

MARABASTAD AVENUE

ZEKE'S STORY: PART 1

Ezekiel Mphahlele ("Zeke" to his many friends) is a young man who has already made his mark in South Africa. A talented writer, he had his first book of short stories published while he was still at school. When he submitted his M.A. thesis to the University of South Africa, he was awarded the degree with distinction — the first time this English department had ever awarded a distinction for a senior degree to any student, European or Non-European. He is a dedicated and gifted teacher. He is a capable journalist, and worked for thirty rather unhappy months on the staff of Drum, mainly as literary editor.

All of which would seem to be a full enough life for anyone, and would be, perhaps for a free person living in a free country. But, inevitably, like any sensitive and intelligent person of integrity living in South Africa, "Zeke" was drawn into politics. Bruised and angered by the hatefulness of White South Africa, he was attracted first by the bitter, sterile "frustration-politics" of the "Unity" movement. Maturity and experience brought him into the broad humanitarian mainstream of the liberation movement. In December, at Accra, he was the powerful and effective leader of our African National Congress delegation.

It is a profoundly interesting story. And now "Zeke" has written it out for himself in his new book*, in his own

* "Down Second Avenue", London, Faber and Faber. Price 18s.

splendid virile prose, perhaps the most beautiful autobiography ever to come out of Africa. I hope my opening paragraph has not given the impression that his story as told by himself is a catalogue of his academic and literary accomplishments. Far from it. Rather it is the story of what has gone into the making of the man, Ezekiel Mphahlele, tribal childhood in the Transvaal plateau; boyhood in an urban slum (the "Second Avenue" of his title is in Marabastad), filled with squalor, violence, terror, grinding poverty — with, nonetheless, the joy and the beauty of life bursting through.

A familiar enough story, no doubt: the life of millions in the Union's crowded locations. Yet here it is brought to life as never before, with Mr. Mphahlele's artist's eye for detail; his poet's command of the English language; his novelist's ability to fathom and to convey character. We are not soon going to forget the Mphahlele family, or Boeta Lem or Ma-Lebona and Ma-Bottles. Always, over all, the shadow of fear, violence, shame: the White police.

"Year after year, every night the sound of the bell floats in the air at ten minutes to ten and the Black man must run home and the Black man must sleep or have a night special permit. The whistle is very near now and the hunted man must be in Sec-

ond Avenue but the bell goes on peeling lustily and so Black man you must run wherever you are, run."

Then, like many another brilliant son of Africa (among them Oliver Tambo, Joe Matthews, Henry Makgothi, Alfred Hutchinson, Duma Nokwe) to school at St. Peter's, the great school that Verwoerd murdered with his Bantu Education law. And thence — Adams College, where in comparison the spirit was poor and niggardly.

Zeke didn't go straight to teaching: he worked for a time at Ezenzeleni, under Arthur Blaxall. When he did start teaching he was soon victimised for crusading against the Eiselen Report — precursor of Bantu Education. He taught for a while in Basutoland, came back to Johannesburg to work on "Drum" for £25 a month, though he hated "Drum's" self-established "standard of what the urban African wants to read: sex, crime and love-stories." As literary editor he was told to let in the "wet sentimental sexy stories and tough crime stories," and when he tried to persuade the proprietor (Bailey) that the magazine should "produce healthy material in an original style", he was told bluntly "that wasn't 'Drum's' mission." In the end, having gained his hard-won degree, he quit and went to a teaching job in Lagos, Nigeria — one of the great trek to the north of African intellectuals that is steadily draining this country of human resources it can ill afford to lose.

Well, that's where "Zeke" ends his book. But there's one thing we can be pretty sure of: it's far from being the end of his story.

M.H.

THE DEEP SOUTH

SIX ON THE RUN

In this novel the author has gathered together a number of different stories of life in America's Deep South. These stories, authentic, human, spring straight from life, are bound together by a simple framework. Six Negroes 'on the run' stow away on a goods train, and what brought them there, what they are running from, is the substance of the book.

Without unnecessary moralising, the life-story of each one gives a vivid picture of what racialism does to human beings, Black and White. Herrenvolk and oppressed are victims of the degradations and stupidities of a racially-divid-

ed society. The Blacks suffer inhuman cruelties and injustice against which there is no redress; the Whites are poisoned, brutalised, those few who attempt to cut across racial barriers find their road bitter indeed.

This is not a depressing book, nor is the picture painted a hopeless one. What emerges is the ever-seeking mind of man, the questioning, the desire for knowledge and an understanding of the world, so that we know that these people are not so much fleeing from their past as seeking a future.

The book moves to a climax when an escaped convict, a White man, joins the

group, bringing danger to all. His story rounds off the picture of racialism. And the climax of the story is when a White railroad worker prevents complete tragedy. "It is a cruel time when policemen have to be policed on, but it is true . . . a White man who doesn't like to see Negroes beaten and killed can stop a good bit of it, and do it easy. He just needs a steady eye."

A worthwhile book, this, with enough humour, action and continuous interest to make exciting reading.

HILDA WATTS.

THE BIG BOX CAR, by Alfred Maund. Longmans, Green and Co. Price 14/-.

IMMORALITY ACT THEMES

PLAYING WHITE

The Population Registration Act, as well as bringing humiliation and misery to thousands of South Africans, seems to be inspiring something of a dramatic renaissance: it is a case of an ill wind blowing a pretty tune among the broken reeds.

Following Lewis Sowden's "The Kimberley Train" in time, but leading in quality, comes another play on the is-she-really-Coloured theme, "Try For White" by Basil Warner, which was first produced at the Hofmeyr Theatre, Cape Town and is now on tour.

While Sowden took the obvious—and since "Deep Are The Roots" rather hackneyed — plot about an upper class young man who discovers his girl friend is Coloured, Basil Warner managed to find a more complex and interesting situation.

His play starts with an ageing dressmaker and her White customer ranting against the Coloureds who are moving into their seedy suburb on Cape Town's Signal Hill. The dressmaker lives in sin with a normally-prejudiced White bus conductor. She is expecting her 21-year-old son, who has been brought up in the Transvaal, down for his first holiday in the Cape.

Of course, in the second act she is revealed to be Coloured — her servant is really her mother. The bus conductor walks out in disgust, as her husband had walked out years ago. Her White ex-customer hurls insults at her. And she and her son are left trying to make a painful adjustment to life as Coloureds.

Clear-Eyed Observation

Out of this Mr. Warner has produced two-thirds of an excellent play. His

main strength lies in his portrayal of the play-white woman and her bus conductor. Coldly and brutally he shows their cruel and unthinking prejudices. Yet he also manages — without any sentimental tricks — to make the audience sympathise with them in the end. He is helped in the Leonard Schach production by two fine performances in these parts by Marjorie Gordon and James Turner, but the main credit for their rounded characters must go to Warner's clear-eyed observation and writing.

Mr. Warner has also managed to tell his story without recourse to the type of gangster melodrama which marred "The Kimberley Train." The first two acts were both moving and gripping, cleverly constructed and written with a real ear for the idiom of the people he was writing about.

A Tailing Off

The weakness of the play becomes apparent in the third act, which tails off into a lot of ill-thought-out talk about the necessity of not "living a lie."

It is a weakness that is caused by two things, I would suggest. The one is that the play-white's son is given no real characterisation at all. He is shown first to be vaguely liberal — concerned that his mother should be so rude about Coloureds. His reaction to the revelation that he is himself Coloured is to stand about in a dazed fashion and mutter "I hate it like hell, but I will not go on pretending . . ."

Nowhere in him is there any spark of the real life that blazed out of the bus conductor. And his romance with a Coloured girl rings decidedly false.

Political Innocence

The second basic cause of the weakness of the third act is the lack of any real political awareness. Mr. Warner's innocence shines through a speech by the son: he decides that as a Coloured the only alternatives are for him to become a preacher or a teacher — "I can't lead a one-man revolution." He hopes by teaching to help bring about a change eventually, but probably not in his time or in his children's time.

Obviously Mr. Warner has not heard of the revolutions that are already being organised or of the slogan about freedom "in our lifetime."

The main morals that one draws from his play are: that it is a mistake to pretend to be what you are not: and that the Whites should not be so cruel to the Coloureds (there are repeated references to how things were better a few years ago, before this rigid classification).

I suggest that neither of these thoughts are sufficiently original or startling to carry a last act that depends more on the thoughts expressed than on the action.

However, the second moral is a valuable one and one that needs to be preached to the large audiences the play is reaching. (Though I thought its impact was lessened by Mr. Warner being slightly unfair to the Whites at times: would the ex-customer have really been quite so vituperative, for instance, and does anyone in the Cape use the word "nigger"?)

We should, in fact, be grateful that such a powerful talent is being directed towards our real problems and present legislation. Perhaps we can move on now to the Immorality Act? Or the Group Areas Act? Or, perhaps, even the Suppression of Communism Act? I suggest "Try for Red on the Blue Train."

K.M.

HOLLYWOOD

FILM ACADEMY DROPS BLACK LIST

The Hollywood Blacklist against film people who have defied witch-hunting committees has been dealt a blow which may cause its final demise. The board of governors of the Academy of Motion Pictures, Arts and Sciences has voted—with only one dissident — to repeal a ban on Oscar awards to anyone who had admitted Communist Party membership and refused publicly to renounce the Party, or to answer Congressional committee questions.

The Board said "experience had prov-

en the by-law to be unworkable and impractical."

The amendment was passed in 1957 to prevent screen writer Michael Wilson from getting an award for *Friendly Persuasion*.

With Wilson out of the way the Academy gave the Oscar to Robert Rich for the script of *The Brave One*. No one came forward, though, to get the award. Years later Dalton Trumbo jailed in 1950 as one of the Hollywood Ten for invoking the First Amendment before the

Committee on Un-American Activities surfaced from the Hollywood Underground to announce he was Robert Rich.

In 1958 the Oscar writing award went to Pierre Boule for the screen adaption of his novel *The Bridge on the River Kwai*. Many wondered how a Frenchman could have written such sparkling English dialogue and some thought they recognised the hand of Michael Wilson.

And so on.

President of the Motion Picture Alliance and an ardent advocate of blacklists said "They're all working now, these Fifth Amendment Communists. We've just lost the fight."

Cato Manor

by JOE MATTHEWS

Cato Manor (eMkhumbane) is home to 90,000 people. These people have feelings, hopes and aspirations common to humanity as a whole. This is the central fact that finds no reflection in the thousands of miles of newsprint used up since the disturbances that broke out there a few weeks ago. How did all these people get there? How do they live? What is their future?

Post-War Shantytowns

The great movement for shelter and housing at the end of the Second World War gave birth to Shantytowns in Orlando and Moroka, Johannesburg. Cato Manor was the Durban equivalent. Industrial expansion demanded labour and still more labour. To this day it is still true that most of the people living in Cato Manor are providing the labour power that keeps South Africa's holiday resort running. In those war days the authorities alleged they were too busy to attend to the housing needs of the people. Virtually overnight, the huge sprawling planlessness called Cato Manor sprang up.

In all manner of ways, sometimes very ingeniously, the people put up their shanties on land owned largely by Indian landowners.

Very often the Indian landowners hired a huge plot of land to an African tenant for a nominal site rent. The tenant in turn would sub-let to hundreds of others who would have to build their shanties and pay rent for the privilege of remaining there. All the Indian landowner got was the site rent from the original tenant. This practice brought into being a huge class of African "tenant-landlords" who have a tremendous vested interest in the continued existence of Cato Manor. It is this same group which also runs the Cato Manor shack-shops. These are the shops which serve the people yet that have no licences issued by the authorities. These illegal shopowners are a phenomenon peculiar to Cato Manor. They are necessary and yet are unwanted by the authorities. They lead an insecure, harassed existence squeezed by the authorities on one

side and by competition with Indian traders on the other. These illegal traders and "tenant-landlords" form the social soil for the anti-Indian attitudes that one finds in the area.

People must live! and in the face of apparent official unwillingness or inability to provide decent housing and amenities the people made the best of things. Everything was done to make the shanties habitable and even comfortable as the years went by. Surprisingly elaborate decorations and furniture are to be found in many of the homes at Cato Manor. Hard work had gone into all this and people began to love their homes.

And let it be said that Cato Manor was spared some of the ridiculous controls that surround African life in the locations. Cato Manor, or, at any rate, a large part of it, is not a location. Readers of *Fighting Talk* need not be told what that means in the life of our people — to live outside a closed location.

Traditional Beer?

In 1929, thirty years ago, there were disturbances in Durban. On June 17, 18 and 19, 1929, there were shootings, a number of Africans were killed. There was a seven month old Beer Hall boycott. The issue was the same. The people wanted freedom to brew their traditional drink. Incidentally that was also during a great anti-pass year. Many were banished.

This year by sharp coincidence again on June 17, 18 and 19 there were disturbances in Durban. There were shootings by the police and a number of Africans were killed. There was a beer hall boycott. The people wanted freedom to brew their traditional drink. It is a great anti-pass year. Banishments are proposed.

Of course there are shebeen queens! But then is there any place in the Union where there are no shebeen queens? Strong criticism must be levelled at the downright deliberate attempts to muddy the stream by putting illicit liquor and shebeen queens in the forefront as the

main reason for the present situation in Durban. This is utter nonsense. Illicit liquor there has been, there is, and will be as long as there is prohibition. The police raids for illicit concoctions have been carried on consistently for decades. That is the reason why our courts are clogged with petty offenders. To suggest that the disturbances were a reaction of the shebeen queens to raids for illicit concoctions is a travesty of the facts. The shebeen queens have a sure business as long as prohibition continues. Police raids for thirty years have been unable to stop them. So why should they suddenly bother now?

The truth is that the people are incensed at the raids and punitive measures adopted against persons who brew traditional Zulu beer on permits issued by the Durban Corporation.

It is difficult to convince any African that he should have a permit to brew his traditional drink. He has only to move a few miles out of Durban to the Reserves to brew and drink as much as he likes. Then after he has been compelled to obtain a permit he is only allowed to brew four gallons a day for "domestic consumption." This phrase is narrowly interpreted to mean actual inmates of the household. It does not include visiting friends!

Meantime the Corporation itself produces and sells thousands of gallons a day at its beer halls. So it now appears as if restrictions on home-brewing of beer are intended to strengthen the Corporation monopoly and to force people to buy from the beer hall to swell revenue funds over which the people have no control whatsoever. It is rather like preventing the baking of bread at home so as not to interfere with the profits of the bakeries. It is the raids for Zulu traditional beer that have aroused a great deal of ire. Nor does it help to point out that beer hall profits are used for "African welfare." This increases the sense of grievance. In other words the only way in which Africans can be provided with necessary welfare and services is if they drink more beer at Corporation beer halls. This policy is shamelessly espoused by our local rul-

**" Decent housing — Cheap transport — Home beer brewing —
£1 a day minimum wage — Freedom —
These are what the people of Cato Manor want."**

'BOTH BREAD AND FREEDOM'

By L. BERNSTEIN

ers and even by some "liberal friends of the African." So much for beer.

Mass Removals

But that is not all. Eventually under pressure from the N.A.D. (as it then was) the Cato Manor slum clearance scheme was started. As usual the scheme involved uprooting and displacement of thousands. Cato Manor itself is about five to six miles from the centre of Durban. But Kwa Mashu where the people were supposed to go is more than double that distance from town. Furthermore it is an economic housing scheme. That means rentals are calculated in accordance with the now notorious determination in which income and not services are to be the guiding factor. Coupled with the tremendous increase from 10d to 1s.6d a day in transport costs the rentals makes the scheme too expensive for the people at Cato Manor. As is usual in our country people had to be compelled to be enthusiastic about the scheme.

The first step taken by the authorities was to discover who was "legally" in the area. Women had to make sure they were "married" to men who were legally entitled to be in Durban in terms of Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act. Thousands rushed to obtain licences to marry their husbands afresh according to the White mans laws. The existence of customary unions was brushed aside by impatient officials who wanted nothing but documentary proof of every fact. Permits, reference books, documents of all kinds were wanted. And be it remembered that all this screening took place with the menfolk largely away from home at work. On the women rested the burden of pleading, explaining, arguing. Men have lived with these documents for years. But not the women. Hundreds were unable to satisfy the tests and hoped against hope that something would be done for them. Then would come the inevitable bulldozer. Shacks were destroyed. It would not help either if furniture and crockery had not yet been removed. The man in the bulldozer would explain that he had orders and also had his children to think about. As far as the authorities were concerned women who were "illegally" in the area had to go back to their "original homes" which they left decades ago. Slum clearance became human clearance. And always it was the women who bore the brunt.

They were patient, these women. Many times they went to see the Mayor, often the Manager of Native Affairs. The press would report on the "sympathetic reception accorded the delegation." One

Suddenly, it seems, Nationalist politicians and newspaper editorial writers have discovered a conscience about the sufferings of the poor Africans in their midst. Those who have managed to keep approvingly quiet about all their sufferings in the past, about the pass raids and the police shootings, about the farm jails and the low wages, have suddenly been moved to mealy-mouthed warnings that the trade boycott of South African goods will bring hardship and suffering to Africans. When such sentiments come from Eric Louw and the State Information Office, one may have a suspicion that this is another in the long string of untruths, half truths and distortions that we have grown accustomed to. But when the chorus is joined by people of more sympathetic character, and finally by Mr. Walter Stanford, Liberal Party member and Native Representative in Parliament, it needs to be considered.

The logic of their reasoning is obvious enough. If South Africa exports less, it will be forced to produce less; and less production means fewer jobs, more hardship. This is the ABC of our economy, and no one needs to be reminded of it. One could attach to this the specially South African results of such an obvious process; Africans will be the first to be fired; the process of forcing them in'o brutal farm labour will be intensified; the jails will be filled and the towns emptied. This special aspect of the matter forms no part of the thinking of the

such delegation presented a comprehensive memorandum of complaints to the Mayor of Durban Mr. Jackson on the 21st June, 1958 almost exactly a year ago. All sorts of promises would be made. Once they were told that if they had reference books they would be safe. Hundreds took them. It did not help.

What Do the People Want?

Everyone knows what the people want but there is a conspiracy of official bewilderment. The Corporation, the government, professional liberals, all cry almost plaintively "but what do they want?" The people want cheap decent housing which they can afford! They want cheap transport! They want to brew their traditional beer at home! They want a £1 a day minimum wage! They want freedom!

State Information Office, but it certainly looms large and clear in the minds of every African, and also amongst all those who called for the boycott of our goods at the Accra Conference, and amongst all those Non-Africans in this country who welcome it and hope to see it spread throughout the world.

A Streak of Madness?

Why then do they call for the boycott with such vigour, and applaud every new move to spread it and make it effective? In some parts of the world there are mystics who believe that suffering is good for the human soul, and a passport to eternal happiness in a life hereafter. The African people generally are not made in this mould, nor do their leaders and spokesmen in their various national liberation organisations encourage such beliefs. And still they urge an international boycott of this country. There are some crackpot revolutionists — Trotskyite and others — who believe that the advent of the revolution will be hastened by an increase in misery and suffering. But these ideas also have no support worth talking of in Africa generally, and least of all in the Union of South Africa.

If these peculiar beliefs do not explain the matter, is it possible that those who call for the boycott are so simple that they do not realise the hardship that it can bring to the Africans themselves? No one, I think, who has any knowledge of the Congress movement in South Africa, or of similar organisations in other parts of Africa, can imagine that they are unaware of the hardships that their own actions often cause them. **Every step they take towards independence and equality is trod with pain and hardship.** Every campaign they undertake brings with it a chain of men in jail; every mass demonstration, a likelihood of police batoning or shootings; every organising drive a chain of sackings from jobs and evictions from houses. Of this they are painfully aware. It is certain that they are equally painfully aware of the hardships for themselves and their own people which must follow in the wake of a successful world boycott of our goods.

For A Greater Cause

It is part of the special character of these organisations, and of the people of

whom they are made up, that the hardships resulting do not deter them from a course of action, once they are convinced that the course leads in the direction of ultimate freedom. It is difficult to explain this special character to those who have never themselves felt moved to face hardship for the sake of a cause which they believe in. Perhaps to such people, this special character smacks of recklessness; but those who know the organisations know that when they err, they tend to err on the side of caution rather than recklessness; they tend towards costly litigation rather than mass struggle against superior state force; they strain every fibre to maintain the families of those victimised or jailed, to find them employment and to minimise their hardships; they try every safe, comfortable channel of making themselves felt before they knowingly call down hardships on their own heads. But, in the end, the hardships do not deter them. They face them calmly, willingly, because they know that every other means has been used and exhausted, and this is now their "moment of truth." They must either give up, accept defeat, or go forward and accept the hardships.

There are times when people unwillingly accept defeat. This is not such a time. The idea of liberation and equality has entered into the minds of the people of Africa, and become a force

impelling them onwards. At this time they refuse to give up in the face of hardship. The ideas of freedom are now so large, so compelling, that there is throughout Africa a willingness to face the hardship for the sake of a greater cause which everyone here now feels is coming, in our lifetime, if we have the strength and the determination to carry ourselves through to the end.

Bread and Freedom

This is the outlook and the feeling which those well-meaning but wrong-headed doubters like Mr. Stanford need to understand. There was a time when it was popular to berate Communists for what was vulgarly described as "materialism", for allegedly being concerned only with men's material needs and not with their spirit. How completely the wheel has swung the other way today! Those who profess sympathy with the cause of African liberation but warn against the consequences of the trade boycott are the crass materialists of our time. To them it is necessary to say firmly that man does not live by bread alone. If Africa has to draw in its belt, it will be ready to draw in its belt, for freedom is as vital to the growth, life and well-being of the people of Africa today as bread.

The supporters of the trade boycott are neither simple, reckless nor unaware

of the consequences of what they are doing. They would like both bread and freedom. But the Nationalist Government and its race-crazed doctrines of apartheid stand today like a rock in the way of both. There are many paths towards their freedom. One of them lies by way of hitting the rulers of South Africa in their pockets; by making them understand through their own financial losses what they refuse to accept through argument and debate — that South Africans cannot afford to turn the clock back to the dark ages of racialism and oppression while the whole world goes forward to democracy, independence and equality of opportunity. If the advance along that path entails pulling in the belt, there will be few in South Africa who will not be prepared to face the hardship. If ever there was doubt of that, let the doubters look at the speed with which, overnight, the staple food of potatoes vanished from the diet of the urban Africans.

And let them look too to the fact that the direst warnings of the coming hardships for Africans come from the very cabinet ministers whose regime has become the byword for African suffering and misery throughout the world. Is their sympathy for those who will have to pull in their belts, or for themselves and the financial sufferings they are already beginning to feel?

The £.s.d. of the Group Areas Act: The Cost of Race Lunacy

In March this year, the Supreme Court in Pretoria heard argument in a case in which certain properties in Rustenburg with a municipal valuation of £11,200 were sold by the Minister of the Interior for £2,450. The sale was effected in terms of Section 37 of the Group Areas Act, which entitles the Minister to dispose of property acquired by Indians (in contravention of certain anti-Indian statutes) without any compensation whatever. On the papers before him, the presiding Judge, Mr. Justice Williamson was not prepared to make a finding of improper conduct on the part of the officials, but he did comment that

"when property is disposed of for what is a long way between the valuation of the property for rating purposes, one is surprised. . . . The extraordinary thing was that

in regard to this property bought for £2,450, as being the best price apparently obtainable by the State . . . the purchaser nevertheless before he got transfer of the property

By
A LAWYER

at this figure for £2,450 could raise a loan on the property of £5,600 on bond."

The sale of these Rustenburg properties received considerable publicity in the daily press and provoked discussion on the economic cost of Group Areas.

Astronomical Figures

The indirect economic consequences of the Group Areas Act must run into astronomical figures. It is quite impossible to assess accurately the incredible cost of this lunatic and immoral law measured in terms of its depressing effect on the living standards and the purchasing power of its victims. The cost of administration and litigation alone is estimated to have run into hundreds of thousands of pounds in the last three years.

Rail Costs

An example of this needless and tragic waste of public money is provided by the cost of providing railway services between the cities of South Africa to the Meadowlands, Nyangas, Kaalfonteins and Kwa Mashus of the Government's

resettlement schemes of African workers and their families. These schemes would be quite unnecessary if the Government did not persist in its inhuman policy of evicting thousands of Africans from existing townships to new, rigidly controlled and ethnically divided locations far from the factories and business houses of the cities. At the end of 1956 the General Manager of the S.A.R. wrote in 'South African Railway News' that

"the approved programme in connection with rail services to demarcated Non-European residential areas on the perimeters of the larger cities under the Government's Non-European resettlement plans provides for the expenditure of nearly £50,000,000, with several other projects still to be brought to finality."

The removal of Africans from the Western Areas to the Meadowlands area has involved the state in an extensive scheme of railway construction. Existing lines have had to be improved and another short section of line has had to be laid at a cost of £1,000,000 a mile. The total cost of railway services to the new South Western Townships is estimated to be £5,967,000. Similarly the removal of Africans from townships near Germiston, Boksburg and Benoni to Katleong and Daveyton has necessitated the construction of new railway lines costing £6,646,000. The removal of Africans in Pretoria to Atteridgeville and those in Cape Town to Nyanga has involved the state in improvements and extensions to railway lines totalling some £8,853,000.

The figures do not include a sum of £10,000,000 which will have to be spent on coaches and locomotives. A small percentage of the £50,000,000 would assist the older established townships but most of it is necessitated by a frantic desire to arrest the political and social consequences of creating an organised working population in an integrated economy.

The Cost of Removals

The cost of constructing railway lines to the new townships is an example of the cost of ESTABLISHING new areas for displaced racial groups. Equally, if not more staggering is the cost of EVICTION from the older areas, both to the State and its Non-European victims.

Pretoria Losses

Thus the proclamation of Group Areas in Pretoria threatens economic disaster for the city's Indian population. Almost 70% of the Indian population will be affected, including the 127 stores in the central Prinsloo Street area which provide a livelihood for 2,500 people. In this area alone an estimated £5,000,000 is invested by Indians in property, stocks, book debts and goodwill. No compensation is payable for loss of bad debts and goodwill.

During May this year the committee of valuers appointed under the Group Areas Development Act fixed the "provisional basic values" of properties owned or occupied by Indians in the Prinsloo Street area. Objections to

these provisional values were immediately lodged by the owners. The hearing of some of the objections was in June. The owners of these properties adduced evidence from quantity surveyors, architects, sworn appraisers and estate agents. One group of objectors, owning some 26 properties between them, employed two eminent Queen's Counsel and two junior counsel to lead expert evidence which assessed the basic values of their properties at well over a million pounds, as against the committee's provisional valuation of some £400,000. The sittings of the committee have been adjourned until August when the hearing of objections from owners will be continued.

Johannesburg's Western Areas

The proclamation of Group Areas in the Western Areas of Johannesburg involves staggering financial losses. Nearly 70,000 Non-Europeans formerly living in Pageview, Sophiatown, Newlands, Newclare and Albertonville, will have to leave these areas proclaimed white in August 1956. The value of Indian properties in this area together with the stock and goodwill of small Indian traders is estimated at £5,750,000. Sophiatown comprises 1600 stands and their total value is £2,000,000, of which £750,000 represents the value of stands owned by Indians and Chinese. Newclare consists of 600 odd stands and the value of Indian investment in property and improvements is said to exceed £800,000. Indians own some 40 properties in Newlands and the extent of Indian investment in property, stock and goodwill is estimated over a million pounds. Indians required to vacate these areas are expected to settle in Lenasia where residential stands worth £10 each have been offered and sold for £350. As in Pretoria, property owners in the Western Suburbs of Johannesburg have been involved in heavy legal costs in contesting the "basic values" proposed by the Committee of Valuers.

Durban Removals

In Durban, the proclamation of Group Areas in June 1958 will necessitate the removal of nearly 200,000 Non-Europeans from settled homes. It is difficult to estimate the cost of rehousing this vast population but some indication is obtained from the experience of Meadowlands where the housing for some 60,000 Africans is estimated to have cost the Government some £7,000,000. The value of Indian-owned properties in Durban's residential areas now declared "white" is estimated to be over £10,000,000 even on the basis of completely out of date municipal valuation figures.

Country Towns

The pattern which emerges in the delineation of Group Areas in the cities is repeated in the smaller towns often with even greater viciousness. The value of property owned by the 400 strong Indian population of Ermelo, for example, is estimated at £324,700. These properties as well as the £500,000 worth of properties belonging to the small Indian population of Klerksdorp, are now "af-

ected" properties in terms of the Group Areas Development Act, and their respective basic values will soon have to be determined.

The purpose of fixing the "basic values" is to enable the owner to claim 80% of his loss as compensation from the Group Areas Development Board if his property is sold at less than the "basic value." If the owner of such affected property gets more than the basic value, he is obliged to share 50% of the excess profit with the Board.

In Johannesburg, Pretoria and Durban certain Non-Europeans have instituted actions in the Supreme Court to set aside the proclamations for their respective cities. Protracted and difficult litigation is expected to follow, which will necessitate very heavy legal costs on both sides. Costs are further aggravated by the employment of legal representatives at the hearings of the Group Areas Boards.

Even in areas where no Group Areas have formally been proclaimed, Non-Europeans have suffered severe financial losses by harsh and unsympathetic application of the various sections of the Group Areas Act pertaining to "specified" and "controlled" areas. The following story, verified by Alan Paton, is typical.

"Mr. Cassim J. served for 5 years in the South African army. He fought against all that Hitler stood for.

After leaving the army in 1945 he set up a shop in the township of K. which had a large Non-White population. His landlord was a White man named V.

In 1954 Mr. V. decided to rebuild the premises of which Mr. J's shop was a part. He gave Mr. J. temporary premises in the neighbourhood.

When the new premises were completed in 1955, there was a bombshell: The premises were determined for White occupation by the Group Areas Board.

Meanwhile Mr. J. had returned to the new shop on the old site. In January 1957 he was convicted of illegal occupation, and given 12 months to remove himself and his family from the township of K. He asked the Group Areas Board Inspectors where he was to go, what was he to do? But they replied that that was none of their business.

Next to Mr. J. is Mr. T. He is in exactly the same position. He carries £10,000 stock, £2,000 fittings and estimates the goodwill of his shop at £3,000. The stock is not all paid for, but the rest represents the savings and labour of his life. He asked where he was to go to but the Inspectors said they didn't know."

And so the misery goes on. And all South Africa pays and pays for the most satanic adventure of our times.

The Union and Federation

THE WHEEL COMES FULL CIRCLE

FIFTY years ago the British public and Parliament was asked to sanction and approve a new political unit in Southern Africa, comprising a merger of several former British colonies. The practical men in charge of colonial affairs found the proposal very reasonable and attractive. After all the principal purpose of establishing a British administration, in a remote area, which costs a great deal in hard pounds shillings and pence, has very little to do with loudly announced objectives of bringing the "natives" the advantages of civilisation, Christianity and so forth. It has a great deal to do with safeguarding the sacred rights of British investors, even though this is not loudly announced or not even announced at all.

So, from the practical man's point of view, a plan which will enable all the administering and policing to be done, free of charge, by locals who are fully appreciative of and loyal to the sacred rights of the British investors, is a very sound proposition.

The Busybodies

Unfortunately the great British public has a most annoying and reprehensible habit of, from time to time, taking proclaimed objectives seriously. Only ten years before they had been asked to join up and fight to save the poor Africans in the Transvaal and the Free State from the savage treatment inflicted upon them by the Boer Republicans. Now there were all sorts of interfering busybodies, Churchmen, Labour men, and other cranks who kept raising the most awkward and (from the point of view of the British investor) irrelevant questions about the proposed new Union.

They pointed out that the Cape Colony had only been granted "responsible government" and self-rule after the most solemn promises had been exacted that there would be no colour-bar in franchise qualifications for the legislature. Yet the terms of the proposed Union — approved by the same "liberal" Cape Legislature — provided for a complete exclusion from the franchise of Non-Whites in the three Northern provinces. The same Cape Colony had been involved in some very nasty incidents on its own account; a frightful massacre in Bechuanaland, and an abortive and rather humiliating attempt to subdue and disarm the Basuto.

The Non-White majority in South Africa, who had never been consulted in the framing of the terms of amalgamation of the four Colonies, now before the Westminster Parliament in the form of the draft South Africa Bill, were vigorously opposed to the Union. They campaigned, held mass meetings, sent deputations to London. One of their deputations was headed by a former Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, W. P. Schreiner — long an advocate of Union, but now horrified by the naked discrimination of the draft Constitution.

Despite all this outcry, both in Britain and in South Africa, the South Africa

Act was adopted in 1910: an event which we are asked to celebrate next year. Critics of the new constitution were told that the beneficent example of the Cape would doubtless soften the intransigent White supremacists of the north. Those who feared that the influence might spread the other way were reassured by being told that the Union Parliament could not abolish the Non-White franchise in the Cape Province except by a two-thirds majority in both Houses — an unthinkable eventuality.

Fifty Years Later

It is a striking coincidence that 1960 should find the British public and Parliament once more asked to sanction and approve a merging of colonies in Southern Africa into a new political unit. The Central African Federation, of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland Protectorate, was formed in 1953 for an "experimental period" after which a decision would be taken whether to go ahead and grant it Dominion status, or to call the whole thing off. The time will soon be up and White Rhodesia is busy lobbying — its chief spokesman, Sir Roy Welensky is just back from Britain at the time of writing — to have the Federation confirmed and given Dominion status. In other words, to have absolute power over six million Africans transferred into the hands of a handful of White Rhodesians.

The British Government has agreed with Sir Roy that a 26 member Commission will be set up to "prepare the ground" for next year's review. But since the Commission will not be able to consider the alternative to Federation or "sit in judgement" on its Government, it would appear that the main purpose will be to make the Federation "eligible for full membership of the Commonwealth."

The parallel with the sell-out over Union in 1910 is startlingly close, right down to the former Prime Minister (this time, of course, Mr. Garfield Todd) who has been converted into an outspoken opponent of the constitutional plans of White Rhodesia, and the "nasty incidents" in Nyasaland on which the Devlin Report has just cast a pitiless light.

First-Rate Summary

If one wants a first-rate summary of the position in the Federation — right up to, but not including the alleged "emergency" last December — one can't do better than to read "Central African Witness",* by Cyril Dunn, who reported on the spot for the London "Observer" until last year. Mr. Dunn is a rattling good reporter. He has a flair for the right incident, the exact quotation, which will throw a whole situation or personality into relief. And he has a wicked sense of humour. The result is a book which is un-put-downably readable from beginning to end; and the more people who read it, especially in Britain, now, the better.

He has a magnificent picture of Lennox-Boyd touring Nyasaland, "to smooth

out difficulties." He had a rough time. At every one of many meetings he listened to bitter and angry denunciations of the "Federation" sell-out. The Colonial Secretary listened to all of these complaints courteously enough, and then blandly disregarded them. Dunn describes an incident where an old chief "had just resumed his seat with glum dignity, after attacking all the beliefs that sustained Mr. Lennox-Boyd, stopping only just short of invective and shouting, and talking what to the Colonial Secretary must have seemed the direst nonsense."

"'Chief,' said Mr. Lennox-Boyd, 'you have spoken wise words.'"

A Verwoerd, no doubt, would have had the chief deposed and deported forthwith; and herein we can discern the superior wisdom of the British, who are always prepared to give a man a hearing before ignoring his views. Always on the assumption (to quote the very quotable Mr. Dunn) "that the indigenous rarely know what is best for their own welfare."

Window-Dressing

Mr. Dunn firmly disposes of the illusion that there is any fundamental difference between the attitude of Rhodesian and South African Whites on the fundamental issues of race relations. Once the Rhodesian electorate became convinced that Garfield Todd and his friends meant his talk about "partnership" seriously and not as mere "window-dressing" they rejected them as decisively at the polls as the Union electorate rejected the Labour and Liberal Parties last year. We in the Union may be impressed when we read of African Members in the Federal Assembly, and one of them even being promoted to junior Cabinet rank. We must think again when we learn, as "Central African Witness" explains, that the gentleman in question, Mr. Jasper Savanhu, was elected by European votes, and cites him as saying "that his people were a race of paupers because they did not work hard enough, but spent most of their time at beer parties and gossiping." Mr. Dunn convincingly proves his thesis that plans for African political advancement are largely window-dressing and "intended only to confuse and frustrate African opposition, to justify the white community's present privileges in its own eyes and in those of the world, and to engage the support of the British Government."

With the precedent of the Union in mind, one can be sure that should the British Government commit the crime of conceding Dominion status to Welensky and Company next year, the political gestures towards the Africans will be abolished even more rapidly than the Union Parliament abolished the Non-European franchise.

Welensky said bluntly:

"We Europeans have no intention of handing over the Federation to

SPIES AND INFORMERS

anyone," and

"Even in a hundred or two hundred years' time, the African shall never hope to dominate the Federation."

Substitute "Union" for "Federation", and "Bantu" for "African" — and it might be Verwoerd talking.

Worse than 1910

In some ways the handing over to the present Federal authorities would be an even more abject betrayal by Britain than was the case with Union half a century ago. For one thing the White minority is much smaller, relatively; and much more recent, more like settlers than people with a historical claim to be regarded as "Africans."

Again, at least in 1910 Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland were withheld from the clutches of the local White Supremacists; but Nyasaland, whose status as a Protectorate is almost identical, is now to be handed over to the Rhodesians.

Finally, simply: this is not 1910 but 1960. After two world-wide wars the whole imperialist colonial system lies in ruins; the great majority of the human race, including those in the vast awakened continents of Asia and Africa, have declared war to the end against alien domination and minority rule. The creation of a new "Apartheid" area north of the Limpopo would be an act of almost incredible political stupidity by Britain, the only redeeming feature of which would be that it would certainly hasten the liquidation of the remains of her African empire.

Mr. Dunn, for all his acuteness and critical wisdom, shows a certain lack of appreciation of these larger perspectives and dynamics. He proposes, instead of Dominion status, a retention of the status quo "for the next ten or fifteen years", in the hope that the White settlers will, in that period, reform their ways and reach a reasonable way of living with the Africans during that time. I am convinced that he does not himself believe in this forlorn hope, whose absurdity is manifest in every chapter of his book.

The truth of the matter is that the Federation has been a resounding flop, and the sooner it is dissolved, the better. Here, as elsewhere in Africa, the only solution is self-government and democracy, with an equal franchise; the annulment of all group privileges, political and economic. The African people themselves are rapidly advancing towards the achievement of this solution, and it is luckily improbable that "ten or fifteen years" or even five years will have to pass before they attain it.

As to whether, in that event, the peoples who inhabit Nyasaland and the two territories now known (that unhappy name will not last long either) as the "Rhodesias" will want to federate or not — that question must be left to their own judgment and wisdom. Whatever doubts may be cast upon their capacity to exercise these faculties in their own best interests, Mr. Dunn's book leaves no room for doubt that it is at least as great as that of the Colonial Office or the Salisbury Administration.

ALAN DOYLE.

* "Central African Witness", by Cyril Dunn. London. Gollancz. Price 23s.6d.

It would seem that times have changed. Not very long ago, the paid spy or informer was universally regarded with contempt, and treated with distrust. In those times, few of the unsavoury characters who follow this most unsavoury profession ever appeared in the witness box; for who would believe an informer? But in our times the fashion has changed. Even though honest citizens have retained much of their healthy distrust and contempt for them, some governments at least have elevated informers to the level of good citizens, and even honest and trustworthy witnesses, whose testimony is enough to send men to the gallows or to jail for a long term.

The main stamping ground of these paid informers in the witness-box has been in the field of political trials, and in the hunting down of those dangerous thinkers and agitators and teachers who seek a change in the social order. It is for this reason that D. N. Pritt, the eminent British lawyer whose name has been associated with the defence of many unpopular, radical and forward-striving political figures in many parts of the British empire, should have had more first-hand experience of the character and behaviour of spies in the witness box than almost any other lawyer of today.

Gaps

It is a pity that he chose to deal with them in so short an essay that much of his acute powers of observation and his wide experience of them goes unrecorded.

ed. His book serves as a useful catalogue of the more notorious informers and spies who have appeared in the witness-box and given evidence — often fraudulent — under oath. But it leaves great gaps. What makes a man become an informer, against all the codes of decency and honesty of society? What sort of people follow this odious profession, and why? What answer should decent people give to their evidence, or for that matter to the Governments which rely upon them? What are the strengths and weaknesses of such witnesses in the witness-box? For these aspects there is no room. Nor is there room for more than passing comment on a cause celebre of Pritt's own career, the case of the spy whose evidence jailed Jomo Kenyatta, and who was jailed in turn for perjury when he declared that the evidence against Kenyatta was false and framed-up by Kenya police authorities.

This short work opens with a masterly and penetrating essay by Pritt on the dangers of this type of evidence, on the temptations to fraud which it places in the way of prosecutor and witness alike, and on the legal implications of tolerating the use of informers in the courts. This alone is worth the price of the book, and should be compulsory reading for everyone in the legal profession.

L.B.

SPIES AND INFORMERS IN THE WITNESS BOX. By D. N. Pritt, Q.C. Published by Bernard Heinemann Ltd. Price: 10s.6d.

NEGRO NIGHTMARE

Jim Crow Pattern

His father, a rich undertaker, has Jim Crow'd to the Whites all his life, at the same time amassing money from Black brothels to protect which he bribes the White police chief. Fish is appalled by the discovery of his father's miserable subversions and his rancorous hatred. The tragedy of the novel is that Fish is being forced into the same despicable pattern of life, until he cuts adrift from it altogether.

Wright comes to life as the superb novelist he is only halfway through the book. From the time of the fire at the "Grove" the story sweeps along with a velocity, a dramatic intensity and an emotional force that leaves one breathless with suspense and weeping with compassion.

Running Away

Running away to France solves no problems yet no reader, I swear, can withhold his sympathy for the hunted and beaten Fish. But oh! the pity of it, the waste of it. As if mankind has not enough to cope with in wresting his daily bread from the soil, in leading water into the desert, in shoving up a roof over his head, he must needs dissipate his energies by hating his neighbour, insulting him and killing him.

(Cont. at foot of col. 1, page 15)

One week after the heavy rains that washed hundreds of African families out of their homes along the banks of the river, and before the families could re-settle in their flooded homes, the village was declared "White."

This account is by Dr. W. Z. CONCO.

can church in the upper section of the village; and some families had moved to relations at Cyldesdale and other adjoining areas.

In the showgrounds tents were erected, and families were moved into them. There were about 52 tents for Africans, about 27 for Coloureds and about 17 for police and court officials. By Friday Tent Town was almost complete, with streets and improvised communal latrines. Blankets, clothing and food came until the Committee complained that there was too much, though the people grumbled that it was still too little. It was cold and damp in the tents. Most of the relief work came through the Red Cross while the Umzimkulu Women's Guild worked day and night to sort out materials for equitable distribution.

The Helicopter Lands

On Thursday morning rumours went about that the Minister of Bantu Education was landing in Umzimkulu in a helicopter that afternoon. It was on this day that tent-town was completed — rather hurriedly. At about 2.45 p.m. the helicopter was sighted and landed in the showgrounds near emerging Tent Township. Within a few moments cars and inhabitants streamed to the scene. Out of the 'copter came three gentlemen: Mr. Maree, wearing a hat that concealed his face, immediately surrounding him, the Native Commissioner and the Chairman of the Village Management Board, together with a group of civil servants, police and traders.

There was a 30 minute visit, no inspection of Tent Town or destroyed houses; no address at all and off went the Honourable Minister.

Rumours circulated that he had promised more help; and the Road Department had been called in to assist shape tent town; which it did. On Friday the Native Commissioner called a meeting of all victims in tent town and elsewhere. Here the rules and regulations of tent township were promulgated: no fires in tents and not a drop of alcohol to be brought in, and no visitors. Contravention of any of the rules would mean expulsion.

(Already before Tent Town had come into being, the Native Commissioner had gone to the people direct, informing them to leave the village and go and stay with relations in the reserves. This instruction, as it was by word of mouth and not in black and white, was not carried out at all.)

Officials Swarm In

Never before had this small village been graced by a visit of government

officials. Exactly a week after the deluge, a Bantu Administration and Development official came and had hush-hush discussions with the Village Management Board, the main problem being the resettlement of Africans. The following week three more officials came — one from Bantu Administration and Development, the other from the Coloured Affairs Department and the last from the Group Areas Board, all to have discussions with the Village Management Board and the Native Commissioner.

Rumour grew that the whole of the village area is an urban area — declared so in 1952 and that Africans were therefore "out of place." This was confirmed at a meeting of all non-European erf owners called by the Village Management Board, where a statement was issued by the Chairman of the Board.

Its effect was:

- ★ That Umzimkulu Village had been declared an urban area in 1952, and that in keeping with government policy, no African should own immovable property in an urban area;
- ★ That the Health authorities had condemned Rainbow Avenue (Non-European) and Skoonplaas (Non-European) — residential areas along the river, as unfit for human habitation and that nobody should go back and live there. (The Hotel, and Europeans settled in the same area were not affected.)
- ★ The Board advised or warned African erf-owners not to go to any expense in rebuilding substantial houses, as the Board believed "That the whole village is to be declared White."
- ★ The Bantu Administration Department had indicated that erven could be sold to Africans in the neighbouring reserves — "their traditional home", not in the now "white areas."
- ★ That in the meantime no African was to SELL or WILL any erven to any racial group other than members of the White groups.
- ★ That the removal of Africans would take time and that this could be done "with or without compensation."

For the Coloured community the position was a little different. Negotiations would be opened with the National Housing Commission to settle Coloureds near the "Rifle Range", below the National Road and erven would be surveyed and sold to the Coloured group. Arrangements could also be made to have present Coloured erven exchanged for those to be cut in the Coloured area.

This was the startling statement issued by the Board, and the Chairman made a point of stressing that he was not prepared to answer questions, so no questions were asked.

Perhaps it would be expedient at this juncture to give a rough picture of the village. The whole of the business area is owned by Whites, Coloureds, and the only two Asiatics. Africans own 28 freehold erven — Coloureds 19. (I have not the figure of erven owned by Europeans). The White residential area is on higher ground, safe from any flood, though the main business area was in the flood area. There is no location or African Township.

Campaign of Intimidation Opens

Following the Board's statement, a feverish campaign of intimidation opened, with notice served on some African and Coloured residents of Tent Town. Strangely enough these notices came from the Native Commissioner and not from the Village Management Board and in them the section of the law under which these people were being ejected was not quoted. The notices were withdrawn as fast as they were issued. The second batch of notices was issued by the Board to erf owners to clear the mass of sand, silt and destroyed houses Act. Failure to comply with the order within a month under the Public Health notice entailed prosecution.

A "White Spot" in Bantustan

The most significant thing the flood had done in Umzimkulu is to wash the village "white." The "Bantustan Empire of Bantu Self-Government" is shrinking, slices are being cut off to accommodate a few White settlers, and not only that, but Africans are being displaced and deprived of freehold properties which they have occupied since the 1880's.

While the praise-maker was dancing and praising Mr. de Wet Nel in Umata, and while the President of Transkeian Territorial Authority was "thanking the father of Africans," while the whole "territorial Parliament" was giving the Royal salute of "Bayete", somewhere in the vast "Empire" a small village was being sliced off from the control of the newly inaugurated "Bantu Parliament."

The flood was on May 17th and 18th. The "Bantu Parliament" was inaugurated on the 26th May.

Rumour has it that bigger slices will be cut off this "empire" — e.g. Mata-tiele, Umzimkulu Village with its six surrounding White farms, and that the big district of Mount Currie will be annexed to Natal, and this Umzimkulu River will cease being a "Natural Eastern Boundary", of the Bantustan Empire.

Time will reveal the sincerity or hollowness of the Bantustan dummy!

NYASALAND: A HOUSE DIVIDED

Enough time and type has been devoted to the findings of the Devlin Commission about the so-called "murder plot" of the Nyasaland African Congress, which formed the Governor's justification for the State of Emergency decreed on 3rd March. The Commission found that there was neither talk amongst Congressmen of "cold-blooded assassination or massacre" nor "anything that could be called a plot nor, except in a very loose sense a plan." Pompous discourses on logic and elephantine broadsides of sarcasm have been used to erase this verdict, or to prove it contradictory — and therefore apparently false — in the face of the further verdict: that "violence was to be adopted as a policy" and "there was talk of beating and killing Europeans."

In fact there is nothing contradictory about it at all, as anyone who takes the trouble to read the report as a whole will appreciate. The report generally is far more judicial than any of its critics, far more concerned for the facts and far less concerned to justify the government of Nyasaland than those who attack it so easily. It is not the intention here to analyse and dissect what the report has to say on this vital matter. To some extent that is churning over the ashes of the past. There are more important matters dealt with in the report, and ones which affect the present course of Nyasaland events and will also surely determine its future. Such, for instance, is the characterisation of the two great opposing forces in Nyasaland society — the government on the one hand, Congress on the other.

"Between the Government and Congress there was a profound difference of attitude" says the Commission, referring to the period before any disturbances whatsoever had taken place. "Congress behaved as if Nyasaland was capable of functioning as a democracy in the fullest sense and that the Government was holding things back. The Government on the other hand became increasingly intolerant of any opposition on western or democratic lines . . . This conflict . . . is no doubt a common feature of the emergence of democracy all over the world." Perhaps, in the long historical sense, this conflict is part of the emergence of Nyasaland towards democracy. But in its immediate result, from this conflict flowed the disturbances, the state of emergency, the banning of Congress and the arrest of Congress leaders and members. From this conflict has developed a Nyasaland which, in the words of the Commission ". . . is — no doubt only temporarily — a police state, where it is not safe for anyone to express approval of the policies of the Con-

gress party, to which before March 3rd, 1958 the vast majority of politically minded Africans belonged, and where it is unwise to express any but the most restrained criticism of government policy."

by
L. BERNSTEIN

Unity and Opposition

Throughout the report runs this theme of the profound opposition of Congress and government on every important matter, on agricultural policy and soil conservation, on the right of free speech and assembly, on the authority and powers of chiefs, on the composition of the legislature and the right to vote; but most importantly, on the issue of membership of the Central African Federation. In its opposition to Federation, Congress spoke for every section of the Nyasa people, for "the educated African . . . feeling that he is looked on as an inferior being, treated at best as a second class citizen. The partly educated, who have been to Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa as labourers . . . dislike the ways and attitudes they have seen there. The completely uneducated fears for his land . . . Federation means the domination of Southern Rhodesia; the domination of Southern Rhodesia means the domination of the settler; the domination of the settler means the perpetuation of racial inferiority and of the threat to the African's land: that is the argument." "Opposition to Federation" says the Commission, "was deeply rooted and almost universally held. Even amongst the chiefs, many of whom are loyal to the Government and dislike Congress methods, we have not heard a single one who is in favour of Federation." On one side, the whole people; on the other the Government, which "cannot and will not go back on Federation; it treats the question as one that is no longer open."

The government — as it was before ever the State of Emergency — was described by the Commission as "a benevolent despotism." It consists of a majority of European officials, appointed by the Governor. "Every member of the Government" the Commission gravely records, "believes that at bottom in Nyasaland there is government by consent and would not be happy if he thought otherwise." This happy belief is not directly challenged by the Commission; but an insight into this govern-

ment "by consent" is given here and there throughout the report. The government view, for example, "is based on the assumption that, apart from a small minority of self-seeking trouble makers, the African wants what is best for him . . . and the Government knows what that is." "Freedom of speech is considered to be one of the essential conditions of democracy and therefore the right of assembly is jealously preserved; . . . This right has never been recognised among Africans . . ." "It is indeed, the government claim, because of the difficulty of making the African see for himself the advantages of soil conservation that it is necessary to enforce these rules by penalties and not simply to rely upon the education of the African up to higher agricultural standards." "The Government's view is that these nationalist aspirations are the thoughts of only a small minority of political Africans, mainly self-seekers . . . We have not found this to be so."

Iron Hand

Call it what you will, despotism, benevolent despotism or 'government by consent'. This was — and still is — the government. "We think" says the Commission, "that before there was any suggestion of a murder plot it had been contemplated that all branch officials of Congress should be arrested in the event of an emergency. The decision to suppress Congress, we think, owed more to its belief that its continued activities were making government impossible than to the feeling that it was, or might be, a terrorist organisation." Accordingly, on March 3rd, when the opposition of Congress and government had reached near bursting point, the government by emergency decree, suppressed Congress.

The suppression of Congress started with the before-dawn arrests of over two hundred selected Congress leaders, in a carefully prepared combined police and military operation known as "Operation Sunrise." "In Nyasaland" says the Commission, "it has been the practice at least since 1954 for the special branch to maintain a list of 'suspects' whom it thinks might have to be arrested on the declaration of an emergency. In November 1958 a complete revision of the list was undertaken . . . to include all those persons who were believed to be members of the central executive committee, or of the three provincial committees or were known as the chairman or secretary of any branch." Some time later, when informers reported that a special conference had been held (with the knowledge and consent of the auth-

orties!) at which a "massacre plan" had been adopted, the list was "revised, to include any person known to have attended the emergency conference . . . with some others added whose names the special branch had submitted as likely to be a menace to public tranquility."

The Round-Up

The manner of the arrests varied. Dr. Banda's front door was forced with an axe . . . Dr. Banda was refused permission to dress . . . the house was searched, all locks being broken open with an axe or bayonet." "Chifaka says that he was held down on the bed and beaten. We think that this is probably exaggerated, but the wounds on his head suggest that he was beaten even more severely than the police admit." "Nikodimo was arrested and handcuffed. . . . He was struck three times with batons . . . Handcuffs were then put on his ankles." "Nanseta was still naked when taken outside. Nanseta's story is that four special constables came in and started beating him. We are not satisfied that he began shouting before he was struck." "A pane of glass was broken to effect entry and this roused Ziba who started yelling and shouting . . . The A.D.C. broke down the door . . . Owing to the noise it slipped the A.D.C.'s mind to say what he was there for. Ziba did not advance to attack . . .

the special constable joined in and struck Ziba on the head with his shotgun so that it shattered and both barrels were discharged in the air. The A.D.C. hit him on the head with a baton which broke; and then again with the butt of his rifle." "General instructions in the Mzimba district permitted arrested persons to be handcuffed, tied at elbows and at the ankles and gagged. The majority appear to have been treated this way."

The arrested men were to be removed from Nyasaland to Federal prisons by way of the motor vessel Mpsaa. "Prisoners travelled in the hold . . . we think the hold must have been about 50 feet long, 20 feet wide and twelve feet high. It contained as well as the detainees 84 tons of cement in paper bags . . . At the top the hold is completely covered with planks . . . kept wedged down when the ship was in port or during the night time; but during the day while at sea, two of the corners were opened up to let light in. . . . The ship left Nikata Bay with a total of 75 detainees aboard. . . . The first few had been in the hold for just over three days and three nights" when she docked at Chipoka.

From Raids to Riots

As the news of these arrests spread in the towns and villages, crowds began to assemble, some angry, some merely wishing to interview the local officials

to discover the reasons for the arrests. All such gatherings were forcibly dispersed. Including in their figures two men shot and killed in disturbances of a similar sort before Operation Sunrise, the Commission records that "44 men and four women were killed by gunfire, and three were killed by the use of a baton or bayonet. 79 were wounded by bullets. All these persons killed or wounded were Africans . . . Probably there was a number suffering from minor bullet wounds and a much larger number suffering from baton injuries who did not go to hospital at all . . . As a result of force employed by rioters and other criminals, all of them Africans, during this period there were no deaths but about half a dozen Europeans and Africans were injured some of them quite seriously."

Of Operation Sunrise itself, the Commission finds: "That it is quite evident that unnecessary and therefore illegal force was used in making a number of these arrests; illegal measures of restraint were also employed. Apart from those instances which may not be defensible judged by any standards, you may think that the incidents show generally a freer use of the baton than would be tolerated in this country (Britain)." But the servants of the Nyasa-

Africa's Biggest Dam will be Soviet Built

A miniature Aswan Dam project is under way on a site on the outskirts of Moscow. Here on a site one-hundredth of the actual Aswan dam site a little river, the Skodnya, is being used to simulate the Nile and Professor Komzin, Soviet adviser on the construction of Egypt's Aswan dam which will be the largest hydro-engineering structure in Africa, is carrying out experimental designs to arrive at the most economical construction schedule on the Aswan dam itself.

The Soviet design for the High Aswan dam project was approved by the United Arab Republic after discussion by an international commission of hydro-engineering experts. British, French and West German firms also submitted projects for the dam but the Soviet proposals were found to be better, simpler and considerably cheaper.

A problem, which, for instance, the British draft solved by the construction of seven rock tunnels, some eight miles long, is solved in the Soviet draft by a simple canal little more than a mile in length.

Soviet engineers will supervise the carrying out of the work, and thousands of tons of Soviet machinery and equipment are being sent to Egypt for the purpose — ranging from metals and cables to 25-ton tip-trailors and giant excavators and electric suction dredgers.

A special training center will be set up at Aswan, at which Soviet hydro engineers will train Egyptian workers.

Building work will start this year.

Egypt has at present probably less cultivated land per inhabitant than any other — fewer than six million acres, needed to feed 25,000,000 Egyptians and also grow cotton, rice, onions, and other crops, the bulk of which are exported to pay for industrial imports.

Nine in ten of these acres rely on irrigation from the Nile. There could be a vast increase in crop areas if only more water was regularly available.

The High Aswan Dam will solve this problem. It

will give Egyptian farmers billions of gallons more water every year, making it possible to add another two million acres to their arable farming areas right away.

The dam will end the floods in the Nile valley, and it will also end the drought.

This means an increase in Egypt's agricultural output of at least half.

On the dam will be a 20,080,000 kw. hydro-electric station, with an annual power output of 10,000 million kwh — far more electricity than Egypt will need for many years to come.

Cheap hydro-power will speed the development of Egypt's young industries.

There will be power for the pumping stations along the irrigation canals.

Favourable conditions will be created for producing the nitrogen fertilisers the country needs, and for developing electric blast-furnace production and other branches of electro-metallurgy.

Regulation of the flow of the river will also considerably improve navigation conditions on the Nile, and promote the further development of shipping.

United Arab Republic economists estimate that all the investments for building the Aswan Dam will be recovered in one or two years.

The dam site is far from the coast — some 550 miles up the Nile from Cairo — and a great deal of preliminary work in the building of roads, power grids, railways, airfields and river wharves is already under way.

"We are certain," says the project's chief engineer, Nikolai Malyshev, "that in the nearest future, as a result of the efforts of Egyptian workers, engineers and scientists, and with the Soviet Union's technical assistance there will rise in the Nile valley the biggest hydro-engineering structure in Africa."

"It will harness one of the mightiest rivers of the world for the benefit and prosperity of the people of the United Arab Republic."

land government apparently do not think so. "Having seen all those who were responsible for the shootings . . . we are satisfied that each man did what he did and because he honestly felt that he could not discharge his duty in any other way." They, too, no doubt, could not be happy if they thought otherwise.

Riots to Reprisals

From Operation Sunrise the government proceeded to "a vigorous policy of harassing and breaking up Congress organisers, supporters and hoodlums at a lower level . . . The objectives of the new operation were to arrest leaders still at large, to make propaganda, to give firm but friendly displays of force in quiescent areas and to take tough, punitive action in areas where lawlessness and acts of violence were being perpetrated or planned." The emphasis has clearly been on the "tough and punitive", not on the "firm and friendly." Large scale raids on Congress members houses have resulted in a "a substantial number of persons" being sent to prison for continued membership of the now illegal Congress — from six months to two years sentences — or for managing or organising Congress after March 3rd — up to five years sentence. Evidence of continued membership of Congress is not hard to find. "In some cases a search of premises has shown a membership card or a receipt for a subscription dated after March 3rd; then the position is clear" says the Commission. "But in most cases, what has been found is . . . dated before 3rd March. A liberal construction of section 73(3) (Penal Code) would be that a document did not 'relate to an unlawful society' unless at the time of its issue the society was unlawful. This view has not so far been taken by the courts in Nyasaland. Indeed, the discovery of old documents has been held to be virtually conclusive proof, for it is said, that the failure to destroy the document after 3rd March shows that the holder intended to continue his membership."

"Where membership of Congress cannot be proved" says the Commission, "persons who are suspected of subversive tendency can be detained under emergency regulations . . . We understand that by the middle of May about 1,000 persons had been or were detained . . . In this context we think that 'subversive' behaviour is being given a very wide meaning . . . Two observations made to us by District Commissioners show that it has become difficult to distinguish between opposition to the Government and subversion."

Reprisals to War

Raids and searches have not all been individual. Villages have been cordoned off "at night or in the early hours of

the morning . . . Police or soldiers would then go to the village, banging on the doors of the huts, breaking in if necessary, bringing the men out into the centre of the village. The men might be questioned in the village or they might be put into a lorry and taken off to the police station . . . According to the way in which they answered their interrogators, they might either be released in a day or two or they might be subjected to a 28 day (detention) order. When the alarm was given at the beginning of the operation, men might try to run away . . . Cordoning troops had power to shoot such people if they failed to halt. Over a period of 12 days, 11 casualties were caused, six of them fatal during these operations." "We are inclined to think that the search for wanted men was hardly more than incidental to the main purpose of the operation, which was to impose a form of collective punishment . . . They were punitive expeditions intended to make it plain that siding with Congress led to very unpleasant consequences."

Not the least of these unpleasant consequences has been the burning of huts, often together with all the occupier's possessions. "The complaints we received said that houses were being burnt simply because they belonged to persons who were thought to be Congress sympathisers. We believe this to be the case." "We heard many complaints that implements — axes, choppers, pangas etc. — were taken wholesale from houses which were searched . . . It is admitted that a great deal of this was done and we find that it was a general practice to take all the implements from a house that was searched, which would frequently mean from all the houses in a village . . . No arrangement has been made for returning the implements or for paying compensation. We must note that no fire arms were ever confiscated . . . There is no provision in the law which gives a blanket authority for the seizure of implements in any circumstances . . ."

Generally, the Commission concludes, "An aggressive and bullying attitude was part of the treatment and lack of submission to it meant hitting and beating. All this was generally known and we sought opinions about it at every level in the administration. They varied from those who thought it proper and desirable to those who thought it regrettable but inevitable. The Government has not at any time, either before us or, so far as we are aware, to anyone else, expressed regret or disapproval of what has been done under these heads."

And Still Divided

This is a fitting note on which to end the report. The Government remains the Government. Congress is suppressed, hounded, imprisoned and beaten. But the conflict between people and Govern-

African Protests at French Bomb Test

The West African campaign against France's plan to carry out a nuclear bomb test in the Sahara has solid backing throughout Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Guinea and the Camerons as well as in some of the French African territories.

The Prime Minister of Western Nigeria, Mr. A. O. Awolowo has warned France that Nigeria's foreign policy towards France when she becomes independent next year might well be defined by France's reaction to the protests.

Trade union leaders are calling for a campaign for a total boycott of French goods unless the French call off the Sahara bomb test.

ment which set the stage for the State of Emergency and for the disturbances remain as acute as ever. The gulf is as deep as it ever was, the bitterness more bitter. Neither Operation Sunrise nor Operation Break-up has erased any part of the Nyasa opposition to Federation. And already, as the new constitutional change scheduled for 1960 comes closer, there are signs that the British Government at any rate recognises that dreams of Central African Federation under Southern Rhodesian premier Welensky have been shattered on the shores of Lake Nyasa.

"As power was transferred from the British Government" in respect of the Northern Territories (Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesias) Lord Home told the House of Commons not long ago, "it would be transferred not to the Federal Government but to the governments of the Northern Territories, which would become more and more representative of Africans until they had an African majority." Not yet perhaps all that the Nyasaland Congress and people have been demanding. Not yet full independence and an African majority government outside the Federation. But a move in the same direction.

And as the history of Ghana shows, when the mass of the population are fired with the vision of independence, superior force and prisons cannot contain them for long. Dr. Banda and Mr. Chipembere will surely, like Dr. Nkrumah, yet move straight from the jails to the seats of Nyasaland government.

Zimbabwe

by HENRI BART

Reprinted from THE UNESCO COURIER
October, 1959.

Ninety-one years ago a wandering hunter named Adam Renders returned southward from the unexplored lands of what would become Southern Rhodesia, beyond the river Limpopo, and made himself famous with a strange tale. Not far beyond the river, not as much as 200 miles beyond it, he had seen tall grey ruins in the bush. He could say little more than that, for he had never seen such walls and towers before; but the tale passed round, and grew the stranger as it passed, and those who heard it reckoned that Africa had once again sprung one of its surprises. A hidden civilisation in the northern plains: who could have expected that?

A German geologist called Mauch was next to see this mystery in towering stone. Four years after Renders, he in his turn came back across the Limpopo and declared that he had seen a fortress on a hilltop that was surely a copy of King Solomon's temple on Mount Moriah; below it, in the valley, he had seen a great building in stone that was just as surely a copy of the palace in which the Queen of Sheba had dwelt at Jerusalem in the 10th century B.C.

The story spread across the world. Thirteen years after Mauch's return, an unknown writer called Rider Haggard made name and fortune with a book called *King Solomon's Mines*, a fine romantic tale of diamonds and Africa. And a few years later the land was opened for European occupation by an invading British column, and many more reports came back. Yet Renders and Mauch, it seemed, had not exaggerated: the ruins really were tall and spacious—and inexplicable. Could any African "native" have built them? The idea seemed absurd. Here an alien hand had been at work: another and much earlier conqueror from outside. England was only entering on that vanished conqueror's heritage.

Gold Rush in the 'Land of Ophir'

"Today then", wrote one of the pioneers of 1891, the year when the British took possession of these lands to the north of the Limpopo, "The Englishman is in the land of Ophir — opening afresh the treasure house of antiquity . . .

(and soon) we may expect to see the image of Queen Victoria stamped on the gold with which King Solomon overlaid his ivory throne, and wreathed the cedar pillars of his temple."

And then it was discovered that the ruins of Zimbabwe were not alone. Little by little, as pioneering columns pushed northward across the plains and spread away on either side, men stumbled on many other such ruins: none of them so large and splendid as Zimbabwe, but all of them bearing an undeniable stamp of dignity and civic strength.

Yet if this was the Land of Ophir, the source of all those talents of gold which the Queen of Sheba gave to Solomon, surely much of it must still remain? Many asked themselves this question; and many hastened northwards in the hope of treasure. They found unmistakable signs of ancient mining: hundreds, even thousands, of abandoned mine workings thirty or sixty feet deep or so, scattered across the land. They staked new claims; and they were not always disappointed.

Others took an easier road to wealth. They plundered the ruins. A prospector called Neal teamed up with a couple of hopefuls in Johannesburg to form an Ancient Ruins Company Limited, and managed to loot 500 ounces of worked gold from burials in the ruins of Rhodesia before high authority, realising what precious knowledge was probably being lost forever with the gold, ordered them to stop. That was in 1900. "But the damage done", wrote the late J. F. Schofield, "was immense, for everything except the gold was treated in a most reckless manner" — while the gold, or most of it, was melted down and sold.

When it came to explaining the origin of these ruins and mine workings, the "legend of Ophir" for long led the field. Amateur archaeologists, eagerly investigating these ruins with their minds full of remote antiquity, declared they were Sabaeans and Phoenicians. They belonged, that is, to a period going back some thousand years and more beyond the beginning of the Christian era. These battlements and towers, it was said, were manifestly the work of civilising

To the south of Salisbury lie the ruins of Zimbabwe. With its massive stone walls, terraced battlements and towers, Zimbabwe is only one — though the best preserved — of a score of ruins in Rhodesia, which, together with even more sites where gold, copper, iron and tin were mined, prove that an African civilisation grew and flowered some 12 centuries before Europeans entered the land.

intruders from the north, from beyond the seas: they were not the work of native Africans. Nothing like them, after all, existed anywhere in southern Africa; nor was it in any case thinkable, it was added, that the savage ancestors of these savage natives whom Europeans were even then subduing with such toil and bloodshed could ever have raised such monuments to a civilised past.

But a few others were not of this opinion. On the contrary replied Selous, some of these Africans are still building in stone in much the same way: and some of them are still sinking mines. It was hard to deny authority to Selous, for none of the wandering hunters of those pioneering days knew the country half so well. The controversy raged.

Impressed by the bitterness of argument, the British Association entered the fray in 1905. It appointed a trained archaeologist called David Randall-MacIver to make a report on these much disputed ruins. MacIver's findings added fuel to the flames. He dismissed as nonsense the claims of ancient or foreign origin: the ruins, he said, could be proved to be relatively modern — dating perhaps to the 14th or 15th century A.D. — and in his opinion they were undoubtedly the work of native Africans.

The "Ophir-ites" were not dismayed. They returned to the charge. And they returned with such good effect that a quarter of a century later, in 1929, the British Association appointed another trained archaeologist whose work, it was thought, must surely carry conviction. Three years later Miss Gertrude Caton-Thompson published her great book, *The Zimbabwe Culture*, and confirmed the substance of everything that MacIver had said about Zimbabwe. The ruins, she found, were mediaeval in date and Bantu in origin. They were probably a little older than MacIver had thought; but not by much.

Stone Monuments to an Iron Age

Even in face of this — and Miss Caton-Thompson's book has since become the "Bible" of all serious archaeological investigation in southern Africa

(Continued on page 14)

He Wanted No Tomorrow!

As far as I know, Alfred Hutchinson was front page news only once in his life. For a brief moment the press featured his arrest in Tanganyika on a charge of entering the country without official documents. For a day or two, while they filled in the background of Hutchinson's career — A.N.C. official, school-teacher, treason trialist, — the news-hawks followed his story. They told of Tanganyika's declaration that he was a prohibited immigrant; of Christian Action's immediate offer of an air-fare anywhere he desired to prevent his forced repatriation to South Africa; of his air flight to Ghana and his appearance at the Accra Conference as a delegate of the African National Congress. And there the story ended. After a brief moment, Hutch faded from the news as suddenly and mysteriously as he had crashed into it.

Because of this brief moment, Hutch is remembered by many only as the **Treason Trialist who got away**. There have been others who have remembered him as the one who ran away. It is the measure of the man, perhaps, that amongst this second group there are none of those who would have the best reasons for bitterness and envy — none of the hundred and fifty five who spent over two years in the same Drill Hall, in the tedium and privation of the treason trial; none of those many A.N.C. officials and leaders who have lived through the same endless round of Special Branch persecution and harrying of the past several years. Almost all of these whose views I have heard feel a glow of satisfaction that Hutch, finally, got away from it all.

The Special Plea

Perhaps this is because Hutch is something special. Not special because he got away. Others have done it before, often more easily, more legitimately, less painfully. Amongst the Non-White writers of talent, Arthur Maimane, Bloke Modisane, Zeke Mphahlele have all made the break from Verwoerd's South Africa. Before then, even before the days of Nationalist government, there were others who made the break, so long ago and finally that they are no longer 'our people' but aliens — Gerard Sekoto, painting rootlessly in Paris, Peter Abrahams writing rootlessly in London. Doubtless those who knew them all could enter special pleadings, special justifications for their decisions. South Africa is a grim place for

L. BERNSTEIN writes on
"ROAD TO GHANA"
by Alfred Hutchinson

all who are not White. It is doubly grim for those who feel, react and desire more keenly and sensitively than the rest of us, and thus are able to depict their emotions artistically and dramatically to others.

I knew Hutch. I did not know the others except as nodding acquaintances. For Hutch I can enter the special plea and the special justification. I doubt if it is necessary. Hutch is — above all else — a writer. And the justification of a writer is his writing. In his few months of escape in Ghana, Hutch has justified his decision by writing a book, a fine, sensitive book, worthy of his great talent for descriptive prose. In all his years in South Africa he wrote little — an unsuccessful and unsatisfactory novel, some promising short stories, some magnificent but slender descriptive sketches mainly for small circulation magazines like **Fighting Talk**. None of it was worthy of the real ability of the man. And all of it written with such tremendous pain and suffering, such torturing, and only under relentless pressure and nagging by editors and friends. In South Africa as it is today, Hutch's talent would have slowly shrivelled up and died, leaving behind it only the stray flash of inspiration to tell of what might have been.

All Set for Tragedy

All the worst combinations of the worst features of South African racialism seem to have afflicted Hutch. With one White grandparent and both parents African, Hutch was patently Coloured. Yet he chose to live as an African, taking lodgings in African areas, making friends chiefly amongst Africans. Elsewhere even in Africa, this could mean little more than choosing the special economic privileges reserved for Africans. In South Africa it set the stage for tragedy. In his book Hutch tells of the nightmarish hounding to which he was subjected by Pass Office officials under Special Branch police inspiration. On the one hand, he is arrested and charged for being a Coloured man in an African township without a special permit. Almost simultaneously he is charged with being an African, not registered with the pass office. The tragic climax comes when the man who

has lived, by choice, as an African has to prove in court that he is Coloured, or be deported from the town — perhaps to a Bethal farm.

Triple Crisis

The story is wonderfully told, with those flashes of great descriptive writing of which Hutch is so capable. It is told almost in undertones, played down with tremendous dramatic effect. Alongside this climax to his troubles, Hutch tells of the other prongs of the triple crisis which determined irrevocably the decision to get away without delay. He tells in the same studious understatement of Hazel, the European woman with whom he fell in love, a hopeless, tragic-destined love if lived out in South Africa against Immorality Acts and Mixed Marriages prohibitions. This affair, too, moves to climax, with police seeking Hazel for deportation — clearly such a woman is 'undesirable' in South Africa — and taunting and threatening Hutch with an immorality prosecution. Finally, to make the cup run over, is the tale of confusion and uncertainty of future which again disrupted the even tenor of treason trialists' lives' when the crown suddenly withdrew the indictment, without any indication whether the ordeal of trial would commence again, or when.

Out of the Strait-Jacket

Here was the turning point in Hutch's life. As he writes himself: "I wanted no tomorrow" — not in South Africa. Without passport and without permits, Hutch followed the 'underground railway' to liberty. His book tells not only of the making of the decision, but of the journey itself, of the people of Africa with whom he rubs brief shoulders in the trains and the buses, on the stations and in the jails that marked his passage. No one has ever written of Africa as Hutch writes. Every picture comes alive with living people, struggling towards life against all the cruelty, indifference and persecutions of Southern Africa. Here, in the pages of "Road to Ghana" is the justification for Hutch's decision to travel the road. Africa would be poorer if this book had not been written.

And I have no doubt that in South Africa it would never have been written. For over two years, during re-

ROAD TO GHANA will be published in the new year.

SPUTNIKS AND SOVIET SCIENCE

cesses and lunch adjournments of the treason trial, I talked to Hutch of books and of writing. Always Hutch was on the verge of writing; always he was preparing, gathering, planning to make a start. On and off over the years he spoke of the book he was going to write — a book of the farm labourers in the Bethal fields, of their lives, their passage from the pass-offenders police cell, the meaning for them and their people of the treatment and inhumanity of the Bethal labour system. That book was never started.

Life in South Africa was a strait-jacket for Hutch. Just keeping alive, just keeping sane, just staying human and unscarred was as much as a man of his sensitivity could compass. Above this there was neither time nor energy nor even any longer the compelling urge to create. All his life, for some reason I have never understood, Hutch has been known to his friends as "Tough." In his way, I suppose, Hutch was tough. He followed his conscience into jail in the Defiance Campaign; he fought the good fight for freedom with the Congress movement when to do so invited persecution and hounding; and finally he travelled the road to freedom in Ghana the hard way, the hunted way, unafraid. Hutch does not frighten easily. Perhaps then he is tough. But no artist of his compassion, with his sensitivity, could be tough enough to survive the ordeals which life heaped on his head and yet have strength to write creatively in a way which needs all of a man's sensitivity and heart.

Only once before did Hutch really write a complete book, a novel. I have not read it, though those who have tell me that it is far from being his best work; at the time he was young, learning the writer's craft, immature. Yet a local publishing firm accepted it for publication. Hutch once told me the story of that affair. He was asked to call on the firm to discuss terms. He went. He was received as a White South African customarily receives a 'boy'. He was not asked to sit down. No one shook his hand. The boss remained seated and talked; Hutch remained standing and listened. Terms were handed out, as though he were a house-boy applying for a post. Hutch left the office bitter and disgusted. The novel went with him; he threw it into a drawer, and never afterwards tried to get it published. Somehow in that incident there is the microcosm of the man Hutch. White South Africa coldly reduced him from the status of writer to the status of 'boy'. From that blow the writer never really recovered until he shook South Africa and its caste society off his back.

Did you know? The Russians are using television to photograph the moon; the first sputnik had a thrust of 400,000 lbs.; their Synchrophasotron weighs 36,000 tons and has a diameter of 60 yards.

Did you know that the Soviets were first in the production of electric power from the atom, to fly around the world without refuelling, to have automation?

Where is the longest canal in the world, the biggest man-made dam and hydro-electric power station, the only anti-magnetic ship in the world, cameras which take 50,000,000 pictures per second, or cameras which photograph the ocean depths at 30,000 feet down? Who has the most accurate clock in the world? The Russians do.

This is the theme of "Secrets of Soviet Science". But as the author points out they do not keep their secrets but publish them widely. This book does a good job of breaking through local news selection that keeps this information from us.

Pity though that a book on the wonders of Soviet achievement should reflect so badly on British bookbinders that pages 49 to 65 (in my copy anyway) should be missing!

SECRETS OF SOVIET SCIENCE
by Lucien Barnier. Published by Allan Wingate. Price: 21s. 6d.

This book is a reprint of various articles published by Russian authors and scientists. Ari Sternfeld deals with the general background to adventure in space and then the story of the first three Sputniks is told, in a series of 14 short articles.

The first article by Sternfeld is excellent and worth a second reading since it gives a down-to-earth analysis of Astronautics. The other articles are badly chosen, I'm afraid. Press cuttings at best make poor reading a year after they have first appeared. These cuttings are not well chosen from those available and no attempt has been made to edit them. The result is that we learn that the radio transmitters worked on 20 and 40 megacycles in about four of the reprinted art-

"Road to Ghana" is the proof that a free country has liberated not only the man but also his talents. Hutch, at long last his written a book comparable to his talent. Always there were in him ideas, stories, pictures, bubbling to burst out into words and print. Now he has broken the strait-jacket, "Road to Ghana" is the justification not only of Hutch and his decision to get away from this country. It is also the vindication of all those, amongst them the editorial staff of this journal, who have always held that Hutch was amongst the best, perhaps the very best writer South Africa has produced in our time.

icles. This together with other such repetitive matter becomes annoying.

The subject matter of the articles is interesting and written in a popular form for the general reader. It would have been much more satisfactory however to have had one of the Soviet popular science writers commissioned to write a unified book on the subject. This book is indeed a very poor substitute for the real story as told by the Russians themselves at the time when these things were happening.

SOVIET WRITINGS ON EARTH SATELLITES AND SPACE TRAVEL. Published by MacGibbon and Kee. Price: 21s. 6d.

Dr. R. E. PRESS.

Here are some books you can afford to buy this Christmas. Because book prices have now risen so high, these are all in the "paperback" category; and in the fashion of paperbacks are not newly issued books but, generally, reprints. But no less readable for all that. Here are some worth reading that are at present on the bookshop shelves:

SPARTACUS, by Howard Fast (Panther). A gripping novel of the revolt of the Roman slaves against a decadent society.

STALINGRAD by T. Plivier (Berkeley). The grim tale of the destruction of the German Army, seen through German eyes.

SHAKA ZULU by E. A. Ritter (Panther). A magnificent documented history of one of the greatest figures in the past of this country.

KNOCK ON ANY DOOR by W. Motley (Fontana). The story of how slum life turns a young man into a juvenile delinquent.

DANCE IN THE SUN by Dan Jacobson (Ace). A tale of South African conflict and suspense by a South African writer.

THE INFORMER by L. O'Flaherty (Four Square). The fate of a police agent in the days of Ireland's revolution.

And in more serious vein:

THE VOYAGE OF THE LUCKY DRAGON by R. E. Lapp (Penguin). The true story of the Japanese fishermen who fell victims to the first H Bomb test.

HIROSHIMA by John Hersey (Penguin). The moving account of the death of a city when the first atom bomb was dropped.

Job Reservation and the Unions

In South Africa it is an important event when a contribution to trade union literature is made, for this does not happen often as can be seen from the fact that during the last ten years only four little-books have appeared, three of them written by Mr. Alex Hepple. The reasons for this may suggest themselves after reading 'H. J. Simons' and Ray Alexander's 40 page pamphlet "Job Reservation and the Trade Unions."

This pamphlet is undoubtedly a "first" in the field of trade union literature. There is no other full study of the South African industrial colour bar and the role of the labour movement within its framework. Written by two experts (Dr. Simons lectures and writes on African Government and Law at the University of Cape Town and Ray Alexander is a trade unionist victimised by the Government for her opposition to racial discrimination) the job reservation schemes of the present Government are seen in perspective.

The authors trace the industrial colour bar to its genesis and bring to light in a unique way the standpoints of political movements and workers' organisations who in their times have opposed or supported the industrial colour bar.

The booklet is thus a handbook for every worker anxious to fight for the right to skilled work. More than that, it will be a standard textbook for research workers and the student of our economic structure for the writers have painstakingly tapped every source to reveal the truth behind the colour bar.

In a modest foreword, the authors write, "this little book describes some of the methods used to keep workmen of different races apart and the effects upon the trade union movement". For the serious trade unionist however, the pamphlet does more than that for its objectivity has a compelling effect upon him to examine his attitude to this subject in a new light.

The Nationalist job reservation schemes are explained as a system "to give White wage earners an exclusive or preferred claim to selected occupations in industry, commerce and the public service through statutory and administrative discrimination against Coloureds, Indian and African workers." The pamphlet systematically shows that "this system extends ideas and practices that go far back in our history and that a division of labour between White and Brown people was established in the early days of White settlement at the Cape."

The authors take the reader through the history of the colour bar in the mining industry, and, from official statements relate the Nationalist Party's crude concept of racial discrimination. The two opposite traditions in the trade union movement — socialist and liberal thought as opposed to White supremacy — provide some hard facts which every trade unionist should know. A chapter on Job Reservation in action hits home the tragedy of racial discrimination and its effects on Non-White workers. Finally the pamphlet discusses the formidable barriers in the way of Non-White workers whose time has come to reassess their positions in the trade union movement. It concludes on the note

that though the Non-White workers have not up to now turned the slogans EQUAL RIGHT TO WORK AND EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK into "a major battle cry" the new trends in the trade union movement will forge a stronger trade union movement which will break through present restrictions and provide their political organisations with a firmer basis.

The pamphlet's appearance coincides with significant stirrings among Non-White trade unionists who are bearing the brunt of the new I.C. Act and are looking for a way out of its clutches. They will find it a helpful guide. This study is also bound to make its mark on the trade union movement as a whole, for its searchlight on the industrial colour bar extends far beyond the confines of Clause 77, (the job reservation provision), of the new I.C. Act.

JOB RESERVATION AND THE TRADE UNIONS, by Ray Alexander and H. J. Simons. Published by Enterprise Publishing Co., P.O. Box 40, Woodstock, Cape Town. Price: 2/6d.

Leon Levy.

New Watches

Edgar Snow wrote in 'Red Star over China' one of the earliest and most impressively prophetic descriptions of the new China in the making in the rough caves of Yanan in the days when the names of Mao Tse Tung and Chou En Lai meant little to the outside world. The far-seeing perception of Snow's early days seems to have deserted him in later years as he joined the highly competitive band of foreign correspondents who flitted from one war front to another and in the wake of news headline personalities, quizzing everyone from Gandhi to King Ibn Saud, Truman to Stalin's son, the Viceroy of India to Churchill.

Where accurate reportage and painstaking detailed study made Snow's first great book, rushing about the world's capitals to be 'first' on the spot mars this one.

Snow's journeyings and some autobiography are written against the background of rather superficial commentary on world politics in an atmosphere frozen by Cold War icicles which seem to have laid their chilly finger on the writer too.

Snow's old magic is recaptured only in chapters that deal with those early days in China and in some fascinating accounts of conversations with statesmen, Nehru and Gandhi foremost. He tells the story of how he and a superstitious Irish friend were struck by the fact that their wrist watches stopped at an interview with Gandhi and again when Gandhi was assassinated and then, ominously, at an interview with Nehru. What evil omen could this be? It was Nehru "this son of occult Asia who tilted his Gandhi hat to one side and smiled 'What you need,' he said, 'are new watches'."

This is the theme on which Snow ends. New Watches are needed. It is far too

A China Geography

This is one of the few books available to readers in the West dealing with the geography and the economic development taking place in China. Indeed in school and other text-books China is treated in such a scanty fashion, completely out of proportion for a country of 650 million people and an area of over 3½ million square miles.

The chapter include physical features, mineral resources, climatic conditions, soil, vegetation, economic growth of the various administrative regions — first in a general sense, and in the second section of the book, in extreme detail. Of particular interest to colonial readers would be the description and equal treatment of the "border" regions, such as Tibet, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, etc. consisting mainly of non-Han inhabitants. The economic growth in these areas, together with the development of the road and rail systems is a pointer to what can be achieved in "backward areas" in a comparatively brief period of time.

The book is well illustrated but I feel that some of the topographic maps could have been improved by the use of different colours, rather than the blurred effect obtained by different cross shading.

A very useful volume which should be obtained by any broad-minded person concerned with developments taking place in the world around him.

R.R.

A SIMPLE GEOGRAPHY OF CHINA — Wang Chun-Heng). (China Knowledge Series).

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA: The U.N.'s STEPCHILD is the title of a booklet issued by the America Committee on Africa putting the case for United Nations action against South Africa which has refused to place South-West under international trusteeship. With a foreword by Martin Luther King this booklet advocates taking South Africa before the International Court for her failure to carry out her mandate.

Published by ACOA, 801 Second Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

late to restore colonial empires in the world, he argues. The world has reached the crest of an unexampled floodtide of human advance. Snow urges that it is time for every nation to cast out the beam in its own eyes before seeking to cast out the mote in a neighbour's eyes. Accurate telling of the time for human advance is all very well, but warm human goodwill alone won't make the clocks go.

JOURNEY TO THE BEGINNING by Edgar Snow. Published by Gollancz. Price: 24s.

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