MR. MILTON OBOTE (left), leader of the Uganda People's Congress, became prime minister of Uganda in the elections held in April and will lead his country to independence on 9th October this year. His party, in alliance with followers of the Kabaka of Buganda, defeated the Democratic Party led by Mr. Benedicito Kiwanuka, Uganda's first chief minister, and obtained nearly two-thirds of the seats in parliament.

Obote, who is 37, is described in "Jeune Afrique" as a professional politician. After graduating at Makerere University College in Uganda he wanted to continue his studies overseas, but was prevented by the authorities, and went to Kenya in the early 1950's where he worked in various jobs.

He came into contact with political leaders in Kenya — those who are today at the head of the Kenya African National Union — and became a foundation member of the Kenya African Union with Jomo Kenyatta and Peter Koinange.

He returned from Kenya in 1955 and organized for the Uganda National Congress in the Lango region where he was born; he became a member of the Legislative Council in 1957. Two years later he resigned from the party after a disagreement with the leadership, and founded the Uganda People's Congress.

In the 1961 elections his party lost to the Democratic Party, but Obote, as leader of the opposition, played so capable a part in the Uganda constitutional conference a few months later that he was able to isolate the Democrats and reach an agreement with the followers of the Kabaka of Buganda. This alliance led him to victory in last month's elections.

He has chosen a non-racial cabinet to rule Uganda, including four of the Kabaka's followers, a White businessman and an Asian lawyer.
Your Paper is in Danger

Mr. Solomon Mtimba, formerly chairman of the Town Council of the City of Dar es Salaam, in his farewell address to the organization, spoke eloquently of the need for vigilance and the protection of the human rights of all citizens. He emphasized the importance of maintaining the integrity of the legal system and the need for the government to uphold its responsibilities to the people. Mtimba cited the example of the recent human rights violations in the country, including the imprisonment of political dissidents and the suppression of free speech. He warned that such actions could lead to a loss of investor confidence and a decline in the country's economic prospects. The address ended with a call for unity and the strengthening of democratic institutions to ensure the protection of human rights for all citizens.
Censorship Law will try to Smash all Freedom Publications

SEVERE penalties await South Africans who commit any offence under the Publications and Entertainments Bill now before parliament. This Bill, if it becomes law, will try to stifle all radical newspapers and periodicals in the country, and will try to prevent the importation of books, magazines, newspapers and periodicals of which the government disapproves.

The proposed law will try to make impossible the publication of newspapers like ‘Contact’, ‘New Age’, ‘The New African’, ‘Fighting Fall’ and the newsletters, pamphlets, and general literature of radical political parties like the African National Congress, the Congress Party or the Congress Alliance.

The penalties for contravening the law will vary according to the nature and character of the publications:

1st offence: Fines of R200 minimum, maximum R500 and/or maximum 3 months imprisonment.

2nd offence: Fines of R1000 minimum, maximum R2000 and/or maximum 6 months imprisonment.

3rd and subsequent offence: Fines of R2000 minimum and/or maximum 6 months imprisonment.

‘Publications and Objects’

The stated purpose of the Bill is “To provide for the control of publications, circulation of public libraries, exhibitions and certain objects... and to provide for certain other incidental matters.”

“Publication or object” is defined as including:

(a) any newspaper not published by a publisher who is a member of the Newspaper Press Union;

(b) any periodical, pamphlet, poster or other printed matter;

(c) any writing or typewritten copy which in any manner has been published or made available to the public or any section of the public;

(d) any drawing, picture, illustration, painting, woodcut or similar representation;

(e) any print, photograph, engraving or lithograph;

(f) any record or other conveyance or device in or on which sound has been recorded for reproduction.

‘Undesirable’

If any of these “publications or objects” which have been declared undesirable or thought by the government to be undesirable are printed, published, manufactured, made, produced, distributed, displayed, exhibited, sold or kept for sale, or offered for sale, the person who does so will be guilty of an offence.

“Undesirable” is defined as:

(a) indecent or obscene or offensive or harmful to public morals;

(b) blasphemous or offensive to the religious convictions or feelings of any section of the inhabitants of the Republic;

(c) bringing any section of the inhabitants of the Republic into ridicule or contempt;

(d) harmful to the relations between any of the inhabitants of the Republic;

(e) prejudicial to the safety of the State, the general welfare or the peace and good order.

“No Criticism”

The parts of this definition which will affect anti-apartheid publications are (d) and (e). It is possible to understand that no criticism of the government or of government policy will be tolerated in any "publication or object" — in any democratic newspaper, in any pamphlet, book, poster or broadsheet newsletter.

Blanket Censorship

Not only does the proposed law seek to control publications in South Africa — it imposes a blanket censorship on the importation from outside South Africa of any "publications and objects" with a price, unless its price in the country of publication is 50% or more. This is to include periodicals, newspapers, magazines, etc., except the most expensive, as well as all paperback books which in South Africa sell for less than 90 cents. The government may give permits for the importation of "publications and objects" in this category if they are not "undesirable". The permits will last for a year or more.

The government can also give a blanket permit covering certain publishers, certain types of publications or publications on specific subjects. Subscribers to publications which do not receive a government favor will have to get permissions to receive their copies and to renew their subscriptions.

The decision as to whether books and "publications and objects" are undesirable will be made by a Publications Control Board which will consist of nine members, three of whom will form a quorum, appointed by the government.

Appeals from the decision of the Board can be made to the Supreme Court. If the Supreme Court rules against the Board, the Board can appeal against the judgement to the Appeal Court.

Cinema, Theatre

The same stringent conditions will apply to cinema and theatre entertainments — while this will have little effect on the cinema, already heavily censored, it could mean the end of much good South African theatre entertainment — such as the bravado political satire of M. Blaikie and Adam Jaffe.

Although the new law will prevent the publication and circulation of anti-apartheid literature and pornography, one of its main purposes is clearly to silence those newspapers.

EAST LONDON WORKERS CHEATED OUT OF JOBS

From “Contact” Correspondent

EAST LONDON: While many East London men are workless, the Basutoland Industrial Venture is off.

From “Contact” Correspondent

MASERU: A group of Union businessmen, led by Mr. Ugo Bergamasco of Cape Town, planned to set up industries in Basutoland. One of the published purposes of this venture was to "beat the boycott", i.e. to make goods within the Southern African economic field which were yet made outside the borders of the Union. Another was, of course, to use up more fully the unexploited resources of Basutoland.

Although Basutoland needs industry desperately the deal is off. The businessmen asked for adequate security of tenure and a definite answer on the taxation question. The government was willing to grant leases of twenty-five years. On the tax issue, the government declined to commit itself.

It would be unusual to find businesses prepared to put up factories which would have to be abandoned after only twenty-five years, or to set up factories till they could predict their tax liabilities.

This was how the businessmen felt, and they are now pinking to return to the Union.

From “Contact” Correspondent

LIVINGSTONE: Following Sir Roy Welensky’s threats to maintain the Federation by force, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, President of Northern Rhodesia’s 600,000 strong United National Independence Party, had a last massage for the Federation, that very moment I shall declare a government in exile. When I do that, I will not leave the country. If I be killed, I will die with you.

Speaking on Sir Roy’s statement that he intends to declare the Federation independent, Mr. Kaunda said: “The moment Welensky makes the first shooting in Northern Rhodesia so that he can preserve his Federation, that very moment I shall declare a government in exile. When I do that, I will not leave the country. If I be killed, I will die with you.”

After the meeting, I questioned Mr. Kaunda on his attitude towards the South African government. “The blacks did not believe in apartheid at all. I am interested in the liberation of the whole of Africa: the unification of all African states. There should not be any extension of Europe in Africa. The sooner South Africa is free the better.”

OS¬X¬D¬F¬Paperbacks on Africa

African Nationalism

NDABANINGI SITHOLE

ANTHONY SAMpson said in The Observer: “...a strong, dark-skinned, very personal book... it is the most penetrating study of nationalism apart perhaps from the Devlin report. Translations have been published in Mexico, Italy, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Japan and Kenya.

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Tshekedi Khama of BechuanaLand

S. M. GABATHWANE

A short life which brings this illustrious African leader to life again. His belief that Africa must become a world force lead him into several spectacular clashes.

Price in Southern Africa: 30c./5s.

Oxford University Press CAPE TOWN

'I WILL DIE WITH YOU', SAYS KAUNDA

From “Contact” Correspondent
Swaziland:  

**VICTORY FOR 4,000 WORKERS**

From “Contact” Correspondent  

MABANE: It was victory for about 4,000 African workers at the Bunga Usutu Pulp Mill, Swaziland, when they went on strike for three days on 6th, 7th and 8th April. The Company complied to their demands for higher wages and the reinstatement of two men who had been dismissed.

The trouble started with the dismissal of Mr. Francis Mbelu, chief chemist, and development advisor to the newly formed Usutu Pulp and Timber Workers’ Union and Mr. Clement Dlamini, member of the union.

Workers said that the two men were dismissed because they helped in the formation of the union. The workers wrote a letter demanding the re-instatement of the two men within 24 hours and a minimum wage of R30 each.

**Workers’ Complaints**

The following are the complaints as explained to “Contact” and repeatedly forwarded to the Company but received without any reply.

“We the workers of the Usutu Pulp Company declare for all our country and the government of Swaziland to know that we have these grievances against the Usutu Pulp Company.

* Seriously underpaid while White workers receive regular salaries.

(0) We are inadequately accommodated.

(3) At the Mill in spite of our endeavours to throw in our lot in co-operation with management, we are constantly referred to as ‘foolish lazy Swazi’.

(4) Mr. G. H. Mitchell, has introduced a new term of address by calling us ‘bastards’.

(5) Usutu Pulp Company operates on a principle of divide and rule. A staff member who associates himself with labourers and discusses points of common discontent, e.g., shortage of accommodation, etc., is dismissed on grounds that he is the enemy of the company. This is the policy of the Swazi. Mr. Francis Mbelu was dismissed because he associated with labourers.

(6) Anybody who proves himself eloquent in meetings between management and workers, is dismissed on grounds of being an agitator. Mr. Clement Dlamini and two others were dismissed.

(7) If it is true that the Colonial Development Corporation has a head in this concern, the company would encourage young men who wish to further their studies through correspondence. But the young men are told there are only two courses open to them: either to work in the Company and forget about studies or leave the Company and go back to school.

(8) When we are engaged we are given manual work like the operation of machinery, so soon as we start working we are called operatives and never operators.

“Teethless Bulldog”

(9) The machinery which has been provided by management to submit our grievances (the African Consultative Committee) is now a toothless bulldog, a puppet of the management.

As a result of the strike the company raised wages to 50c a day and reinstated both Mr. Mbelu and Mr. Dlamini. The former has been sent to England for two years’ study and research and the latter was placed in another department.

The workers decided to accept 50c a day although it is far below their demands for R30 a month. The government rate is 40c and the rate on the new railway 50c for unskilled workers.
SOUTH WEST AFRICA:

“The Days of Apartheid are Numbered”

From “Contact” Correspondent

PRETORIA: Two Transvaal Liberal Party leaders spent 35 minutes with the members of the United Nations Special Committee on South West Africa and declared immediately afterwards: “We have never been more confident that the days of apartheid are numbered in South West Africa.”

The leaders were Transvaal chairman Ernest Wemz and Pretoria secretary Adelais Hain.

Non-White Deputation

While they interviewed the U.N. members, Mr. Vittorio Carpio and Dr. de Alva, in the first floor suite of their Pretoria hotel, a drama was played out on the ground floor as a delegation of non-White leaders was ordered to leave the hotel.

Later, the group of nine non-Whites was allowed in to see the U.N. committee members — after the committee’s secretary, Miss Y. Yarrow, took the hotel manager into an office and spoke to him.

Letter from Wenzel

The invitation to the Liberal Party to call on the committee came as a result of a letter written by Mr. Wemz offering “assistance” on the question of South West Africa.

When Mrs. Hain and her husband, Mr. Walter Hain, tried to hand the letter to Mr. Carpio when he arrived at his hotel, he overruled a nearly Branch detective intervened, grabbed the letter from them and hustled them out of the hotel.

As official of the Department of External Affairs later promised that the letter would be delivered.

When Mrs. Hain accompanied Mr. Wenzel to the interview, Mr. Carpio smilingly told her that he knew she was the person who had tried to hand him a letter. He said it had reached him.

Deep Faith in U.N.

After their interview, the Liberals issued a statement reading: “In our experience, the people of South West Africa have a deep faith in the United Nations. After our interview, we share this faith.”

“We believe that all the people of S.W.A. have a right to a democratic say in their own destiny. We know that the United Nations shares this belief and will secure it for the people.”

“We are confident that these two Pearce observers will readily distinguish the difference between apartheid in theory and practice under which S.W.A.’s Africans have no political rights and suffer from the most cruel poverty.”

“We have never been more confident that the days of apartheid are numbered in South West Africa.”

S.W.A.P.O. LETTER TO CARPIO

The Cape Town branch of the South West African People’s Organization has sent the following letter to Mr. Vittorio Carpio, chairman of the United Nations Committee on South West Africa:

“We, the indigenous people of South West Africa, welcome you to our country, and we want to make it clear that we do not want anything else for you to carry out the United Nations resolution of December, 1961, in full. All we need and all our desires are contained in it.”

“Furthermore, we want to stress this — that the state of Ovamboland you are likely to meet are not the spokesmen of our people: they are the spokesmen of the African government’s servants.”

“We suggest a few of the many plans you should see and form your own conclusions:

1. Grooteboom, the headquarters of the (contract labour) recruitment company, called the South West African Native Labour Association.
2. The prison camp at Windhoek and Tsumeb. See the farm workers at nearly every railway station.
3. See the hospitals and schools in the so-called police zone, and in the so-called state of Ovamboland.
4. See the people’s leaders: 
   a. the Chief, Masimane Mambala of S.W.A.P.O.
   b. Windhoek: S.W.A.P.O. representative and the Council of Chief H. Katuka.
   c. Ovamboland: Toivo ja Toivo, Simon Kaukasong and Adolf Ella.
   d. Walvis Bay: Mai Namib Nataha of S.W.A.P.O.

“We reject any solution based on partitioning our fatherland in the form of the so-called policy of limited independence. We reject any solution based on partitioning our fatherland in the form of the so-called policy of limited independence. We reject any solution based on partitioning our fatherland in the form of the so-called policy of limited independence. We reject any solution based on partitioning our fatherland in the form of the so-called policy of limited independence.”

FINALLY, see our people and leaders in Cape Town on your way home.”

PORTUGAL, ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE

Hope of Freedom as Salazar Threatened

From “Contact” Correspondent

As the war against the Portuguese colonists continues in Angola (see last issue of Contact), gravely threatening the economy of the territory, and keeping 30,000 Portuguese troops in active service, serious rioting and other signs of discontent have erupted in Portugal itself, where the Portuguese people have for 34 years been deprived of their freedom by fascist dictator Antonio Salazar, now 72 years old. The main opposition is from Liberal Democrats and Communists.

Most Dangerous Months

Three factors combine to make the coming few months the most dangerous the Salazar regime has faced:

1. The uprising in Angola has not been put down, and has continued into its second year. Its leaders have established international contacts and have staged a government in exile. Their prestige is now higher than ever.
2. The loss of Goa, Damboli and Dino, Portugal’s Indian colonies after 430 years, and the failure of any of the major powers to support Portugal in the brief war with India.
3. Growing discontent in Portugal, agitated by police firing at peaceful demonstrations in Moçambique to prevent an “Angola” there.

Strikes, Demonstrations

Students in Portugal went on strike on 1st May because the government burned their demonstration. Rioting took place in Lisbon; on 6th May police throughout the country were called out. Some demonstrations have been banned. 250 people have been arrested since the beginning of May.

RIOTING took place in the mining town of Aljustrel early in May and on 8th May police opened fire on demonstrators in Lisbon, at least four people were wounded. 500 students were arrested.

Earlier in the year a symptom of the unrest occurred. In February, demonstrations involving about 5,000 people in Oporto, Portugal’s second city; the demonstration was broken up by police gunfire and 19 demonstrations were injured.

There are growing reports of soldiers refusing to leave Portugal for service in Angola.

Fenin in Luanda, Angola soldiers are refusing to serve in the jungle in the north where the war against the African nationalists is being waged. (Reported in Portugal Democatn.)

Aims of Angolan Exile

Government

In a statement in its official organ, The Voice of the Nation (30th April), the Angolan government in exile, established in Leopoldville, declares that the aim of the Angolan revolution is “to lead Angola, once independent, towards the installation of a democratic and representative government which will respect the Declaration of Human Rights, and which will enact a constitution which will guarantee the rights of all.”

Freedom for Colonies

The fall of Salazar in Portugal, and the replacement of the fascist government by a democratic one, could be expected to speed the emancipation of Moçambique, Angola, and Portugal’s other colonies such as Timor and Macao.
Determined Course to a New Algeria

BEN Youssef BEN KHEDDA. Prime Minister of the Algerian provisional government and destined to be first prime minister of a free Algeria was born to a moderately prosperous family in the town of Berrourouj, just south of Algiers, in 1926. He is thus of the generation which has given the Algerian revolution its most important leaders. Ben Khedda and his contemporaries are radical, distrustful of political parties and democracy in the Western sense, and firmly convinced that the anti-imperialist revolution is only the first step towards the social revolution.

Ben Khedda is a revolutionary by faith, a man of amazing physical courage and resilience, always the complete master of himself. He listens rather than speaks, and when he does speak every word is weighted. He is an intellectual of Marxist formation for whom ideas and actions could not remain separable. He explains the paradoxical image of the bookish Ben Khedda directing a bomb-throwing network.

Politics hit Ben Khedda while he was a student at high school at Blida. At 12, he was already scribbling "République Algérienne" on walls. At Blida he was the fellow student of Mohamed Neji, the present G.P.R.A. minister of information, and of Saad Dahlab, the present minister of foreign affairs. At the Université d'Alger, he studied pharmacy. Ben Khedda immediately gravitated to the most extreme nationalist party of the time, Messali Hadj's Parti Populaire Algérien.

The War Starts

Suddenly in 1954, as if from nowhere, an appeal for unity and armed insurrection was sounded. Those responsible, for the most part, were scarcely known in Algiers. They resolved to move forward at any cost. Their goal was to destroy the system of "Hassan, the French.

Their means were direct military action. This was the genesis of the F.L.N. During the summer of '54 this group, directed by nine men now known as the rebellion's historical leaders and including such figures as Ahmed Ben Bella and Bellouane Krin, was busy training guerrilla bands, stealing and storing arms, and searching for support from the independent Arab states. By early autumn, ready or not, the group had fixed a date for the launching of the revolution. At midnight on 1st November, 79 simultaneous attacks on French posts in widely scattered parts of Algeria set off the war.

The French authorities were overpowered; they had been expecting nothing of the kind. Nor, however, had most of Algeria's Moslem politicians. Ben Khedda had got wind of what was afoot, but viewed the resort to armed insurrection with the gravest misgivings. In the mind of the future Algerian provisional government's (G.P.R.A.) prime minister, the revolt was premature, ill-planned, destined to fail.

"Peace and Harmony"

Having next to no idea who the organizers of the revolution were, the French Administration struck blindly. Moslem politicians and leaders were arrested who were as ignorant of the revolt's nature as they were innocent of participation in it. For the second time ben Khedda was put behind bars. Yet on the day of his arrest, ben Khedda, while complaining of French repression in the columns of Algeria Républicain, asserted the need for "future peace and harmony between the two communities that most necessarily live together". He was at that moment by no means a disciple of direct action. In April, 1955, he was released from prison, probably through the influence of former European associates in Algiers. Prison, or the crumbling of any middle ground in Algerian politics, or perhaps a combination of the two, drove Ben Khedda into exile, and shortly after his release he was in close contact with Bellouane Krin and other guerrilla leaders. His first responsibility for the revolutionary organization was the F.L.N. cells in Algiers. These cells were charged with collecting funds, either by appeals to nationalist enthusiasts or by the threat of assassination; they were to develop the propaganda work and coordinate guerrilla operations and to channel this into blind loyalty to the F.L.N.; and finally, they were to spread terrorism, sometimes indiscriminate, sometimes not, to increase tension and insecurity, to demonize the Moslem population the impedance of the French, and to carve French Army units from the countryside in order to give the F.L.N. field units a breather. Before long ben Khedda was an equal of the rebellion's founders. His new status was officially recognized when a congress of rebel leaders held in an abandoned forestry station in the Soummam Valley in August, 1956. This congress elected an executive committee of five members which was the nucleus of power within the F.L.N. for the next two years. Though theoretically responsible to the Conseil National de la Révolution Algérienne (C.N.R.A.), the F.L.N.'s parliament, the executive committee was a self-sovereign. Along with Krin, Saad Dahlab and two F.L.N. leaders since killed, ben Khedda served on this committee for slightly over a year.

As the F.L.N.'s police-military chief for the autonomous zone of Algeria, one of the six rebel military districts and the most active, ben Khedda lived under the constant threat of a death likely to be preceded by torture.

Communists Rebuffed

One interesting and little known phase of his career as F.L.N. chief in Algiers is his contact during this period with the communists. Early in 1956, when it seemed that peace negotiations with the French were on the verge of starting, the Parti Communist Algérien (P.C.A.) was searching desperately for a way to attach itself to the revolution and to have a voice in the peace talks and a decisive role in determining Algeria's future. Up to May, 1956, the F.L.N. had refused all contact with the communists. By then, however, the rebels needed all the help they could get and were anxious to see how the P.C.A. might be brought into the world. The F.L.N. already representing several groups, he urged to include the P.C.A. Ben Khedda, who was then in Algiers, was highly favorable to the idea, and the two groups, after a few delicate negotiations, not only rejoiced a common front, but even maintained that their differences in the past were not incompatible with membership in the F.L.N. By July, 1956, after the P.C.A. had turned over to the F.L.N. an important shipment of stolen arms and the use of six explosive laboratories, ben Khedda was an increasingly common a man among the French. But he also knew that the F.L.N. still had a great deal to do with the revolt. Ben Khedda refused, and when Hadjadjo went ahead anyway, the F.L.N. flatly denied the authenticity of the accord, even going so far as to assert that the F.L.N. had never received any aid whatever from the communists. Since then the relations between P.C.A. and the F.L.N. have been cool.

Neutralism not Communism

The incident is instructive, especially since it has been so glibly asserted in the French press that the G.P.R.A. chief, who is a crypto-communist, Ben Khedda is no communist, but as these events show, he has been willing to use the communists for his own ends; he had sought for with so much energy, courage and skill, a point of contact and social modernization. But if ben Khedda is no communist, he is certainly a "progressive", strongly influenced by socialist ideals and Marxian thought. In September, 1957, the Congress National de la Révolution Algérienne, assembled in Tripoli, heard him defend the theories according to which the F.L.N. should devote more attention to the mobilization and organization of the peasant and urban masses, that the precise social goals of the revolution should be stated and stressed, and that the F.L.N. should assume all the responsibilities of governmental national affairs. From this line ben Khedda has not since varied.

At the C.N.R.A. meeting held in secret last August in Tripoli, ben Khedda again defended the views to which he had since consistently adhered. The C.N.R.A. accepted his views, and with the support of Krin he was elected prime minister.

The communists of the Tripoli session, despite their vagueness, reflects the ideas that ben Khedda has been aiming at ever since his entry into the F.L.N. The P.C.A., which has been widely distributed immediately after the meeting.

(continued on page 8, col. 1)
READERS GIVE THEIR VIEWS...

TO ALL READERS OF "CONTACT"

- This is your page, for your letters, for your opinions
- Write on any subject you like but
- Keep your letters short and
- Remember there is a prize—"Contact" free for a year—for the writer of the best letter

No place for discrimination

SIR.—Freedom fighters and lovers of democracy in our beloved country Bechuanaland must dedicate and pledge themselves to expose and unmask the shackles of imperial bondage and to stand solid and united as men and women capable to decide the destiny of a future non-racial democratic Bechuanaland in which the proper rule of law, justice, freedom, harmony and the good man by man shall have the first priority—where discrimination, injustice, inequality, colonial and imperialist oppression and exploitation by capitalists will find no place.

P. D. MARUPING, Lobatse, B.P.

Swaziland myth

SIR.—It appears that there is a great deal of propaganda about Swaziland, to tell the world that things there are changing fast—that colour discrimination is being abolished. Anybody that is that is only theory. Discrimination is practised even by the authorities who should be setting an example to other comparable Swaziland, such as mines, farms, businesses and other projects.

There are two grades—those for Whites and those for Africans. One is inclined to think that the principles of equity are being put into practice. The only fast moving thing in Swaziland is the exploitation of the country. The time is ripe for Natives to be set for training to learn how to work. The newly-established training as station masters, foremen, engine drivers and so on. It is becoming clear that these posts are to be filled by Europeans and the Swazis will do all the unskilled work.

When I say Swazis I mean the Black and White people by a European must be trained alike now so that it is not necessary to recruit railway staff from outside.

LILENGE, Hlatikulu.

I greet the sons of Africa

SIR.—I think it behoves me to greet the sons of Africa in the four corners of the continent. It is really with the attitude that I learn of African states that have taken the initiative and liberated themselves from colonialism. The course of their suffering now reads like a romantic story.

W. Z., East London.

ASHAMED TO BE A WHITE S. AFRICAN

SIR.—Mr. G. V. Davies, in his letter in Contact (3rd May) repeats a well-worn argument which bears little weight but is repeated so that one may try to persuade everybody who tries to defend the South African government.

He says Africans are better off in South Africa than in other parts of Africa and that "where conditions in a country are bad in communist East Germany, people try to get out; where conditions are comparatively poor in France, people try to get in." He points to the million foreign Africans who continue to come into South Africa.

Granted—but has it ever occurred to Mr. Davies that South Africa, as the richest country in the world, must be the richest in Africa, ought to be able to offer its peoples a far higher standard of living than any other nation in Africa? Does he consider it morally right that in this richest nation there should be such a shocking, and in most cases abhorrible gap between the earnings of Whites and Africans?

Of course considered that surveys conducted by highly qualified experts of the Institute of Race Relations and other bodies have found that the minimum income on which a family of five can maintain a reasonable standard of health is R30 a month, whereas the average income of South Africa is far below this minimum, so that they are semi-starved.

As for the vast populations in our overcrowded and poverty-stricken reserves they are not only starved but are dying of tuberculosis and diseases brought on by malnutrition—"in the most prosperous nation in Africa. On a recent visit to a relative I was told by a doctor in the district who has been in northern Natal, most of my time was spent watching hunger infect Africans in an often vain attempt to prevent them dying of T.B., while he told me about a White farmer in the district who has a private airplane and two motor cars.

These are the kind of things—hard, indisputable facts—which makes me deeply ashamed to be a White-skinned South African and has made me an active worker for the Liberal Party, which has a radical policy of land reform and wants to share the good things of this country with Africans in a non-racial society.

RUSSELL PALMER, Johannesburg.

WOMEN OF AFRICA HAVE A MISSION

SIR.—The women of Africa have a mission to fulfill. They have to create better conditions of life for their children and consequently they must work hand in hand with their men to end colonialism and imperialism.

Womenhood is playing a most glorious part in the struggle for freedom. They are the ones who have organized the African revolutions guided by their political organizations. They must realize that race alone cannot complete the gigantic task.

The time has come when the women of Africa and of African descent must rise up in their millions to join the African crusade for freedom.

M. L. MONGANGANE, Tseletyana, Basutoland.

“Be careful of the wolves”

SIR.—We must be very careful of the "wolves." The whole of South Africa is opposed to Bantu Authorities but the policechiefs of the Transkei are not aware of this. What they know is that they are born chiefs, nothing else.

You African people, I told you that you were the real key to Bantu affairs. It is a thing like that must not happen. There are people like Siswabe and Chief Lekhukumzi who can treason things out. Just look at a man with B.A. degree who believes that South Africa is only the Transkei. But in spite of my education I know pretty well that South Africa is composed of four Provinces.

You must be very careful too about Matanzima's places of heaven as they are burning hell.

G. M. QNISILE, Cape Town.

Prize Letter

OPPRESSION: HOW LONG MUST IT LAST?

SIR.—Throughout the universe the black man's lot is a very sad one. He is plight is unimaginable and intolerable.

Under guardianship his position appears that of a semi-child. He is a bearer of wood and a drawer of water only. He is a beast of burden.

He is exploited and used as a menace, a problem and an unwanted alien who in the government of the country is voiceless and without representation.

He is denied self-determination and his progress is impeded by foreign and internal barriers. He is refused the right to plan his destiny as he pleases, with the express consent of the rulers.

He is being exploited to the extreme without protection from those who profess to be his trustees. He is a beggar who is economically oppressed and politically exploited by intolerable conditions of spiral and poverty.

Politically, he is denied elementary human rights which the rest of mankind enjoys.

He is regarded as a political child for whom the ruler must think, act and do as he pleases. In this earth of ours he is denied security in any form and living conditions are such as to create intolerable conditions of spiral and poverty.

He lives in hovels whereas the rest of the community lives in great comfort. "Those who cannot compete are excluded." He sleeps in a cozy kitchen, the east on a sofa, but he, a human being made in the image of God, hardly finds a place to lay his head.

His daily ration is mealie meal and palm wine the animals, the dog and the cat, enjoy niceties. He carries a hudge of slavery, the pass for his identification. Justice and democracy are 2adversely dealt with, making the black man's plight. It is the duty of every Christian of every race to declare open war on the endemic evil of mankind because of colour.

Sons and daughters of Africa, let's all remember our freedom fighters, brothers and sisters who are killed and jailed for the good of all. And our late brother Patrice Lumumba who gave his life forever for Africa's sake.

Finally we say: How long, O Lord our almighty God of the oppressed nations? How long, O Lord, how long will the plight of the black man be tolerated?

Africa! Africa! Africa! Ayibuye! M. M. HLOPHE, Manusini, Swaziland.
CHIEFS’ “PATHETIC FAILURE” TO OPPOSE Transkei “Self-rule” Thru Against People’s Wishes

From a Special Reporter

UMITA: The annual session of the Bunga has always had a similarly to the pantomimes put on at Christmas-time to amuse and entertain the young. The 1962 session, closest to it, even lived up to this role, the independence debate, in which over a hundred Black and White government officials pretended to be a parliament pretending to debate independence.

The high note was reached by the Commissioner-General Mr. Hans Abruham who spoke thus as if the debate were over, the self-government phase were dispensed with and independence had actually arrived: “Your state and your nation stand on the great sacrifice of you. You have a fine and beautiful country abounding with promise..." He added that self-government might have to come gradually, “on the installment system.”

Expected Opposition

The expected opposition to the Mzimia was not materialized. Hopes were raised when the group of dissidents were seen to sit together behind Chief Victor Poto at their head. They put in an early bid to adjourn so that the Rees Commission committee might again meet and hear the reports of the tribal meetings that had been held. (Both the West Pondo and Xhosa tribes had unmistakably rejected the constitution.)

The acting chairman, Mr. C. W. Moshalake, reminded them that, after this spiritiing beginning, they sank back in defeated silence. A short argument over the numbers of those voting for the new form of government in the legislative assembly as against the number of elected members brought them back into activity, but defeated again all fight seemed to have gone out of them.

Chief Solomon Sabata was the exception. Having been mixed procedurally into thinking that discussion would follow after the adoption of the constitution, he kept silent while some of the clauses to which his people had objected most strongly were passed. Perhaps he then felt it would be futile to oppose later clauses and give the appearance of having approved the whole document. Later he received the few notes of reality to be heard in the whole debate. by saying:

- that he had signed the Rees Committee report because he was obliged to do so as a government servant, and
- by making it known that the Tembo people did not want a Chief, so the Rees Committee had adopted it.

Pothetic Display

But for the rest the debate was a pathetic display of ignorance, crudely, self-serving, and plain cowardice on the part of the big majority of councilors. In the light of events, it is part of the government’s hand that there was little attempt to keep up an appearance of dignity or self-respect at the meeting. The obvious signs of the latter were:

- Not once were the given the best seats, and their names read out first, in the welcoming speech, while the African guests were introduced elsewhere, sat in the back row, and were not heard at all.
- The usual mayoral function and chuck-nagimate’s reception were held in Umtata for Whites only, even before the supposed future prime minister, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, was invited.

“Tenese and Unhappy”

The atmosphere outside the Bunga House was tense and unhappy. Police and informers were everywhere; there were no empty seats in the stands of 1115..drew around day and night. Crowds of watchers around the Bunga House could be seen in the street, and had expected more vigorous stating of views and demonstration. But six or seven thousand of the 1960 have done their work, leaving Transkeians justifiably fearful of change, and rain, without charge or defence.

As usual, the attitude of the rank and file of the Tonga has been the same. Many thousands in their ignorance believe they are about to be freed from the Whites, in terms of freedom, cooperation and humiliation. But many have more or less absorbed the of-expulsion charge, emphasized in many places by the eve-of-session poster campaign, that this is "Bantu Authorities—is anything—i.e., hated everywhere."

TOP TANGANYIKA POST FOR RHODESIAN LAWYER

A 39-YEAR-OLD Southern Rhodesian barrister, Mr. Herbert Chipepe, is to assume office as director of public prosecution in Dar es Salaam on 7th May. The attorney-general, Mr. Ronald Brown will continue to act as the principal legal adviser to the governmen.

Mr. Chipepe, who was called to the English Bar in 1955, set up in private practice in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, after acting as the chairman of the Dingle Fust, Q.C.

Part of an Overall Plan

“The appointment of Mr. Chipepe as director of public prosecutions,” said the minister of the government for the Africanization of the legal and judicial services, Chief Fundika, has already announced that the Nigerian government has agreed to second to Tanganyika, on most generous terms, three experienced items magistrate.

Mr. Kambona who was accompanied at the press conference by the attorney-general, said that at present the attorney-general also carried out the duties of the director of public prosecutions. This arrangement was adopted last year as a temporary expedient because of the difficulty of recruiting qualified African lawyers.

At the University College in Dar es Salaam, seven Tanganyika students were permitted this year to graduate in the first year of their course and approximately another ten Tanganyika students would graduate from the University in July. The Tanganyika students who eventually be required to a degree in law on the University of East Africa, would in accord with the declaration of policy already announced by the government, be considered as having a basic qualification for practice in Tanganyika—Tanganyika Information Services.

Basuto Communists Go Underground

From “Contact” Correspondent

MASERU: The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Basutoland has issued a statement warning the “cells” that the party operate underground.

This startling statement—stating because the party is not barred in the territory—was made to me recently by Mr. John Molobela, the secretary general of the Communist Party. Mr. Molobela was responding to my enquiry why the party’s inaugural congress in Maseru was not held in March as earlier announced. But two factors seem to explain the decision taken by the communists to go into secrecy:

- The discovery by the Basutoland Congress Party of a communist conspiracy to overturn the Congress Party’s organizational apparatus for the furtherance of communist aims at the expense of communists from the B.C.P.
- The increasing ferocity of the struggle between communists by the B.C.P.

During the past few months the Congress Party has warned its supporters against the “evil activities of certain personalities in the Communist Party” and that they were exploring the acute poverty and pulsating discontent among the masses of the Basuto.