

SOUTH AFRICA'S NON-RACIAL FORTNIGHTLY

# **Matanzima Sues "Contact" For R10,000**

By a Reporter

**A** LLEGING that he has been "injured in his good name, esteem and reputation" by the publication of two articles in *Contact*, Chief Kaizer Daliwonga Matanzima of Emigrant Tembuland has sued Selemela Publications (Pty.) Ltd., publishers of *Contact*, and Lincey & Watson, printers of the newspaper, for R10,000.

He claims a sum of R5,000 for allegedly defamatory statements in each of the articles. The claims are being contested and the case will be heard in the Supreme Court, Cape Town.

In addition to its "natural defamatory meaning", the first of the articles — published on 25th January, 1961, under the heading "*Transkei Tyranny*" — is alleged by Chief Matanzima to mean and was understood by its readers to mean that:

- "He was and is a cruel, unjust and oppressive ruler of the Bantu people in Tembuland;
- "That he was and is an absolute despot or ruler who uses his powers to oppress and suppress the Bantu people of Tembuland;
- "That he ruled and still rules the Bantu people with undue severity and in a cruel, lawless and oppressive manner."

The second article — published in *Contact* on 8th February under the heading "*Kaizer Matanzima*—



Chief Kaizer Matanzima (left) and his brother, Chief George Matanzima.

*Transkei Tyrant*" — is alleged to have intended to mean, among other things, that he "is a dictator and traitor to his (the Bantu) people" and that "he ruled and is ruling his people in a cruel, pitiless and barbarous manner".

The summons in the case, in which Chief Matanzima is described

as "Paramount Chief of Emigrant Tembuland", was served at the offices of *Contact* on 4th January. Chief Matanzima's declaration, served with the summons, was signed by his counsel, Mr. T. E. Kleynhans, and by his attorney who gives his address as c/o The Deputy State Attorney (Cape).

# contact

47 PARLIAMENT STREET  
CAPE TOWN  
P.O. Box 1979 Phone 2-4524

Telegrams:  
CONTACT Cape Town

## CORRESPONDENTS

Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban,  
Pietermaritzburg, East London,  
Port Elizabeth.

Windhoek, Maseru, Mbabane,  
Francistown.

Salisbury, Bulawayo, Lusaka,  
Blantyre.

Dar es Salaam, Accra.

London.

## SUBSCRIPTIONS:

### AFRICAN POSTAL UNION

Surface:  
R1.40 (14/-) per year  
R0.70 (7/-) per half year  
Airmail:  
R2.70 (£17/0) per year  
R1.35 (13/6) per half year

### ELSEWHERE

Surface:  
R1.70 (17/-) per year  
R0.85 (8/6) per half year  
Airmail:  
On application

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

# VERWOERD'S NONSENSE

IN his "New Year Message to the Bantu", Dr. Verwoerd has tried to persuade the African people of South Africa to stop striving for their rights and their freedom because by doing so, he says, they endanger the high standard of living they enjoy compared with that of the people of the free countries of Africa. Freedom did not bring progress to the independent African states, Dr. Verwoerd alleges, but the contrary, chaos and decline.

Verwoerd is, of course, talking non-

sense. In the first place, the African people of South Africa do not enjoy a high standard of living, in fact the very contrary: those who doubt this should consult the tables giving statistics for malnutrition and diseases deriving from it in South Africa which we have published. They should also remember the widespread starvation among Africans in the rural areas. The African people of South Africa are not well off, and are unlikely ever to be well off until freedom is won.

Verwoerd's second piece of nonsense is that no progress has been made in the free African states since independence. While it is true that many of them suffer all the ills of underdevelopment, including poverty, widespread illiteracy and disease, *their governments are doing all in their power to eradicate these ills, often with considerable success.* In Ghana, for example, pay packets get a little larger each year, as slowly and unspectacularly, progress benefits the people. Has Dr. Verwoerd perhaps not heard of the Nigerian development plan, so extensive and ambitious that it makes the R450,000,000 Orange River Project, of which the Nationalists here are so proud, look small?

Verwoerd's nonsense is calculated though: it is intended to delude the most ruthlessly exploited people in Africa into thinking that because some of them have wireless sets, flashy sideboards and motor cars, the majority are happy with tuberculosis, kwashiorkor and empty stomachs, not to mention pass laws and Bantu Education.

Verwoerd is trying to persuade the African people to cease struggling for their rights, and his method of persuasion is to bribe them with lies. Perhaps some will be foolish enough to believe him and will make themselves as comfortable as possible in subservience. For the vast majority though, the bribe will not be taken, and the relentless, tough and dangerous road to freedom will be the course they choose, and with them all South Africa's oppressed people and all her democrats.



# Business and Banking in Post-Colonial Africa

By François Charbonnier

IMPORTANT economic transformations, which have received little notice elsewhere, are presently taking place in most of the French-speaking states of Africa. These transformations are mainly in two fields: commerce and banking.

Everywhere in French-speaking Africa, private business has been subject for some time to the competition of parastatal organizations or mixed-economy companies, closely dependent upon the state. Two organizations of this nature founded in the last few months are the Office for Trade in Agricultural Products in Cameroun and the National Company for Trade and Production (COPRO-NIGER) in Niger. Another similar company is the Import-Export Company (SOMIEX) in Mali, which possesses the import monopoly for the principal consumer products and the export monopoly for Mali's chief product, groundnuts. SOMIEX has opened branch stores in the major centres of the country. The Central Co-operative of Upper Volta, which was founded in 1961 and is under direct government control, has also proceeded to open branches in different centres. These organizations are only a few examples of those that are in existence.

## Nationalization of Trade

This evolution is not characteristic of the franc zone countries only. In Guinea and Ghana, the nationalization of trade is even more strongly en-

couraged.

The policies of African governments as regards private business arise, it seems, from several causes, two of which are foremost in importance. The first involves abusive practices (real or imagined) indulged in by private businessmen. Africans and many Whites residing overseas hold the latter responsible for high costs of living.

The reaction of most White commercial enterprises in Africa to this state-minded policy has been, on the whole, very reasonable. These firms show an increasing tendency to concentrate on wholesale business; several of them are participating in industrial enterprises. Others have offered their help to mixed-economy companies and even to national organizations created by local governments. Thus, two mixed-economy companies, SOCECOD and AFRIDEX, have been in operation in Senegal since the beginning of 1962 with the co-operation of European private business.

## Banking and Africanization

In the banking field, reorganization is conducted by methods entirely different from those used in the commercial sector. The idea of reorganization was not originated by the local authorities but by the leading executives of the important banks established in Africa. However, the result, as in commerce, is a rapid Africanization.

Of the five large French Banks in Africa, the *Crédit Lyonnais* has gone

farthest in Africanization. In the last year, it has created branch offices in nine African states; these branches co-operate with local governments and, in certain cases, with foreign banks. Six branches, to which *Crédit Lyonnais* contributed its local agencies, have been in operation for a number of months. These are the Ivory Coast Bank Company, the Cameroun Bank Company, the Dahomey Bank Company, the Senegalese Bank Union, the Credit and Deposit Bank of Mali, and the Central African Bank Union. The three others—the Credit and Deposit Bank of Chad, the Bank Union of Gabon, and the Congolese Commercial Bank—have come into operation more recently.

These banks have been organized on different patterns. In Senegal, Mali, Dahomey, Congo (Brazzaville), and Chad, the state is the major shareholder. In the Ivory Coast and Gabon, the state is in a minority. Moreover, in the two latter countries, part of the bank capital is owned by three foreign banks (*Deutsche Bank*, *Banca Commerciale Italiana*, and *Morgan Guaranty International Banking*). The Central African Bank Union has a special status, and the government does not participate at all. This bank was created through merger of the local agencies of *Crédit Lyonnais* and the *Société Générale*.

The collaboration introduced in the Ivory Coast and Gabon with *Deutsche Bank*, *Banca Commerciale Italiana*, and *Morgan Guaranty* will not remain as isolated examples. These three banks will, with an increase in capital, par-

ticipate in the Cameroun Bank Company. *Crédit Lyonnais* will transfer to them part of the 49 per cent which it now holds. Discussions are also under way regarding the participation of *Deutsche Bank* and *Banca Commerciale Italiana* in the Dahomey Bank Union.

## Private Enterprise

Africanization of the banks does not worry private business circles in Africa; in fact, it is generally approved. Nationalization of trade, on the other hand, causes a certain amount of uneasiness, especially in states where nationalization is already relatively advanced. However, the trend should not be exaggerated. Even in Mali, where nationalization of trade has received relatively great emphasis, the private sector still holds an important place.

All the new states have promulgated investment codes which accord appreciable advantages and definite guarantees to industrial enterprises which establish themselves in Africa.

In the industrial field, the position of the African leaders is clear. For example, the equipment planning of various states, including Senegal, Mali and Dahomey, includes the creation of a number of industries judged necessary for the country's economy. If private enterprise should be interested in these projects, the state is prepared to extend to it important advantages to help in the construction of plants. The state will construct such plants only if the private sector fails to do so.

In the agricultural field, the policy is much the same as in the industrial. The leaders try to induce the farmers to increase production and to organize co-operatives.

—International Feature Service.

## Interview with "Tribal" College Students

## STUDENTS MADE READY FOR LIFE IN BANTUSTANS

By a Reporter

CAPE TOWN: While in Cape Town for an Executive meeting of the National Union of South African Students, students from four of the five "tribal" university colleges gave an interview to *Contact* in which they described conditions at the colleges. They were from Turfloop, Ngoye, Fort Hare, and Bellville. Representatives from the "Indian" college at Salisbury Island, Durban, did not attend.

## Impressions Confirmed

The students confirmed impressions published in previous issues of *Contact*, and in other newspapers, that

- Fort Hare has ceased to be a university college in the true sense of the word

- All the colleges are conducted in full accordance with Nationalist ideology
- Students are prepared for life in "Bantustan" society, and are channelled in that direction
- Academic standards are not at the level of proper universities in South Africa
- Many of the "students" at the colleges do not have matriculation and are studying for teachers' diplomas
- The full weight of authority is employed to isolate the students from contact with NUSAS and with the "White" universities.

The students are not allowed to receive visitors at the colleges without permission, and are not allowed to give statements to the press. Their interview with *Contact* constituted a breach of college discipline, and consequently the names of the students cannot be disclosed. The representatives who were to have come to the NUSAS meeting from the Salisbury Island college were

associated with the Non-European Unity Movement.

IT IS SAID that Mr. Anton Rupert, the cigarette manufacturer, is negotiating to buy the Phillimore-Ives collection of paintings, which, until South Africa left the commonwealth, were on permanent exhibition in Stellenbosch. They had been bequeathed to that centre of South African culture by an Englishwoman who is said to have believed Stellenbosch might be the last outpost against world communism, but she also believed in the commonwealth, so the pictures were taken away after Dr. Verwoerd's strategic withdrawal in 1961. It is not a very exciting collection; there are many of superior range and value in minor English country houses: the sort of second-rate stuff a succession of eldest sons of a titled family would pick up on the Grand Tour of Europe, with insipid family portraits by Kneller or Raeburn, and several Rembrandts and a Van Dyck (perhaps these are what the Phillimore catalogue used to call "traditional attributions, more tentative than definitive"). We should not sniff at the Collection; it was a worthy gift to a small town. But surely Mr. Rupert, whose companies make one cigarette in every fifty that John Citizen smokes the world over, can do better. From cigarette king to culture king (Mr. Rupert's seeming ambition) is a big step, and the Phillimore-Ives Collection is no stepping-stone. A slice of the profits from all those millions of coffin-nails Mr. Rupert turns out would be better spent on two or three really great works, or even fewer.

ANTHONY DELIUS'S comic satire *The Day Natal Took Off* must be published. It was about to be, when the printers took fright and work was stopped. A new publisher is considering the matter. This novel, which etches English South African attitudes in acid, has doubled up with laughter several readers who have read the manuscript or printer's proofs. A year or two ago there would have been no question of fear over its publication, but Balthazar Johannes Vorster has changed all that. Needless to say, the printing firm that got cold feet is not a small struggling one that could somehow be snuffed out by government ill-will. It is one of the biggest and strongest in the country.

By Jacob Bam

told by the authorities to bear in mind that examination results would be published *after* the NUSAS Executive meeting. They took this as a warning not to attend.

All students spoke of the atmosphere of fear at the colleges, and the Bellville representative said that his fellow students were afraid to voice any opposition to the authorities. Opponents faced expulsion, and once expelled there was no other institution in South Africa at which they could further their studies. Fort Hare reported that politically active students had been expelled for alleged "drunkenness".

## Non-Racial Education

Asked about the wishes of the students, all representatives were unanimous that they wanted no more immediately than the right to attend the university of their choice, but that their ultimate objective was a non-racial and democratic system of education for all. They only attended the "tribal" colleges because they had no alternative.

Asked about government grants to students, representatives said that grants were given on condition that the student on graduating worked in government employment, often in jobs through which apartheid was implemented in the Bantustans, and as far as concerned Bellville, in the Coloured Affairs Department. Trainee teachers at Ngoye and Fort Hare would be absorbed in the Bantu Education Department.

All representatives complained of the standard of tuition. Fort Hare said that academic standards had dropped since the government took over the college in 1959. Lecturers were mainly Afrikaans-speakers, and some of them had difficulty in reading English. The lecturer

in English literature, for example, spoke English badly. At Bellville in some faculties lectures were given in Afrikaans while textbooks were in English. Fort Hare spoke of hostility between students and staff which made normal discussion and university life impossible. Students were spied upon by members of the Security Police, and there were police dogs at the college, and floodlights in the quadrangle, for use in case of "trouble".

Open discussion even among students was rare, as it was impossible to know who were or were not spies for the authorities.

## Student Representative Councils

At none of the colleges is there any elected body representative of the student body. Student Representative Councils at both Fort Hare and Bellville had disbanded themselves because they were being abused by the authorities. Instead of the S.R.C.'s being the voice of the students in their dealings with the authorities, the authorities attempted to make the S.R.C.'s their spokesmen to the students. Orders were given rather than suggestions and complaints received.

## "Little They Can Do"

Despite all the hindrances outlined, and the deliberate attempts to frighten the students off opposition to apartheid, NUSAS maintains its contact with the "tribal" colleges, and students there are keeping alive the spirit of resistance. There is, however, little they can do without bringing their student days to a rapid end.

## Leballo's Return



Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr. P. K. LEBALLO arrives back in Maseru after his December visit to United Nations headquarters in New York, and to various European and African capitals. Seen at the airport on his arrival are (left to right): Messrs. J. Molefi (P.A.C. leader in Basutoland), P. K. Leballo, E. L. Ntloedibe (P.A.C. representative in Basutoland), E. A. Mfana (former P.A.C. National Organizer); in the background is Mr. K. T. T. Maripe, representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, now in Basutoland studying the working of trade unions there.

A temporary immigration office was set up at the airport to greet Mr. Leballo, and Basutoland Mounted Police were much in evidence.

## Personal Files

DUNDUZU K. CHISIZA, Parliamentary Secretary to the Nyasaland Ministry of Finance, was killed in a motor-car accident on 3rd September 1962. This tragic loss to Nyasaland and to Africa came shortly after the dazzling success of the Economic Symposium he organized at Blantyre in 1962, when twenty-five of the world's leading economists met to discuss Nyasaland's and Africa's economic future. Of the papers delivered, "Du" Chisiza's own, on "the temper, aspirations and problems of contemporary Africa" will live, for its positive assessment of the African contribution to modern life. It has been reprinted in the banned journal of ZAPU, *Chapupu*, and is to appear, in extracts, in forthcoming issues of *The New African*. The name of Chisiza is linked with that of a patriotic Malawi businessman, Lawrence S. Makata, also killed in a motor accident in 1962, for in their memory a Memorial Trust has been set up (P.O. Box 699, Limbe) to help their families, to set up a scholarship fund and to assist in other community development projects. Chisiza's successor in the Ministry of Finance, according to *Malawi News*, is to be Mr. John Tembo, a former student of Pius XII University College at Roma, Basutoland. Tembo was at Roma in the early nineteen-fifties and was then

## GERHARD COHN

Photographer

For home portraits of distinction

P.O. Box 4716 Phone 45-4050

Johannesburg

## TSHOMBE:

### “Millions of Francs and a Villa in Brussels”

● As United Nations forces move to take control of Katanga and to re-integrate it with the rest of the Congo, the spotlight falls on Moise Tshombe, self-styled President of Katanga, wily secessionist politician.

TSHOMBE once said of himself: “A man of my kind deserves some respect”, and the apparent success he has had up to now in keeping Katanga out of the Congo perhaps justifies his vanity. A man of over forty, father of a large family, he was the son of a powerful member of the Lunda tribe (whose country lies on either side of the Katanga-Northern Rhodesia frontier): powerful because he was a rich merchant at a time when very few Africans could become either merchants or rich.

Tshombe, however, was tolerated by the Belgians. His son studied bookkeeping and commerce at a Methodist mission, and later married well—to the daughter of the Chief of the Luandas. With his wife he won the loyalty of the 350,000 Lunda people.

In 1959, Tshombe was a member of the Elisabethville municipal council, and as a result of the pre-

independence elections, a member of the provincial assembly. Together with Munongo, Kibwe and Kimba, he ran the CONAKAT Party, the Party favoured and supported by the Belgians and the mining company Union Minière, against the fervently nationalist BALUBAKAT Party, led by Jason Sendwe, a follower of Patrice Lumumba.

At the Brussels conference which finalized plans for the independence of the Congo, Tshombe was conspicuous by the number of White “advisers” who were in his party: Tshombe’s CONAKAT had won the provincial elections thanks to the support of financial groups in Katanga, but only by a narrow majority. It was this victory that made him political head of the Katanga province.

#### Journey to Leopoldville

Tshombe went to Leopoldville, together with all other regional leaders, to celebrate the Independence of the Congo on 1st July, 1960, but to his surprise he was not treated with the honour and respect he considered his due as leader of the richest province in the new republic. Perhaps it was this sudden realization that he was a small fish in the big Congo pool which helped him make up his mind to be the big fish in small Katanga: perhaps it was the insistent whispered “advice” of those with vested interests in Katanga,



TSHOMBE (right) in his days of triumph, visits Paris and is seen here chatting with Katanga’s representative there. A.F.P. Photo

perhaps it was tribal separatism, but eleven days after Independence, Tshombe declared that Katanga was a sovereign state, no longer part of the Congo Republic.

He had the assurance of support from powerful friends in this move—and to justify the step he declared over and over again: *Lumumba is leading the country into the hands of the communists!*

The support he needed to maintain his position soon came forward: the Union Minière had always been with him; the Belgians came out on his side; Sir Roy Welensky and Dr. Verwoerd were pleased to have a buffer state between the White empire of southern Africa and the turbulent Congo; Katanga mining companies had loud voices in British ruling circles. Had it not been for the United Nations and for America, Katanga’s independence might have continued indefinitely, but their opposition to his secession, as well as the opposition of many states in Africa made his position less secure than he could have wished.

And to keep himself where he wants to be, he has played trick after trick on his opponents: conferences which came to nothing, promises, denials, agreements cancelled later, negotiations with Gizenga, anti-communist slogans, mercenaries, disarmament, flattery and insults; he exploited every rivalry, every weakness in his enemies, called upon tribal solidarity, declared himself the man who was saving Africa from communism.

#### Played Out

The game now seems to be reaching its end: United Nations forces in Katanga have cut through Tshombe’s defences with no difficulty and few casualties, without hostility from the local people, and Tshombe will soon be bargaining from a position of weakness: Katanga’s secession will end, and Tshombe, perhaps, spend the rest of his days in a comfortable villa in Brussels or London, with a large and steady income from the millions of francs he has acquired since 1960.

## S.A. Sports Association Exposes “Affiliate” Trick

By a Reporter

ONE of the means that many all-White South African sports bodies are employing to avoid being isolated from international sports federations, is to acquire a non-White “affiliate”.

This was done by the Football Association of South Africa when it attended the conference of the Federation of International Football Associations in Chile during 1962, with representatives of its affiliate “Bantu” football association in tow. The presence of the affiliate did not, however, deter FIFA from expelling South Africa until such time as racialism is removed from South African sport.

#### “Especially Created”

The latest move by White racist sportsmen is in the field of weightlifting, where a non-White affiliate seems to have been specially created for the purpose.

The President of the non-racial South African Sports Association, Mr. G. K. Rangasamy, comments in a statement to *Contact*:

“Earlier this year a so-called national non-White weightlifting body affiliated to the exclusively White South African Weightlifting Union.

“No publicity was given to this move, for a very good reason: no such “national” body exists.

“The organization consists of a handful of disgruntled individuals who were formerly members of the truly national non-racial South African Weightlifting and Bodybuilding Federation. This Federation, of which I had the honour of being a President, is open to all South Africans and has provincial units in the majority of provinces of the country. It has just staged one of the most successful championships in its history at Durban.

“On behalf of our association I must make it quite clear that we condemn in the strongest terms these efforts to disrupt our non-racial bodies. We ask former members of our Federation such as Milo Pillay and Billy Francis to cease from such efforts and to return and work in our organizations for true non-racial sportsmanship for all South Africans.”

#### “INSULT TO NON-WHITE CRICKETERS”

SASA will again ask the South African Cricket Association to consider non-White cricketers for selection when the

team to tour New Zealand this year is chosen.

SASA says in a statement to the New Zealand Cricket Council: “It is almost certain that our request will again be dismissed or ignored by the South African Cricket Association which rigidly practices racial discrimination in cricket.

“We ask that the New Zealand Cricket Association insist that the team to tour New Zealand be selected on the basis of merit and that racial prejudice be excluded. If the South African Cricket Association will not uphold the principles of sportsmanship with regard to the selection of the touring team then we ask that your council withdraw its invitation, otherwise this tour will constitute an insult to the non-White cricketers of your country and ours.”

#### ACTIVITY IN W. CAPE

SASA’s work for non-racial sport has continued unabated in the western Cape: plans are afoot to form a national non-racial swimming union, and a meeting to launch the project will be held during February. Efforts have been made to inform all swimming organizations in South Africa, but any which

### SASA GENERAL MEETING

THE second biennial general meeting of SASA will be held at the Patidar Hall, Fordsburg, Johannesburg, on Sunday, 13th January.

The South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, formed in Durban in October, 1962, will be formally inaugurated.

The meeting will be open to the public.

have been overlooked should write to the convener of the meeting, Mr. Arthur Jacobs, P.O. Box 342, Paarl.

Big developments are expected in rugby in the region: a conference has been called for March which will establish a common administration for both “African” and “Coloured” rugby. African rugby officials in the Boland have responded favourably to the idea. Many Coloured rugby bodies are expected to join the new grouping, but others will probably refuse, preferring to remain exclusive.

Have you subscribed to **CONTACT?** See page 2 for rates

## Bechuanaland

# People's Party Says "Set Date For Freedom"

From R. MOTHAPU

FRANCISTOWN: In spite of intermittent rain throughout its three days' duration, the annual national assembly of the Bechuanaland People's Party came to a most successful conclusion here on 30th December when a 2,500-strong rally endorsed a delegates' conference resolution calling on the British government to act before June, 1963, in setting a date for Bechuanaland independence.

Though impassable roads due to flooded rivers prevented many delegates from attending, 32 branches were represented by 205 official delegates from many parts of the territory and from as far afield as Johannesburg and Cape Town.

### Visiting Speakers

Highlights of the opening sessions were speeches by a crack team from the Basutoland Congress Party headed by Mr. G. M. Kolisang, B.C.P. Secretary-General and member of the Basutoland Legislative Council.

Others with him were Messrs. S. J. Motlamele, M.L.C. (B.C.P. National Executive), K. S. Chakela, B.C.P. Cairo representative, L. Masoabi, National Executive Committee, and N. Raseleso.

Mr. B. A. Zondi, National Organizer, represented the Swaziland Progressive Party. From Northern Rhodesia came Mr. N. Victor Zaza, of the United National Independence Party. Mr. Maxton Joseph, who had just returned from Guinea and Tanganyika, represented the South West Africa People's Organization.

Mr. Matthew Nkoana, who was due to open the conference on behalf of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa, was prevented from doing so, having had a week earlier to sign a



B.P.P. leaders and their guests sing the anthem at the close of the Party conference. At the extreme right is Mr. MOTSETE, the Party President.

declaration that he would not take part in the politics of the territory and neighbouring countries (including South Africa) while he remained in Bechuanaland.

### President's Address

Opening the conference the President of the B.P.P., Mr. K. T. Motsete, said that the Bechuanaland government had been jolted out of its torpor by "the forceful presentation of our case" at the United Nations on racial discrimination in public places, in employment, wages and salaries, in treatment in hospitals and on the railways. As a result said Mr. Motsete, the Bechuanaland Legislative Council had set up a Select Committee to investigate all forms of racial discrimination in the territory.

The Party had, independent of the government, been successful in sending

young men and women abroad on scholarships to equip themselves for effective service to their country and people. The Party had grown considerably in membership, and in reputation, prestige and influence.

Mr. Motsete said that whether one was black, blue, brown or white, he would be equally protected by law to "enjoy the freedom of living here on a just and equitable basis whether he be peasant, cattleman, worker, professional, civil servant, trader, retired person, chief or Bushman or visitor".

Among other resolutions the conference deplored the activities of the Security Branch of South Africa in Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland and called on the British government to stop them, and demanded the abrogation of the present Bechuanaland constitution.



Part of the crowd which attended the rally at the end of the B.P.P. conference in Francistown.

## "Paramount" Matanzima Departs Again

IT has been rumoured for some time that Chief Kaizer Daliwonga Matanzima is dissatisfied with his status as an inferior of Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindybo of the Tembus, as well as being an inferior of the other three Paramount Chiefs in the Transkei.

He appears to have anticipated expected government moves to have him made a Paramount Chief in a letter in *Contact's* care in which he has signed himself as IKUMKANI (Paramount Chief) of the Emigrant Tembu. The letter concerned was an instruction to Mr. Simango Tsoko, of Hoita Location, St. Mark's District, to go to Matanzima's office in Qamata on 31st October, 1962.

At Qamata, Mr. Tsoko was served with the following removal order, signed by Matanzima:

"In terms of Regulation 12(1) of Proclamation No. R400 of 1960, I have, by virtue of the powers vested in me under the said Proclamation, to order that you remove with the members of your household, livestock and moveable property from Hoita Location in St. Mark's district to Seplan Location in Xalanga district, and to remain in the lastmentioned location for an unspecified period.

"It is ordered that you should report to Headman Caldecott Tsha-

*K. T. Motsete*  
IKUMKANI YABAKHEBE BANE RHODA.

tshu at his kraal in Seplan Location not later than thirty days from the date of service of this order upon you or at your place of ordinary residence.

"It is further ordered that, while this order is in operation, your movements will be restricted within Seplan Location and that you will not visit any other place outside Seplan Location without the prior consent of Headman Caldecott Tshatshu. You will also report to Headman Tshatshu once weekly while you remain in Seplan Location."

### Transkei Constitution

It is significant that the Transkei Constitution Bill, to go before Parliament in the coming session, contains clauses specifically allowing for an increase in the number of Paramount Chiefs. These clauses were attacked by Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindybo of the Tembus in the Transkei Territorial Authority during the debate on the proposed constitution on 12th December, 1962.

According to Tembu tradition, Matanzima is "younger brother" (though in fact a remote second cousin) of the Paramount Chief, Sabata Dalindybo, who was declared Paramount Chief of the Tembus in 1929 at a meeting held at the Great Place.

The Emigrant Tembu, of whom Matanzima is one of a group of senior chiefs, have always acknowledged the Paramount Chief of the whole Tembu people as their *Kumkani*.

Footnote: In the defamation declaration served on *Contact* (see page 1), Matanzima calls himself "Paramount Chief".

## The Underdog

They call me the underdog  
But they mean  
This earth's not big enough to accommodate  
Them and I.  
The dirt road and the side paths are the place  
For me, and, they take it for granted  
I'll stay there—  
Like the way the stars are fixed  
In a set pattern.  
Maybe I'm like a star  
With a fixed pattern, a destiny,  
But I'm slow to move—  
My side of the canvas is empty.  
It's like I'm baffled by contradictions,  
It's like I'm living in a void,  
It's like I'm a power revolving within  
itself  
But going nowhere,  
It's like I want some confirmation  
Of my manhood, my provocative and  
strong maleness—  
But my woman can't give it to me.  
There's no spark in her eye.  
She looks down instead of around me.  
Sometimes I feel my inward powers  
Rend my body like a bursting agony  
And it's as though I could die  
With this crushing agony . . .

BESSIE HEAD.

# Start of a New Era

From "Contact" Correspondent

**DAR ES SALAAM:** On 9th December Tanganyika entered a new era in its existence as a nation — the new constitution came into effect and the country became a Republic with Dr. Julius Nyerere as its first President. The former Prime Minister, Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, became Vice-President.

In terms of the new constitution, the President is given sweeping powers over the administration, the civil service and the armed forces. He chooses his own Executive, but his measures have to be approved by parliament. If they are not, the President must resign, parliament is dissolved, and new elections held.

Tanganyika remains within the commonwealth, but the departure of the country's first and last Governor-General, Sir Richard Turnbull, marks more than a simple constitutional change. Observers feel that given the powers deriving from the new constitution, President Nyerere will be able to play a dynamic and positive part in the development of his land and people. Certainly more will depend on him in the years ahead than on any other man in Tanganyika.

It is thought that the country will gain a stability and sense of purpose to some extent lacking since Independence in 1961. Certainly the decision of Nyerere's Tanganyika African National Union to admit non-Africans to membership will reassure Tanganyikans of

immigrant stock whose presence is vitally important in the development of the country.

With the people solidly behind him, as shown in voting in the Presidential election, Nyerere, as leader of a united country, will be able to exercise considerable influence in the creation of one of his major ambitions — the federation of east African countries (Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda, Zanzibar).

Tanganyika's nine million people, most of them poor farmers, expect to find in the new Republic a drive and push which will propel their country forward to prosperity. The new constitution gives the government the power it needs to do so, and Tanganyika, herself a friendly country, is not lacking friends to help.



**NEW HEAD OF STATE:** President Julius Nyerere addresses the first parliament of the Republic of Tanganyika.



**GOODBYE:** Tanganyika's first and last Governor-General, Sir Richard Turnbull, waves farewell as he and Lady Turnbull leave Tanganyika on the eve of its becoming a Republic.



**Dr. Nyerere drives away from the swearing in ceremony; he was sworn in as President by the Chief Justice, Sir Ralph Windham.**

## Drums and Dancing

- One of the features of the celebrations which accompanied Tanganyika's becoming a Republic on 9th December was the performance of traditional music and dances by members of the various tribes which make up the population of the country.
- Most memorable was the great Ha drum, from the royal house of Mwami Ntare Theresa, Chieftain of the 300,000 strong Ha tribe in western Tanganyika, which greeted President Nyerere at all celebrations. The drum stands four feet high and is normally used at the installation of chiefs of the Ha tribe.
- Among the dances performed were war dances of the Masai and snake dances of the Msukuma.



**The great Ha drum, used to mark the arrival of President Nyerere at all Republic celebrations.**



**Masai dancers.**



**An acrobatic traditional dance performed to celebrate the Republic.**

# READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS . . .

## Mr. Molteno's Franchise Policy

SIR,—In the course of his latest attack (*Contact*, 29th November) on the principle of votes for all, and on its most distinguished South African proponents, the Liberals, Mr. Donald Molteno permits himself a curious argument. "Equality of political rights," writes Mr. Molteno, "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 qualification that is common (presumably meaning 'open') to all."

This is indeed strange doctrine. It is open to all to earn and accumulate money. On Mr. Molteno's argument a franchise open only to the possessors of a million rand would be a franchise giving "equality of political rights" since it is open to all to get that million rand.

Come off it, Mr. Molteno!

To me, as to the other sheep-owners in this area, the various schemes for qualified votes being smoused around South Africa have this in common: they in fact deprive the non-Whites of the power of the vote, while appearing to be non-racial.

HOOHOO BOGOVA,  
Quthing, Basutoland.

## "Apologist for Fascists"

SIR,—In an editorial article on "The Freedom of the Press" (*Contact*, 13th December) you say that in the United States the Communist Party and its organ *The Worker* are allowed to "exist", and that progressive journals of all kinds are published without state interference: this is nonsense.

Granted, the Communist Party exists; but you have apparently thought fit not to disclose how it exists: you don't dare to reveal—what is the truth—that the Party and *The Worker*, together with several other progressive journals, are subjected to constant persecution paralleled only in fascist dictatorships like our own. But let me be more specific: the instances of repression are countless.

It is particularly ironical that only two days before the *Contact* editorial was published the trial of the U.S. Communist Party opened in Washington, the first of its kind in American history. *Contact* would have us believe that the Kennedy gang respects the rule of law, and yet today concentration camps are standing ready to accommodate the victims of police swoops whenever Kennedy chooses to declare an "emergency"; it does not tell us that, under the McCarran Act, the Attorney General may intern anyone without trial who he thinks may in the future commit sabotage or "endanger the nation's security". The jargon has a familiar ring.

Democrats like myself find it hard to believe that your journal—a liberal journal—should set itself up as apologist for a government that resorts to naked fascist methods such as these. How much longer are we to be told that America is a democracy, when (as economists like Kolko have shown) effective power rests with an insignificant and constantly diminishing minority of reactionary monopoly capitalists? It is up to *Contact* to tell our people the truth about the "free" world: this is not the first time that we have been shocked at its shameless championing of our mortal enemy—imperialism—but let it be the last. What we demand of *Contact* is a really fighting paper, a consistent fighter for human freedom; not a paper that supports the people in one country and rulers in another.

GRAHAM PECHEY,  
Pietmaritzburg.

## TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- This is your page, for your letters, for your opinions
- We like short letters on any topic
- There is no prize letter this fortnight.

## Basutoland United Front

SIR,—Your thesis is that the call for a United Front in Basutoland is a communist manoeuvre, and hence your campaign that the people of Basutoland should reject that call. On the other hand my honest opinion is that the call for a National Liberation Front is the popular call of Basotho workers, peasants, youth and students. I plead therefore with the people of Lesotho to accept a National Front as the quickest path to a national democratic state of Lesotho.

It is true that the Communist Party of Lesotho leads the call for a National Front which would organize the broad masses of the people against both British and White South African imperialism. But the story does not end there, for the broad sections of the people have accepted the call as their own.

The National Union of Basutoland Students at a recent seminar condemned the present state of disunity in the country and called for a broad United Front to defeat British colonialism and advance to nationhood. The National Union of Students is not communist.

The Basutoland African Students' Association at its October conference in Maseru called for the formation of a National Liberation Front as the quickest way to attain independence for Basutoland. BASA are not communists.

The Lekhotla la Bafo, a peasant political organization led by Mr. Josiel Lefela, has called for a National Liberation Front of all patriotic parties bound by a minimum programme for national liberation. Lefela is no communist, but a consistent anti-Imperialist patriot.

The Basutoland Congress of Trade Unions has also identified itself with the popular demand for a United Front. The BACTU are not communists but an independent trade union movement.

I. MICHAEL KOTOANE,  
Moscow State University,  
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

## Insanity to Support U.P.

SIR,—My immediate reaction to "Common Sense's" first question (*Contact*, 29th November) was why shouldn't the Africans support the Progressive Party? The average African knows next to nothing about politics (this applies to a large proportion of the Whites as well) and it is not these I ask to support us in the Progressive Party. It is the other educated, civilized Africans we want to support us.

How can we support the United Party if it has not got a sincere, true, sensible policy? All it is after is inherent White leadership and it would be far from giving "all South Africans the best possible deal". Is a fair deal giving the biggest race six or eight White members of Parliament? To support the United Party because it is the biggest White opposition Party is insanity. One should support the Party with the policy one thinks best.

I. B. C. STREEK,  
East London.

## Party of the Future

SIR,—South Africa is a country with many races. Only the Liberal Party accepts them all on equal terms, therefore the Liberal Party can speak for all South Africans. If you are a true South African this is your Party.

The Liberal Party has a positive programme, and is working to establish a society in South Africa where race will be irrelevant. All will enjoy equal civil and political rights under a system of universal adult franchise. All will enjoy equality of opportunity. The living standards of all will be safeguarded by a minimum wage. Every individual will be able to develop his capabilities to the full and so enable our country to realize her vast potential and to bring "the good life" to all her peoples. The Liberal Party is the Party of the future.

No realist can doubt that the future South Africa will be non-racial. The Liberal Party, as the only non-racial Party, is the only Party which shows an awareness of this future, the only Party with a 20th century approach to our problems. The Liberal Party is the only true democratic Party in South Africa.

HAROLD BROOKES,  
Grahamstown.

## "Our Own Religion"

SIR,—The majority of Africans whom I call Christians believe that in ancient times we did not worship God. I disagree with them: I state that our forefathers did worship God. Some Africans believe that everything written in the Bible is the truth, and they do not follow the religion of their ancestors. Every nation has its different way of worshipping God, and if we change back to our religion everything will be clear for us. This Christianity which was brought by the White people has made us Africans mad. A person who reasons will find out that this Christianity they brought was just a scheme so that they could get settled on this continent. Christianity is business.

I state that God does not like one nation to follow another nation's religion. For example, Hindus and Indians are still following their ancestors' religion and God likes their procedure. I put it to you, my people, from now on we must change our religion and God will be with us.

Education and civilization are good things brought by the White people, but we must not change to their religion.

WILLIAM T. ZUNGU,  
Richmond, Natal.

[Who wants apartheid in religion?—EDITOR.]

## Errors in Article on B.C.B.U.

SIR,—There were a number of inaccuracies in your article on the Basutoland Co-operative Banking Union in your issue of 29th November.

I refer in particular to the statements about the letter sent by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies to all creditors of the Bank.

The facts are:

- The circular was sent out after discussion with the Manager of the B.C.B.U. to a list of creditors supplied by the B.C.B.U. itself.
- The B.C.B.U. owed over R40,000 to various firms who had supplied it with goods, and was heavily overdue in payment.
- The Registrar had received reports through commercial channels that there was grave danger that dissatisfied creditors would sue the B.C.B.U. for payment and thus force it into liquidation.

## SACTU AND MR. MARIPE

SIR,—I have been instructed by the National Executive Committee of the South African Congress of Trade Unions to write to you in connection with an article published on page 8 of the issue of your newspaper dated 29th November, 1962, and headed "Basutoland Regional Trade Union Centre".

The innuendo in the report is that SACTU "rushed" to Basutoland in order to counter any effect which Mr. Maripe might have on trade unionism in the Protectorates. The true position is that SACTU, since its formation in 1955, has maintained contact and had discussions with workers and their organizations in Basutoland. None of these discussions has been prompted by any statements made by Mr. Maripe. Indeed, SACTU had no knowledge of Mr. Maripe's proposed "scheme" until it was reported in your newspaper.

The report also states: ". . . BACTU affiliated to the South African Congress of Trade Unions here recently . . ." The Basutoland Congress of Trade Unions is not and has never been, affiliated to SACTU.

Your reporter states that SACTU is unhappy "about the trade union work which Mr. Maripe is doing in Basutoland . . ."; they will assist and bargain with BACTU to any extreme to see Mr. 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.' . . ." SACTU has no knowledge of any trade union work being done by Mr. Maripe and my organization has never used the phrase 'an agent of U.S.-financed and dominated I.C.F.T.U.', either of Mr. Maripe or of any other person.

Finally, your report says that "SACTU . . . (is) continuing to pour slander and abuse on Mr. Maripe . . ." The true position, however, is that Mr. Maripe has never been mentioned or referred to by SACTU in any manner, abusive or otherwise.

(MRS.) P. M. ALTMAN,  
Assistant General Secretary, for and on behalf of the National Executive Committee, South African Congress of Trade Unions, Johannesburg.

○ A number of exaggerated rumours were circulating arising from the freezing of funds by the Administering Authority.

The circular explained that the Administering Authority had decided to give "a show of strength" in order to assert its rights to be given accounts as to how B.C.B.U. was handling government or government sponsored money, and also in order to insist on reasonable standards of efficiency and sound financial management in B.C.B.U.

The circular went on to say that the government had not withdrawn its support from the B.C.B.U. but on the contrary was determined to build it up.

The effect of this circular was to calm the fears of creditors and to allow the B.C.B.U. breathing space.

U. B. TRISTRAM,  
Information Officer,  
The Secretariat, Maseru.

## Basutoland

# B.C.P. CALLS FOR FREEDOM IN 1963

### From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: "Nineteen sixty-three is the year in which the Basotho should be granted Independence," declared Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle in his Presidential address to the eleventh annual conference of the Basutoland Congress Party, held in Maseru from 22nd-27th December. Four hundred delegates attended.

Mr. Mokhehle spoke at great length and said that the patience of the Basotho could no longer tolerate the delaying tactics of the British. He warned delegates that hard work lay ahead. He attacked the "inhuman apartheid policy of South Africa".

Among other outstanding speakers at the conference were Mr. S. K. Chakela, the Party's representative in Cairo, who spoke on the B.C.P.'s foreign mission; and Mr. G. M. Kolisang, who gave a report of the B.C.P. mission to the United Nations.

### Resolutions

Resolutions adopted by the conference:

- Call for independence in 1963
- Reject the idea of incorporation in South Africa, and state that only through independence will such incorporation be prevented
- Declare lack of confidence in the government of Basutoland and in the entire administration
- Call on the British government to convene a constitutional conference early in 1963 at which the B.C.P. would make up half the Basutoland delegation: the conference should discuss independence for Basutoland

## LEABUA ATTACKS BRITISH POLICY

### From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: Addressing the opening of the annual conference of the Basutoland National Party in Maseru on 29th December, the leader of the Party, Chief Leabua Jonathan, called strongly for independence for Basutoland. About two hundred delegates attended the conference.

### Attack on Apartheid

In a long, calculated speech, considered the best in the history of the Basutoland National Party, Chief Leabua outlined current events and his Party's attitude to international affairs, and concluded with a slashing attack on the evils of South African apartheid and on the British government's unwillingness to build the economy of Basutoland.

Chief Leabua said: "We have just been through the most momentous year of all ages. This year has seen the crumbling of colonialism in many parts of the world and the emergence of independent states. The most encouraging event of the year was the formation of a Black government in Northern Rhodesia. There can be no political independence in an economic void."

He condemned the British government for failing to stand by the pledge and terms of the peace treaty between the

- Demand the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners in Basutoland jails.

### Economic Matters

The conference adopted a series of resolutions regarding economic matters in Basutoland. The resolutions reflected dissatisfaction with the manner in which the economy of the country functions, and allege that the British have done little or nothing to stimulate development in Basutoland. The first economic resolution deals with the Orange River Project and "declares that the British in their dealings with the settler Republic authorities over the Orange River Project have betrayed our interests". The resolution notes that the Basutoland Executive Council has shelved a scheme to develop the Orange River in Basutoland and has instead decided to embark on a smaller project.

Other resolutions:

- Refuse to recognize diamond contracts signed between the Paramount Chief and Mr. Jack Scott, as these "were entered into without the knowledge or sanction of the Basotho"
- Appeal to the nation to support and consolidate the Co-operative Movement

At the conference the stage was set for a campaign to demand independence in 1963, and preparations are afoot for appropriate action to be taken if Britain does not call a constitutional conference by April this year.

The B.C.P. resolved to call a special conference in six months' time



LEABUA JONATHAN

Basuto and the British.

In a strongly worded resolution the conference declared that there would be no amalgamation between them and the Marema-Tlou—Freedom Party, as was thought possible during the last year.

The conference endorsed the decision of the Constitutional Committee to call on Professor D. V. Cowen to act as an expert adviser.

At the close of the conference Chief Leabua was re-elected President unanimously, and Chief George Bereng Secretary-General for 1963.

if the call for freedom in 1963 is ignored. A special committee, headed by the Party President, Mr. Mokhehle, has been created to plan for "operation Independence".

### Office-bearers

In the elections for office bearers there were only minor changes. Mr. G. P. Ramoreboli is now Deputy President, and Mr. M. M. Molapo National Chairman. Mr. S. R. Mokhehle remains Treasurer, Mr. G. M. Kolisang Secretary-General and Mr. W. G. Khasu Propagandist.

The election did not affect the position of the leader, Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, who was elected for a period of five years at last year's conference, and he still enjoys majority support.

After the conference the hundred and fifty delegates from the Transvaal and Orange Free State were arrested at Ladybrand and were charged with permit and minor tax offences.



MOKHEHLE

## Labour Federation Holds First Annual Conference

### From "Contact" Correspondent

MASERU: About a hundred delegates attended the first annual conference of the Basutoland Federation of Labour, held in Maseru on 29th-30th December. The delegates represented five registered trade unions in Basutoland.

Addressing the workers, the President of the B.F.L., Mr. B. M. Masilo, warned them not to be used as propagators of foreign ideologies. He pointed out that workers were entitled to support any political party which would defend and protect their interests.

### I.C.F.T.U. Representative

Mr. K. T. T. Maripe, representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Basutoland, addressed the conference on the role of workers in the liberatory struggle. He spoke at length on the improvements that must be made in the economy of Basutoland to ensure employment for the Basotho and create an economic atmosphere to match the political development of the country. He warned that present conditions in Basutoland only help to boost the economy of South Africa and that unless the workers are organized and united they would not be able to fight for their interests and for improvements in working conditions. He assured the conference that the I.C.F.T.U. was prepared to assist workers in all parts of Africa, with no "strings" attached to the assistance.

### Trade Unions and Disputes

#### Bill

The conference endorsed the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Bill passed by the Legislative Council at the close of its 1962 session. The conference considered the Bill to be the first practical step to protect the workers of Basutoland.

Among the most important resolutions adopted were these which:

- Endorsed the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Bill
- Condemned the employment of Portuguese on contract by the government instead of Basotho who were qualified to do the work
- Resolved that the B.F.L. associate with other labour organizations elsewhere in Africa, particularly with the All African Trade Union Federation
- Resolved that the B.F.L. would support any political party in Basutoland which stands for the wishes of the Basotho, and for the workers.

### Elected Office-bearers

The following were elected office-bearers for the next two years:

Messrs. T. Letsoara (President), S. R. Mokhehle (Secretary-General), N. Lafutho, L. Makhalemele, M. Tshelo, T. Mile, M. Mofammere, Mrs. G. Mashiloane (Committee members).

## SCHOLARSHIPS

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMITTEE  
FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Bursaries valued at R300 per annum, renewable yearly (5 or 6 years) offered non-White Matriculants wishing study externally for London B.A. or B.Sc. (Economics) degrees.

Applications invited from residents of Cape Peninsula area and should be addressed to: Secretary, "Vista", Buchan Road, Newlands, Cape, as soon as possible.