivo, of the South West Africa People's Organization.



In 1954 CHOU EN-LAI, Chinese Prime Minister, visited the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. NEHRU (left) in New Delhi. The next year, both leaders attended the Bandung conference of Afro-Asian heads of state, and jointly subscribed to the principles of peaceful co-existence. In 1962, China invaded India.



Indian troops wounded by Chinese invaders in the mountainous north of India are taken to hospital by helicopter.

A.F.P. Radiophoto

● In the article below, WILLIAM ADIE (Research Fellow at St. Anthony's College, Oxford) examines the underlying reasons for the Chinese invasion of India. He examines the internal struggle in the communist world for control of the communist movement, a struggle illustrated in the open clash between Khrushchev, the Soviet Prime Minister, and Mao Tse-Tung, the Chinese Party Chairman, the former moving towards an accommodation with the West, the latter committed to world revolution by force of arms. China's invasion of India is part of the pattern.

## CHINA ON THE WARPATH

TO ask what China is up to in India involves considering the Chinese communists' struggle with Khrushchev; their recent actions may not have been co-ordinated, but they were certainly not unconnected. The day before the Cuban crisis broke out, the Yugoslav paper *Politika* was wondering how long Sino-Soviet relations could continue as they were, without provoking "certain changes in the world communist movement"

After signs last month of Soviet overtures to China (or her Ambassador) on the basis of the Cuban venture, the propaganda battle is on again, with the *Word Marxist Review* giving its Soviet readers their first indication that "the dogmatists" (the Chinese and their allies) are accusing Khrushchev himself of revisionism, fear of imperialism and rejection of the Revolution: the Chinese, for their part, are using denunciations of Nehru and a massive campaign of propaganda support for Castro as a vehicle for the restatement, in extreme terms, of all the points on which they have disagreed with Khrushchev over the last few years.

Cuba shows, they say, that the course of history cannot be determined by any weapons brandished by the imperialists and the reactionaries: it is only determined by the awakened people. What they mean is that the communists and underdeveloped countries should not rely (as Khrushchev recommends) on Soviet weapons and technology and the "strength of the Socialist bloc" to "liberate" themselves, and achieve communism. They can rely only on their own strength, exerted in Chinese-style mass revolutionary wars and "struggles". The rockets have left Cuba, but Chinese troops are still in India; doesn't this prove Mao Tse-Tung's dictum that "men, not weapons, decide the issue of war"?

China's quarrel with Khrushchev is not simply over whose pattern of revolution is the best for the emergent countries, and her attack on India is not simply because she wanted a foreign war in a safer place than the Formosa Strait or

Korea to rally patriotic support in a time of internal stress, force Khrushchev to stand up and be counted on her side instead of supplying "bourgeois" Nehru with arms, upset India's five-year plans by diverting her resources to arms production, and destroy her international prestige by blitzing her army, then obtaining "negotiations".

The heart of the matter is that Mao and Khrushchev are forced to engage in a long-term struggle for control of the world communist movement, in order to consolidate their position against "anti-Party groups" at home which find support from each other's countries; the most important aspect of this is the struggle for influence in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and especially in India and the Middle East; for these regions have important ethnic and geopolitical links with Central Asia, where the two heirs to the Mongol Empire face each other across the longest frontier in the world—much of it undemarcated on the Chinese maps.

### Pressure and Subversion

The attack on India is a move in this struggle; during the last few years Russia and China have carried over into the outside world the ju-jitsu combat they have fought in Central Asia for centuries; they have already clashed over the Middle East and India, in 1958-59. As Leninists, they know that if you can't lick an enemy now, it pays to join with him in a "United Front" against someone else and then seize "leadership of the struggle"; this is one reason why Mao opposes peaceful co-existence.

The recent confusion of signals from the Kremlin over Cuba has led some to ask if Khrushchev was not under pressure from his Marshals, who seem to have set the whole thing up with Raul Castro in July. What, at any rate, is quite certain is that the Chinese leadership are also afraid of opposition—especially from the military—within their ranks, and connect it in their counter-propaganda with Soviet pressure and subversion.

The remarkable communiqué issued

after the tenth Plenum of Mao's Central Committee in September shows that the crisis then raging in Sino-Soviet relations reflected an internal crisis within the Chinese Communist Party itself. It linked the "revisionists" abroad—that is, Khrushchev—with "right-opportunists" in Mao's Party who have all along opposed his attempts to apply the old "human-wave" guerrilla tactics to construction (the communes) and defence (the militia).

### Intra-Party Struggle

The main point of the communiqué was ostensibly to reassert the correctness of Mao's "General Line" of top-speed advance (as embodied in the Great Leap Forward of 1958 and the People's Communes), on the basis of a slight improvement in the food and economic situation which has really been achieved by halting the industrial Leap Forward and "adjusting" the Communes back to small-scale and private production, under the slogan "agriculture comes first". Khrushchev has publicly ridiculed the Chinese mass movements and communes as primitive and un-Marxist, and we know from obscure Chinese provincial newspapers that Mao's opponents quoted "Soviet experience" against the communes; the present communiqué must be read in the light of other contemporary evidence such as the "anti-revisionist" campaign which has been running in the Chinese press for some time parallel to an open anti-Khrushchev campaign within the Party (reported by members arriving in Hong Kong), and the police surveillance, search and closure of Soviet consulates in China. It then becomes clear that Mao is accusing his opponents of acting under the influence of home-grown bourgeois ideology, and also of "pressure from foreign imperialism".

The seriousness of the intra-Party class struggle is indicated by the other subjects said to have been discussed by the Central Committee—the "planned interchange" of important leaders and strengthening of the Party's control commissions at all levels. But the danger does not really arise from Soviet intrigue; in the last analysis Mao confronts not men

(who can always be "remoulded") but the facts of economic, especially agricultural life; just as these facts drive Khrushchev in one direction, they drive Mao in the other.

### Disillusion and Anxiety

Mao and his group fear that as long as small production and collective or private property exist, they "engender capitalism and the bourgeoisie", as Lenin taught; this fear of an enemy "come-back" is the real reason for their militant stand in internal and foreign affairs, as it was in 1956 and 1958. Though economically noxious, the communes are politically essential to repress "spontaneous capitalism". The real mood of the Chinese leaders—disillusion and anxiety for a quick, world victory rather than pure "confidence"—is revealed by the additions to Liu Shao-Chi's 1939 classic on *How to be a good Communist*, now reissued for the use of communists throughout the world. They include a Trotskyist call to realise socialism and communism the world over and "liberate the whole of mankind"; and, most significantly, two long quotations on man and the conquest of nature have been replaced by a passage on the need for "protracted revolutionary struggle"—to change man.

The Soviets and Chinese have just confronted each other at the Bulgarian Communist Party Congress and in Cuba: over India, disarray seems complete. China has promised every possible help to Castro, who has initiated a wave of violence in Latin America which accords with Chinese ideas: but it is hard to see why he should exchange the status of an expended Soviet pawn for that of a Chinese pawn against Russia.

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# READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS . . .

## "Disservice to Liberalism"

SIR.—Mrs. Hain does the cause of liberalism a disservice in attempting (*Contact*, 15th November) to appropriate a sort of copyright in the word for the Liberal Party. I would say that liberalism is a habit of mind and a set of values rather than a political label or a dogmatic ideology. Where a political party has adopted the name, as in South Africa, Britain, Canada and elsewhere, its actual programme has varied with time and circumstance.

Mrs. Hain's identification of liberalism with "universal adult suffrage" is not borne out by the dictionary definitions she uses. She arrives at this identification by defining (as per a dictionary) liberalism as advocacy of democratic reforms, and democratic as equality of political rights. But equality of political rights does not necessarily imply universal adult suffrage. What it does involve is that every citizen has an equal right to acquire a vote on attaining a qualification that is common to all. Such qualification need not necessarily be the attainment of adult status. In some countries a lower age qualification is fixed. In others qualifications additional to age are required. But the essential point is that equality of political rights no more necessitates the same voice in government for each individual than does equality of property rights (rights to acquire property) necessitate equal distribution of property.

Of course a voting system, universal or otherwise, is no sufficient test of liberalism, even when coupled with rejection of discrimination and apartheid. Mrs. Hain would, no doubt, agree with this, since, as already mentioned, she includes advocacy of democratic rights as an essential element in liberalism. And such advocacy implies freedom of speech. But the point to remember is that universal suffrage is a sham if the voter is permitted to vote for the candidates of one political party only, as in the case of communist and fascist countries and in many African states. The guarantees, therefore, of such elementary liberties as those of speech and association (including the right to form opposition political parties) is an obvious essential of liberalism. Indeed it is the *only* characteristic that specifically differentiates it from the various contemporary forms of totalitarianism.

DONALD MOLTENO,  
Cape Town.

## "We must be United"

SIR.—I appeal to all the sons and daughters of Mother Africa engaged in this gigantic struggle at home and abroad to unite and close their ranks. For in unity lies our salvation, and unity is strength. If we do want to emancipate ourselves from this servitude, why can't we unite and solidify our forces?

Brothers and sisters in ancestry, the struggle is still unabated. It needs all our care and all our brains. The spirit of African nationalism, termed the wind of change by Macmillan, is moving.

H. M. HOLLIDAY,  
Nyanga, Cape.

## TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

● This is your page, for your letters, for your opinions

● Prize letters this time are those from Messrs. Tjozongoro and Ndimanea ("Contact" free for six months each).

## Why Support Progressives?

SIR.—Mr. I. B. C. Streek (*Contact*, 15th November) appeals to Africans to support the Progressive Party and its qualified franchise. But why should Africans support a Party which will limit voting rights to only a minority of them when they can support the Liberal Party which insists on no such limitation? Would Mr. Streek give his support to a Party which promised to deny him the vote once it gained power? If we are to appeal to the Africans on the basis of a national common roll, as both the Progressive and Liberal Parties do, then the Liberal Party's appeal must prove to be much more successful than the Progressive Party's.

But both Parties, especially the Liberal Party, are making the mistake of appealing to the non-voters over the heads of the voters. It is obvious that if we are going to bring about a change of government constitutionally by means of the ballot box, we have to put forward a policy that is likely to be acceptable to a majority of the electorate. It is in this sense that it can be said that politics is the art of the possible. This being so, we have no alternative but to support the United Party at the present time, and try to make its influence with the electorate greater than the Nationalist Party's. United Party policy is not

designed to oppress the non-Whites, but to give all South Africans the best possible deal consonant with the realities of the situation we find ourselves in today, and no Party can do more than that.

COMMON SENSE,  
Cape Town.

## Justice and Law

SIR.—I hope readers will remember these wise reflections of Bertrand de Jouvenel:

*The law does not always command what is just, but it makes just what it commands. A just law is a law which I discover for myself, and which accords with the wellbeing of my fellow men. Laws which I cannot discover for myself, yet obey, acknowledge my acceptance of the legislator's authority.*

*No amount of legitimacy in the legislator can ever make laws just which offend my moral judgment, laws which my conscience does not recognize as just and which run counter to my private judgment. Whenever I find myself constrained to govern my actions according to such laws, my liberty suffers loss.*

T. KLOPPENBURG,  
Durban.

## Advice on Unity

SIR.—Please give me advice on how to unite my people: I've tried in different ways, but I've always failed. First I tried a sports association, then in politics and then in friendship but they all failed. Now I'm trying a sports association again. Perhaps someone who has a better idea will give me advice.

R. ABEL,  
Windhoek.

*(Anyone who can help Mr. Abel should write to him c/o "Contact", P.O. Box 1979, Cape Town. We will forward all letters.—EDITOR.)*

## WE REJECT FIVE YEAR PLAN

SIR.—Here in South West Africa we want nothing to do with the government's five year plan to "develop" the non-Whites, for the time for such development is long past. The government of South Africa, which has administered South West Africa for over forty years as a mandate, was supposed to do everything in its power to assist the indigenous people during all that time. It is only starting to do so now!

We want to be free of the yoke of slavery imposed by the government of South Africa and to be independent THIS YEAR. The five year plan is no more than part of the apartheid policy. We do not want the plan for we know what it stands for.



KAMUE TJOZONGORO,  
Windhoek.

SIR.—The Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr. Verwoerd, recently announced the appointment of a commission to visit South Africa in connection with the South African government's five year plan. But Dr. Verwoerd is not interested in helping our people. He is only trying to appease the world so that the United Nations will stop trying to take South West Africa out of South African control.

Every time the South African government intends to oppress us further it starts with a commission. This commission then tells the government how best to go about its dirty work.

No, we want complete independence, and to be severed from the rule of South Africa. We want to govern our own country and manage our own affairs and we do not want to have anything to do with South Africa or any South African commission.



J. S. NDIMANEA,  
Oranjemund.

## GET RID OF MOTHAPO!

SIR.—R. Mothapo is an irresponsible P.A.C. refugee, whose name I shall soon be compelled to disclose. He has a diabolical knack for distorting actual events by sending false reports to *Contact* at the expense of an entire nation.

Mothapo has consistently kept the squabble within the B.P.P. ranks unabated by keeping the already divided leadership of the People farther apart. This gives rise to an even greater harm done to the people by this ungrateful refugee; the havoc done is in short, the unnecessary delay of the People's FREEDOM and INDEPENDENCE. This is a very serious matter the thought of which will necessitate my having to disclose R. Mothapo's identity.

Mothapo apparently reckons that political asylum is embodied in the scrap of paper granting him asylum. It is an indisputable fact that this scrap of paper cannot be an effective protection against natural hazards of life. It is the People, NOT the paper, that make asylum real. To this R. Mothapo is blind as a bat.

It is difficult to confine to shield such a disruptive, pen-crazy and thoughtless refugee like Mothapo. Nowhere on the continent of Africa in particular, can a refugee of Mothapo's calibre be allowed to perpetuate the existence of the yoke of colonial rule by indulging in the corrupt and sinful acts of dividing the spearhead of the People's only libera-

tory organization. The penalty for such an offence is generally heavy.

Finally, I would like to remind Mothapo that an injured lion is deadly. Who can fail to foresee what will happen when the victims of Mothapo's chicanery, especially those disillusioned by the course of events, decide to act?

Take this fatherly advice, Mothapo: Leave the B.P.P. alone, lest you fall prey to the outcome of your own unfortunate and sorrowful lack of a sense of responsibility!

UTLWANG KEHAKGAMETSE,  
Serowe.

*[Mr. R. Mothapo, "Contact's" correspondent in Francistown, has reason to believe that there is no such person as Utlwang Kehakgametse (these words mean Listen I am puzzled), and that the writer of the letter above is an expelled former leading member of the Bechuanaland People's Party. Mr. Mothapo writes:*

*Come off it, Comrade! I, too, know your identity, which does not matter.*

*You have good reason to breathe fire and brimstone. After all, there is nothing with greater potency than truth to get under a man's skin.*

*Lest you succeed—as you want to—in creating a false impression in the mind of the reading public, I must remind you here that my identity is known to everyone whom I have met in B.P.P. political circles, yourself in particular.*

As you know so well, my assuming a *nom de plume* is due to reasons other than those you seek to impute before your readers. My reasons certainly have nothing to do with any shame whatever about my own writings.

You make no specific accusation against me in your letter—precisely because you have no case to make against me. To accuse me of "keeping the already divided leadership of the People further apart" creates the impression that you have made some attempt at reconciliation. That is not the case.

In my reports on the B.P.P. dispute I have tried as much as possible in such a red-hot controversy to refrain from comment, without clouding the issues as would be the case in dead-pan reports. If there is anything I can do privately or otherwise to smooth out things, you have been and are still welcome to give the word.

In the meantime, in view of the attitude you have taken, I want to call your bluff. Do go ahead and disclose my identity. And then we will see what political good that can do you!

As for your thinly-veiled threat of physical violence, it may interest you to learn that this would not be my first experience in similar circumstances. I am only sorry for you, for it would do you credit neither as a mature politician nor as an adult, which you ought to be.—EDITOR.]

## When I was Little

WHEN I WAS A LITTLE BOY MY MOTHER PUT ME IN THE BATHROOM IF I PLAYED ANY TRICKS:  
TODAY, NOW THAT I AM A MAN, MY VORSTER FATHER LOCKS ME IN MY HOUSE IF HE DOESN'T LIKE MY POLITICS.

LITTLE JOHNNY,  
Woodstock, Cape.

# Basutoland

# CO-OPERATIVE BANK STEPS UP INVESTMENT PROGRAMME

## From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: The Executive Committee of the Basutoland Co-operative Banking Union (B.C.B.U.), held a well attended meeting here recently to boost the investment programme of the Bank. It was a bold move forward to inject new life into the blood-stream of the Co-operative Movement in Basutoland generally.

Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, President of the Bank, said that the main purpose of the meeting was to popularize the Bank and induce the public to save their money in it.

He added: "The Bank must encourage the processing of all farming products such as flour, mealie-meal, wool and mohair in Basutoland in order to effect the elimination of tariff rates and customs duties on such products which are today processed in the Republic of South Africa".

## Country-wide Excursions

The Executive Committee had also conducted country-wide excursions specifically designed to stimulate banking in the B.C.B.U. and to create public confidence in the Bank's activities.

The economic and political significance of these two moves is to bring about great changes in the living standards of the Basotho who are being taught the essence of co-operative endeavour in the building of a nation, and in particular the value of money and investment in this direction.

The Banking Union, which comprises 200 member societies, does not do only

the ordinary business of banking, but has also set itself the task of undertaking "all such other things as are incidental and conducive to the development of the Co-operative Movement in Basutoland".

The manager of the Bank, Mr. J. A. Moleli, told *Contact* last week that he was confident that by the end of the year the savings level generally would have risen satisfactorily as a result of the present drive to popularize the Bank.

And yet there are numerous difficulties lying in the path of the Bank's development. Barely six months ago, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies, in a letter to all creditors of the Bank, nearly precipitated a situation charged with the danger of capital fleeing. He informed the creditors of the temporary freezing of government financial aid to the Bank and also warned very sternly that the government would "make a show of strength with the sole object of asserting its powers of control and ensuring the internal organization of the B.C.B.U. is brought to an appropriate standard of efficiency". This letter was circularized as a confidential document to all creditors earlier this year when there were malicious rumours of inefficiency and mismanagement which nearly ruined the Bank; furthermore, there were events of a more political nature which also obscured the upsurge of activity in the Bank; there was later an unfortunate struggle for leadership which led to a judicial inquiry. All these incidents, however destructive they may appear to be, failed to dislocate the machinery of the Bank-

ing Union and activity goes on unabated.

Even in the letter of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies to the creditors, there was a reassuring undertone that "it was government policy to build up the B.C.B.U. as the financing body of the Co-operative Movement in Basutoland for the agricultural and industrial development of the country".

## "Confidence Returning"

There is nevertheless a great need for public demonstration of confidence in the Banking Union after the occurrence of the above-mentioned events which shook the very foundation of the Bank's structure. This confidence is returning.

Already the decision of the Oxford Famine Relief to make initial grants to the B.C.B.U. totalling R40,000 for 1962/3, to increase credit facilities for farmers, is commendable and should provide the necessary dose to see the Banking Union through most of its severe headaches.

There is a hope that the year 1962 will mark a new stage in the development of the Co-operative Movement in Basutoland. The shape of the Banking Union's structure must therefore change in the light of changing circumstances. This change implies a general advance towards integrating the commercial and other activities of the Bank with agricultural and industrial production.

Thus the Banking Union may grow sufficiently in stature in the public sector of the economy over the next decade, to become the National Bank of Basutoland.

## BASUTOLAND REGIONAL TRADE UNION CENTRE

### From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: Mr. K. T. T. Maripe, the representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Basutoland, proposed a big scheme here two weeks ago at a public meeting of the Basutoland Federation of Labour, whereby the three High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland would have a single trade union centre of their own.

Mr. Maripe added that such a Regional Centre could do a lot in uniting the workers of the Protectorates and ultimately, perhaps, their peoples.

## SACTU Rush

But significantly enough, hardly a month after Mr. Maripe addressed Basuto workers on these possibilities, the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), rushed to Mhale's Hoek in southern Basutoland last weekend and held secret talks for two days with the Executive Committee of the Basutoland Congress of Trade Unions (BACTU), on what seems to be SACTU's first step towards asserting its influence and control over Basutoland trade unionism and later in the other two Protectorates. What are SACTU's motives in these manoeuvres?

When BACTU affiliated to the South African Congress of Trade Unions at the former's annual congress here recently (see *Contact*, 1st November), it became clear that this was the beginning of a series of long-contemplated exchanges between the two bodies for "mutual interests".

## "Communists Unhappy"

SACTU, together with the Communist Party of Lesotho are unhappy about the trade union work which Mr. Maripe is doing in Basutoland and his alleged collaboration with Shakhane Mokhehle's Federation of Labour; they will assist and bargain with BACTU to any extreme to see Maripe discredited in Basutoland trade union circles because they regard him contemptuously as "an agent of U.S.-financed and imperialist I.C.F.T.U.": and yet SACTU's friends in BACTU have gone cap-in-hand to Mr. Maripe to ask for money. This annoyed Communist Party bosses in Maseru and nearly caused a rift within their ranks.

Meanwhile SACTU and BACTU are continuing to pour slander and abuse on Mr. Maripe who did not see fit to give BACTU the money. In a most tactless fashion, abusing and denigrating Mr. Maripe, BACTU has now gone over Mr. Maripe's head to make direct financial appeals to the I.C.F.T.U. headquarters in Brussels; they are also asking for free airtickets from the I.C.F.T.U. to tour the world and send their members on trade union courses provided by the I.C.F.T.U. scholarship programme. It is surprising that BACTU with all its communist trimmings should ask for aid of any sort from the I.C.F.T.U.

It should be observed, however, that despite these obstacles Mr. Maripe still hopes to bridge the differences between the small BACTU faction and its stronger rival, the Basutoland Federation of Labour, before he departs from Basutoland.

# ENGLISH LANGUAGE

(Continued from page 2)

selves; from the men who have been making possible the smooth operation of the Bantu Education system since its inauguration; and from government-supporting chiefs in the Transkei and Ciskei.

As *Contact* reported (1st November): "The Bantu Education Department has been shamed into setting up a commission of three African members, two of them government servants and the third, Mr. B. B. Mdllele, known to be sympathetic to the government if not to its language policy.

"The main job of the commission is to report on the suitability of 'mother-tongue instruction' for African children, but many authorities giving evidence to the commission are also echoing the words of the Transkeians of all political complexions who have attacked the concentration of Afrikaans to the detriment of English."

Among the government supporting chiefs who have called for the greater use of English in school are Kaizer Matanzima and Botha Sigcawu, two men whose close collaboration with the implementation of apartheid has been cause for widespread comment. It can only be supposed that they have been compelled to come out against the government's language policy in African education by the vigour of public opinion among the people whose chiefs (wanted or not wanted) they are. In the Ciskei the opening of the new Ciskeian Territorial Authority was marked, and to the government possibly marred, by a motion from the councillors that English be the medium of higher primary instruction (from Std. IV instead of from Std. VI as at present).

Reports from the Ciskei generally indicate that there is widespread concern about the language policy of the Bantu Education Department, and that if the government does not act to improve the position of English in schools, the possibility of considerable unrest cannot be discounted.

Whether or not the government's policy will stimulate any strong reaction from the bulk of the White English-speaking communities, and not just from the intellectual leaders, remains to be seen, but a reaction certainly has been generated among the Xhosa-speaking people of the Transkei and in the ranks of the Bantu Education Department. It is apparent that on the educational level, these people are rejecting government intentions, firstly to Bantuize, and secondly to deny access to the English-speaking world.

## Symbolic Languages

Reasons for this rejection were suggested by Prof. Guy Butler in his address to the English Academy on 19th October (see *Contact* 1st November), and among them the most compelling was that while Afrikaans has become the language of oppression and apartheid, English has become the symbol of protest and emancipation. A man who knows Xhosa and Afrikaans only can never read a non-Nationalist daily newspaper, let alone publications radically opposed to apartheid, such as *Contact*, *New Age*, *Fighting Talk* or *The New African*; he cannot hear news and comment on the air from any station besides Radio South Africa and Radio Bantu, nor can he read the writings of leaders to African emancipation such as Nkrumah, Kaunda, Padmore

and Mboya, whose works are published only in English, and translated into other European languages.

There is every reason to believe that the government, while making a few concessions to public feeling, will do nothing to alter the basic composition of Bantu Education, and that it will press forward with its plans to whittle away the influence of English among Africans. Were it not to do so, it would show its weakness in a reversal of policy and an acceptance of demands made by Africans. The prospect ahead is of steady pressure to cut Africans off from the English-speaking world through the education system (this has its parallel among Whites in government campaigns in the press and particularly on the radio, to draw English-speaking people closer to Afrikaners by the creation of a "united White nation" holding ideals foreign to the spirit of the English world tradition). The struggle, therefore, to maintain English, and to spread it, must become an essential part of the freedom movement. In the same way that Afrikaner leaders in the early years of the century saw the struggle to keep Afrikaners speaking Afrikaans (and not allowing their language to be destroyed on Milner's altar of Anglicization) as an essential element in the creation of the Afrikaner nation and a necessary step towards the goal of political dominance, so must the English language be seen today by opponents of that domination and of White supremacy generally as essential to the bringing of democracy to South Africa. The more Africans who read, write, listen to and speak English, the easier will it be to prevent the perpetual rule of apartheid.



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