

LIKE THE CURATE'S EGG...

The most interesting and, valuable part of the work of the Progressive Party's "Commission on Franchise Proposals" is undoubtedly its proposed "Bill of Rights." Here for the first time since the Congress movement tackled the task at the Congress of the People in 1955, a major South African political organisation has given serious thought to the shape of South Africa's future. The Congress of the People produced the Freedom Charter — a programme designed to be fought for by all its supporters as a means to change South Africa. The Progressive Party's Bill of Rights on the other hand, is — if I understand it right — not a programme to be fought for on the Party's road to political power, but a programme to be brought into operation when that power has been won.

This difference of approach may sound like a quibble. I doubt whether it is. The Bill of Rights has already been publicly obscured by the widespread publicity given to the Party's franchise policy; it would appear that there is a very real danger that it will be completely forgotten in the hurly-burly of political struggle, relegated to a place on a dusty shelf of the Party's archives until the day of the Progressive Government — if that day ever comes, useful, of course, in the meanwhile, as a certificate of the Party's future faith and intentions, should they ever be doubted; but it is not a vital living part of the Party's campaigning, not a forefront issue of its political agitation amongst the electorate. It will be a pity if it is so; for the most important things the Party says about South Africa — and the most important things it says wrongly — are in the Bill of Rights.

The Common Ground

It is useful to compare the Bill of Rights with the Freedom Charter. Generally they cover much the same ground. They reveal that, between the Congress alliance and the Progressive Party there is much common ground. Both stand for equality of all South Africans before the law, and for only the full legal process of law to be used against offenders; both stand for the fundamental rights of free speech, assembly and organisation; both stand for the abolition of colour bars in respect of jobs, trading, and professions, for the right to move freely throughout the Union, and for full equality in all civil-service positions.

If, in this article, attention is concentrated rather on the points of difference between the two, it is not because these points are more numerous than the points of agreement, but rather that the points of difference serve to clarify the real issues which are still to be resolved by democratic opposition, in order to clear the way for a wide unity for South African freedom.

L. BERNSTEIN
compares the Progressive Party
Bill of Rights with the Freedom
Charter.

Points of Difference

The most glaring difference between the two concerns the very first detailed provision of the Freedom Charter: "Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws." On this issue the Bill of Rights is silent, but completely silent. It is, of course, true that the Progressive Party has elaborated a detailed franchise programme in one of its conference resolutions (See Fighting Talk, December 1960). But the Bill of Rights is intended to be more than a statement of policy; it is designed to be 'entrenched' into a South African constitution "which will be unalterable except by an overwhelming majority of all sections of the entire nation and then only by an extremely complicated procedure."

The right to vote will thus not be an entrenched right; nor in fact does the Party's franchise policy make it a universal adult right. The position thus remains as it is today; that the Progressive Party, if it achieves a Parliamentary majority, may legislate in terms of its franchise policy; and, after the following election, if it is defeated, the new party in power may reverse that legislation.

Expediency vs. Principles

It would be interesting to know how this peculiar aberration on what is generally regarded as a basic and fundamental "right" comes about. I can see no explanation for it save this: that the Commission decided its franchise policy first; in doing so, it was guided not by consideration of basic principle, but by an attempt to square electoral expediency with conscience; and that having decided its policy, it was obviously impossible to entrench a right to vote, when the franchise policy itself severely limits that right.

As a curious by-product of this process, there is the notable failure in the Commission's report, to even refer to "the right to vote" when it lists and counts the basic rights common to the Bill of Rights of the U.S.A., India, Switzerland, West Germany, Italy and Eire — which are taken as a guide for in all other respects — or when it refers to the UN Declaration on Human Rights.

Perhaps this reference to the Bills of Rights in the constitutions of other countries misled the Commission; those countries do not have either our problems or our historical background as a frame of reference for their ideas.

Thus the Bill of Rights does not include any reference to the idea which is so vital for South African freedom, contained in the Freedom Charter's clause: "The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime."

Nor, on the subject of language rights, does it take account of the fact that the "official" status of the two main European languages, English and Afrikaans, is a denial of basic language rights to the majority of South Africans. The Bill of Rights declares both English and Afrikaans to be official languages of equal status; the Freedom Charter that "All people shall have equal rights to use their own languages." It should be noted here that the Commission added a proviso to the Bill of Rights, allowing for the addition of official languages by legislation on a national or provincial basis. This proviso was however scrapped by the Party conference.

Deep Gulf in Economic Thinking

On their approach to questions of economic rights, the two documents differ radically, however. There is here a deep gulf in thinking, both in the nature of basic economic rights, and in approach to the present economic structure of South Africa.

The Freedom Charter starts off from the premise that "the national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people." In this premise is contained the Congress recognition of the fact that racial equality in the economic sphere cannot be attained merely by setting aside colour restrictions. The land has been largely monopolised by the white minority; the mining wealth has been completely monopolised by the white minority. To now legislate that all people have equal rights to buy and occupy land, or that all can equally engage in gold mining, would do nothing to eliminate inequality in these monopolised fields. The Freedom Charter accordingly calls for the land to be "redivided amongst those who work it", for the mineral wealth of the country to be "transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole."

By way of contrast, the Bill of Rights calls merely for every person to "have the right to acquire, hold, inherit or dispose of property," thus leaving historic inequality virtually unaltered.

Race Separation

There is an interesting addition, however, to the Bill of Rights' formulation. This states that servitudes freely negotiated between private persons, may be inserted "in titles to fixed residential property restricting ownership, occupation of user thereof to persons of a particular class, unless legislation otherwise

(Continued on page 16)

CRACK in the FOUNDATIONS

It is frequently said that the Afrikaners are a religious people: stories are told of the Voortrekkers who carried only one book — the Bible — which they read day by day, seeing in the stories of the ancient Hebrew people a pattern of their own, and seldom getting beyond those pages.

It is also believed by many that to these religious people their Church and Civil Government are virtually synonymous, or at any rate twin pillars of the fabric of human life.

There is a sense in which both these things are true.

Church and State

Through the generations, and even today, the descendants of the Dutch-Huguenot-British early settlers have, in the main, been people whose personal outlook on life was moulded by a form of religious conviction, based on a puritanical interpretation of the writings which comprise the Christian Bible. This being the case it is only one step further for such people to make sure that they are governed by their own people — that the community ethic should accord with personal conviction.

Unfortunately for people thus conditioned 'religion' is something deeper and wider than their insular concept of it. There are more interpretations than one of Church-State relations.

During the last few weeks there have been indications that some leading personalities in South Africa (men born and nurtured for generations on the type of religious concept mentioned above) are beginning to see fallacies in many things they learned with their mothers' milk.

Voices of Doubt

It is some years now since Dr. B. B. Keet of Stellenbosch dared to speak openly of errors which his studies led him to see in the popular theology of the faculty to which he belonged. He was followed a few years ago by a Pretoria minister Ben Marais, who wrote a book entitled "Colour policies and the West" which caused no small stir: in spite of this he was elected to a vacant chair in the faculty of theology at Pretoria University. Still, by and large, so long as they were lone voices in the south and north of the land, little heed was paid to the significance of their writings.

Delayed Action

Now it would appear that more courageous, and far-reaching revelations are appearing, bringing—as is to be expected—sharp repercussions.

First, Professors B. B. Keet and E. Marais have found nine others as brave as themselves, and the Eleven have pro-

duced a set of essays entitled "Delayed action." The Afrikaans edition came out some months ago, the English translation in December, and now we are informed that an overseas publishing firm have acquired the world copyright.

Clay Feet of the Idol

Anything in the nature of an analysis of this volume is impossible in a short article, but having read all eleven essays carefully I can say that their importance lies in the fact that they lay bare the weaknesses and errors of many traditional religious concepts held by members of the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa.

Much that is written is generally accepted belief to Christians throughout the world, but for those to whom the words are addressed they reveal the clay feet of the idol. Not without significance a cover has been designed for the English translation showing a wall of red bricks, built on a foundation of stones, in which a wide gap is sending spreading upwards as a crack in the whole fabric.

Christian Conviction

The second sign of an awakening to reality is the long statement of convictions put out at the close of a week's consultation between representatives of eight South African Churches, and a team of six from the World Council of Churches.

Each clause of the statement was approved by at least 80% of the total membership of the Consultation.

Two groups from the Dutch Reformed Churches present registered their reservations. Some members of the Ned. Gereformeerde Kerk said they limited the extension of civil rights to urban Africans only, while all ten delegates from the Ned. Hervormde Kerk stated that in their opinion the policy of separate development (apartheid) is the only right one for South Africa.

As has been stated in the Afrikaans daily and religious press the fact that a number of D.R.C. delegates voted for these statements cannot commit their Churches — that can happen only at official Synods which will take place during the course of 1961.

Stirring of Conscience

Nevertheless these things which have happened indicate, more clearly than anything else since 1948, that there is a stirring of conscience going on in the land; to assume that this is the beginning of the end of Nationalist rule would be the height of unreality, and irresponsibility; but it can be watched with sympathetic interest and hope.

MAJORITY VIEW

The declaration issued by the World Council of Churches' Consultation said:

"We are united in rejecting all unjust discrimination; "... the right to own land wherever he is domiciled and to participate in the government of his country is part of the dignity of the adult man ..." (This was clause 15 of the declaration ... see below).

MINORITY VIEWS

* The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (N.G.K.) is the largest of the DRC churches, and has synods in all four provinces and South West Africa, as well as 5 Non-White daughter churches. Only two of the Synods — from the Cape and the Transvaal — attended the Church Consultation. The Free State and Natal Synods took no part, and are also not members of the World Council of Churches.

Crisis time for the N.G.K. Church is April and October 1961 when the Transvaal and Cape Synods meet, for there will undoubtedly be pressure from within the Church and from the government to not confirm these the Declaration, or N.G.K. membership of the World Council of Churches.

... A policy of differentiation can be defended from the Christian point of view ... it provided the only realistic solution to the problems of race relations and is therefore in the best interests of the various population groups.

"We do not consider the resolutions adopted by the Consultation as in principle incompatible with the above statement ... Our delegations voted in favour of clause 15 provided it be clearly understood that participation in the government of this country refers in the case of White areas to the Africans who are domiciled in the declared White areas in the sense that they have no other homeland."

"Thank the Government"

The Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk (N.H.K.) is an almost exclusively Transvaal church.

"... It is our conviction that separate development is the only just solution of our racial problems. We reject integration in any form ... We wish to place on record our gratefulness to the Government for all the positive steps it has taken to solve the problem, and to promote the welfare of the different groups."

ple" giving a militant spiritual lead against abuses, injustice and indignity. The old cleavage, reflecting South Africa's ambivalence, between the majority of whites in the white parishes who believed the Church's sphere is not politics, and the mass of non-whites, supported by the missionary priests, for whom politics is perforce the air they breathe, had in the decade been largely closed. There were those, however, who resented the claim on their Bishop's time of politics.

Ambrose Reeves has the rare gift of getting individuals of conflicting outlook and temperament to work effectively together. "For his outstanding ability," said an African friend, "to bring together people of divergent views, I privately called him the South African Makarios." There were often murmurs of discontent: the Bishop is too dictatorial; the Bishop likes the lime-light; the Bishop is all right if he gets his own way. However, the murmurers would turn up to the next meeting and make their contributions.

As a Chairman the Bishop, however busy, has always worked on the matters to be discussed and is ready to present constructive or even disruptive suggestions to galvanise a flagging and ill-prepared committee. If an autocrat is required on some of these occasions the Bishop will fill the role: when satisfied his line is right he will be a dictator.

The climax of his Johannesburg career came with the Sharpeville disaster. With characteristically quick comprehension of the significance of the situation, he set lawyers to collect evidence from the victims. The emergency followed and the detention of the lawyers concerned. Anticipating his holiday arrangements by some weeks, the Bishop, warned of possible arrest, took the evidence with him into a temporary and self-imposed exile in Swaziland, attracting intensified criticism, in the diocese, in the Church and in the country, of his attitudes. African politicians and white detainees on the whole supported his action. "No one knew how long the emergency would last," said one. "You couldn't have everyone going to jail. He was a key figure in raising funds and the Sharpeville story had to be put across."

His subsequent return and second and imposed exile then closed the breach and largely united diocesan and Anglican opinion behind him. The Africans lament: "We need him more here than abroad." In allowing the deportation of the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Dr. Verwoerd appears to have forgotten his own axiom: "The United Party could tear its hair out because of the propaganda made for the Nationalist Party by the Scotts, Huddlestons and Collinsses. We must not act too strongly against them."

On hearing, in 1949, of his appointment to Johannesburg, Ambrose Reeves is reported to have said: "I do look on this as a very great adventure." Just how great the adventure, he could not then have guessed nor where, in the next 10 years, it would lead.

THE PRICE OF GOLD (continued from page 7)

price. In such circumstances existing mines would, in the main, want to step up their rates of production. Moreover an increase in gold price would in all probability lead to the establishment of more new mines at a faster rate than might otherwise be expected, thus aggravating the labour position."

A labour shortage is sure to result in sharp initial increases in wages. This will also come about as a result of pressure from labour organisations who will demand their share of the country's increasing prosperity. These wage increases will take place in industry but are likely to be more marked in the mining industry. At the moment the mining industry pays its workers wages well below those earned in industry. With a shortage of labour the mines will have no option but to pay higher wages to attract the Union's African workers who constitute 50% of their labour force.

In a rapidly expanding South African economy there is also likely to be a great shortage of semi-skilled and skilled workers. Whilst one can expect immigrants to be attracted to South Africa in larger numbers by this economic

up-swing, it is unlikely that there will be sufficient new immigrants to meet the labour requirements.

Cracks in the Colour Bar

This being the case one can expect to see ever-widening cracks in the industrial colour bar. Whether Non-European workers are given semi-skilled and skilled work to do unofficially or whether new industrial agreements will revise their categories of skilled and unskilled work, the economic colour bar is likely to receive several hard blows. The integration of the Non-European peoples into a single economic unit will progress at an accelerated pace.

An increase in the price of gold will certainly benefit the Nationalist Government, the mine owners and industrialists of this country.

The people will share in this prosperity both on a short term and long term basis. Assuming some of the economists to be correct in that growing inflation will ultimately negate the immediate economic benefits, the Non-European peoples of this country will still benefit by the undermining of South Africa's apartheid policy.

RHODESIA'S PECULIAR POLITICS (Continued from page 12)

Europeans, including now even Mr. Todd, who resigned because the party would not support him in calling on Britain to suspend the Southern Rhodesian constitution.

African Opposition

Almost all Africans in Southern Rhodesia, now, are united in the National Democratic Party, formed in January 1960 after the banning of the S.R. ANC, and led by Joshua Nkomo. The NDP advocates universal suffrage and racial equality: unlike the ANC here, it admits Europeans and has about 70 in its ranks — yet, perhaps because its proceedings are in the vernacular, European influence in it seems slight. The CAP has some African members, though most resigned towards the end of last year with Stanlake Samkanga and Dr. Terence Ranger (a European lecturer at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland; he was honoured by a special clause in recent legislation permitting the Government to refuse citizenship to those, like himself and his wife, whose applications were pending.) The UFP has a few, too, principally useful to be given seats in Parliament and shown off to visiting delegations. Even the Dominion Party has one African MP, whose immense wealth has apparently motivated him to throw in his lot with the ruling class. I don't think the Confederate Party or the RRA would admit African members.

Most of the Argus press in Rhodesia treads an uneasy middle course, though occasionally it summons the courage to protest at a particularly drastic or stupid action of the Government.

The Central African Examiner, independent, was fervently pro-Government during the 1959 Emergency; now, under new management and with a new Editor, it generally takes the view that some day, and with every care being taken not to go too far, it may perhaps be desirable for some small concessions to be made to the Africans. For daring to be so bold, it has suffered many withdrawals of subscriptions and advertisements. Universal suffrage is advocated only by *Dissent*, a duplicated sheet put out by Dr. Terence Ranger and John Reed of the University College, and by *Tsopano* (Chinyanja for 'now', short for 'freedom now'), produced by a young Scotsman circulating in Nyasaland, where it has achieved much success and is even spoken of as 'the voice of the Malawi people'. But Nyasaland is another story — in this space, it has been impossible to mention more than a few of the complexities which obtain in Southern Rhodesia alone.

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provides." It serves no purpose to be mealy-mouthed about this. The intention clearly is to permit private individuals to insert "Europeans only" in the title-deeds of residential property. The final proviso "unless legislation otherwise provides" is again meaningless. The right to insert restrictive clauses will be entrenched; the legislation providing otherwise will be subject to the whim of government.

The Conference made a further amendment to the Commission's formulation, making the right to hold, acquire etc. "subject to clause 1." Perhaps, for the exact import of this amendment, a con-

stitutional lawyer is required. But its intention is clear. Clause 1 lays down that "Every person shall be equal before the law" regardless of race, colour, sex, home language, religion or opinions. It proceeds to state, however, that the state or public authorities may provide separate services, such as schools, housing, hospitals, transport facilities or jails "for the exclusive use or benefit of different classes of the community", as long as fair and equal facilities are provided for all other sections of the community. It is apparent that here, at least, the drafters visualise separate services — though equal — on a racial basis. To underline this thought, and to explain their "subject to clause 1" amendment, the conference added in the words "residential areas" to the list of services which are differentiated on a racial basis.

"In the Interests of the State"

There are some fair-sounding proposals in the Bill of Rights which are nevertheless thoroughly objectionable and unacceptable when looked at in the light of South African circumstances. There is for example, a provision that everyone has the right of personal liberty except in the case of "lawful arrest and detention for the purpose of deportation . . . under the law relating to immigration, aliens or extradition."

There is a provision that everyone shall have the right of free speech, peaceful assembly and freedom of association "subject to such reasonable restrictions as are prescribed by law and are reasonably justified in a democratic society in the interests of State security and public order."

Doubtless constitution writers and law-makers in any situation would reserve certain such powers as these. But the Commission is at pains to explain that "we do not regard it as our function to draft portion of a model constitution, but merely to indicate with reasonable precision the nature of the rights and

freedoms that we recommend for constitutional protection." In South African circumstances, the "rights and freedoms" of the state require no constitutional protection; they have in fact become so vast that a Bill of Rights is required to protect the individual citizen against the state. To then include provision for the State to have entrenched rights of maintaining "security and public order" or of "arrest and detention for purposes of deportation" is objectionable. On the one hand it raises the suspicion that somewhere, at the back of their minds, the drafters wish to maintain some of the 'above-the-law' trappings of the present state; on the other, it distorts the purpose of the Bill of Rights, which is to protect the individual from the despotism of the present state.

Back-Pedalling at Conference

It should be noted again that the Conference went further to the right than the Commission. Before the words "Everyone has the right to personal liberty . . ." the Conference added in the sinister-sounding phrase: "Save in a state of war and insurrection."

It drifted the same way in the matter of education. Here the Commission recommended free, compulsory education for all children for at least eight years, and added that "schools may be established . . . for children of any specified class designated with reference to race, colour or sex." It provided, however, that if there is no school within reasonable distance of a child's home established for the particular class to which that child belongs, the child shall be admitted to any other suitably situated school irrespective of its class character. Conference deleted the last proviso.

It also deleted from the Bill of Rights the proviso that "Every person has the right to marry any other person" subject only to the common law. On this clause, the Commission had correctly contended that "In South Africa the presence on the statute book of the Mixed Marriages Act indicates the necessity for its inclusion." Conference seemingly was unimpressed.

The Bill of Rights that came in final form from the Progressive Party Conference, therefore, is a somewhat worse document than the original recommended by the Molteno Commission. But even the original was not good enough. It is a start towards the precise formulation of rights necessary in a democratic South Africa, but not the final word. There is room for much rethinking, room for radical improvement, room to bring its concept fully into line with democratic ideas and to rescue them from the muddying remnants of South African racialism which still cling to them.

Until that is done, the Bill of Rights remains something like the curate's egg — good in parts; but rotten in others.

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From Turfloop to Salisbury Island

the order to disperse. At Sharpeville many of those injured denied that any order was ever given to disperse; if it was given, they did not hear it. In Windhoek many alleged that they went to the Police Station because they were curious to see why such a large body of police had come into the Location. Some of the injured at Sharpeville declared that they had gone because they wanted to see the Saracens. As one injured woman told me, with a wry smile, "I had never seen a Saracen. But I was shot before I saw one."

Why, finally, do we attach such special importance to the shooting at Sharpeville?

In the atmosphere of charge and counter-charge which followed Sharpeville, many people have forgotten what is the abiding tragedy, the loss to hundreds of children of parents and the hope of education and financial support for the future. Many of the injured suffered severe injuries which will not only cause them much suffering during the remainder of their lives, but will also shorten their expectancy of life. Others lost limbs. It should be realised that an African who is maimed in this way finds it extremely difficult to obtain sheltered employment for the future. The loss of a leg to an African labourer often means no employment and slow starvation for his remaining days. Such is the fate of the children of Constance and Ethel Maisilo. Two fine women, whose husbands were brothers who ran a taxi service in Sharpeville. Twenty children have lost their fathers and these two households have lost a combined income of £80 a month. John Khota lost his right arm, shattered by machine gun fire. John was a painter by trade and at the age of 70 was a vigorous and well-preserved man earning £35 a month. His injury has lost him his livelihood. Today, he is at a loss to know how he will fend for the future. John Marobi has lost a leg. He was a passer-by in a nearby street. Another young African lad who worked in a booksellers is sterile, while Benedict Griffiths, whose father serves with the South African Police, only has the use of his limbs by the grace of the medical staff at Baragwanath Hospital, who were indefatigable in their attempt to save him. Joshua Mota, a bus driver with a large family and earning £8 a week, lies in Baragwanath Hospital with a broken femur which will not heal. So 216 families and over 500 children are paying the dreadful price of forty seconds of uncontrolled firing at Sharpeville. The toll of irresponsibility finds its expression in amputations, severe abdominal wounds, arthritic conditions, the loss of mobility and cohesion in limbs, wives left widows, and children fatherless.

The demonstrations at Windhoek and Sharpeville were both dispersed by the use of firearms with a consequent kill-

With the setting up of the Indian 'universities' at Salisbury Island, Durban, the Government's structural scheme for higher education for Non-Whites is complete. Ethnic 'tribal' colleges for Africans have been established in Ngola, Turfloop and Fort Hare, and at Bellville for the Coloured people.

The reaction of the Indian people to the Salisbury Island college has been sharp, clear, unequivocal and uncompromising. It is reflected in the following resolution adopted at a conference held in Durban on the 17th December, 1960:

"This conference called by the Indian people of Natal and attended by representatives of all communities from all parts of the Province . . . condemns the whole concept of tribal universities, and resolves upon a policy of total non-co-operation with an institu-

tion designed to carry into effect the Nationalist Party policy of indoctrination for servitude."

ing of some of the crowd and the wounding of many others. Such a show of force, it is claimed, was necessary for the restoration of law and order. Certainly order has been restored, but it is dubious if, at a time when the normal processes of law were suspended under the South African Emergency Regulations, anyone could claim that the rule of law had been restored.

And it is even questionable how far the mounting use of force, the arrest of most of the responsible African, Indian and Coloured political leaders, and the dislocation of commerce and industry by the calling up of a number of regiments can be termed the restoration of order. The probability is that such a use of force will ensure that no further demonstrations will take place in the near future. ●

But it would be a great mistake to equate such a calm with a restoration of order in South African society. Beneath the outward calm, there is a growing resentment — not only of the Government, but of the dominant white group as a whole — and a firm resolve on the part of many Africans to carry on the struggle as and when it becomes possible for them to do so.

Many people will be inclined to dismiss the events at Sharpeville as just another incident in the long and growing series of disturbances that have marked the attempt to put the theory of apartheid into practice. Their only desire will be to get back to normal as soon as possible. Superficially, this may easily be achieved; but underneath the external calm, dangerous fires will continue to smoulder, fires that can never be extinguished by a show of force, however invincible that force may appear to be.

History, I believe, will recognise that Sharpeville marked a watershed in South African affairs. Life can never be quite the same again for any racial group in the Union, because of what happened on that Monday at Sharpeville.

M. D. NAIDOO
on
The 'TRIBAL'
UNIVERSITY FOR INDIANS

tion designed to carry into effect the Nationalist Party policy of indoctrination for servitude."

Not without cause is the Government's scheme for tribal universities characterised as 'indoctrination for servitude'.

The Statement on Christian National Education produced in 1948 by the F.A.K. (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies) carries this clause:

"The spirit of all teaching must be Christian-Nationalist; in no subject may anti-Christian or non-Christian or anti-nationalist or non-nationalist propaganda be made."

Stated simply, this means that the content of all teaching must be Christian-Nationalist propaganda. It is a notorious fact that the majority of leading Nationalists are members of the F.A.K. Christian National Education has been approved by all the Afrikaans Teachers' Unions. Mr. De Wet Nel, when Minister of Education, Arts and Science, announced that the Government meant to introduce C.N.E. in all schools.

The Bantu Education Act has taken the education of African students out of the hands of the educational authorities and has placed it under the control of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development with Mr. De Wet Nel as Minister in Charge. And Christian Nationalist principles are now being implemented, with disastrous results to the standards of education.

The Salisbury Island College fits neatly into this picture. All Indian university students in South Africa may now be admitted to study at this college only. Students already registered at other institutions will be allowed to complete their declared courses of study at such institutions.

The Salisbury Island college offers courses in the Arts, Commerce and Science (Natural Science) faculties.

This college has been established in spite of the Holloway Commission's 1956 report and recommendation that Non-European students should be concentrated at the University of Natal, Durban, and at Fort Hare, except in the cases of those choosing courses of study for which only the open universities offer facilities.

In 1957, an inter-departmental committee was appointed 'to work out the details of the financial implications of the provision of separate university education facilities.' In spite of the recommendations or the Holloway Commission, this committee is reported to have worked on the basis of the present

(Continued on page 16)

Northern Rhodesia

Crisis Calendar

Start of the trouble: Seven years ago Britain pushed Federation through in the face of the African opposition of three countries—Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. At the same time Britain transferred a considerable part of her power into the hands of the White minority government, entrusting it with the running of the Federal Constitution.

Then began the tight rope dancing of the Colonial Office to balance African claims to self-government and White minority resistance. The Monckton Commission raised African hopes in Northern Rhodesia that Africans would get a clear majority in the Legislative Council.

When the London talks on the new Northern Rhodesian constitution opened Sir Roy Welensky led the last ditch stand of the White minority by boycotting the talks. The new constitution gave neither group what it wanted.

A complicated electoral system of three voters' rolls lowers African voting qualifications, raises the number of voters to just over 70,000 but balances power as between the African majority, the White minority and the Colonial Office.

Africans charged Britain with selling them down the river. Welensky roared that he would resist the new constitution 'with all the means at my command.' He tried to provoke trouble and frighten the British government into retreat by calling up the army.

Five of Welensky's ministers in the Northern Rhodesian government resigned.

Welensky threatened even open sedition: to dissolve Parliament and declare the Federation independent. Imagine the reaction if the Africans tried that!

South Africa's Eric Louw tried to cash in. The time had come, he told the South African Parliament, when South Africa, the Portuguese Territories and Rhodesia might have to stand together to maintain 'western civilisation' in Africa.

Next speech by Welensky was a steep climb down.

He would negotiate further, he said. In Britain, probably while he is there for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' talks.

The army units have been ordered to stand down because 'the danger of African unrest is past.' There never was any — only bluster and bravado from Welensky to force Britain to delay the new plan and talk again.

The Conflict Remains

Britain now has a chance to delay — but blowing down her neck she feels the hot breath of Federation Africans, Kenya further north and at the starting post for independence, the whole continent.

New constitution formulae? Even more complicated voting systems? The irreconcilable cannot be reconciled. 70,000 Whites in Northern Rhodesia refuse to surrender their monopoly of government: 2½ million Africans demand government based on the principle of 'one man one vote.'

This 'crisis' is over: the conflict remains.

There can be little doubt that what we are witnessing in the Central African Federation is the beginning of its end. One way or another, the Federation is going to burst asunder, as it was doomed from the very day of its foundation in 1953.

Its formation was forced through in the teeth of opposition from the majority of its people, especially of the overwhelming majorities of Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

It has foundered along from one crisis to another — from the Nyasaland State of Emergency to the State of Emergency in the Rhodesias — from one constitutional "settlement" to another — from the 1958 London agreement to last month's London Conference. But nothing has served to hold this structure stable against the tide of internal opposition and of internal struggle which is now poised to destroy Federation and the purposes for which it was established.

POLICEMAN OF CENTRAL AFRICA

Federation was the answer of imperialism to the stirrings of the African people.

Strong demands for political advance towards liberation were growing in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The British government could try to contain those demands by force; but what force? British forces were already heavily committed in Malaya, Kenya and Cyprus. In Northern Rhodesia there were only some 70,000 Whites, most of them emigré miners from South Africa, who had not yet made the territory their settled home; in Nyasaland, only some 9,000 Whites in an African population of two million.

If there was to be a base for imperialism to resist African liberation, it could only be by way of Federation of these two territories with Southern Rhodesia, with—at that time—over 100,000 White settlers, and strong mining-financial corporations able to dominate and control the destiny of all three countries. Federation was to be the gendarme of imperialism and white settler interests in the whole area.

Or so it was planned. The vision has had to be tempered with reality.

"We know" the delegates of the Nyasaland African Congress told Mr. Griffiths in 1951, "what the European settlers under the leadership of Southern Rhodesia want . . . To forestall the development of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia as black states, and to impose on them the Southern Rhodesian policy of white supremacy."

Despite all the talk of partnership, this has been the reality of the Federation. It is still the reality of the constitutional struggles which have been going

Federation's Short Innings

The Beginning of the End

by L. BERNSTEIN

on in the recent London Conference. It is the real issue which is behind all Sir Roy Welensky's present talk of "responsible government" and his rejection of the proposals for extending the vote to Africans on the basis of the scheme put forward by Britain's Colonial Secretary, Ian Macleod.

A long and consistent struggle against Federation is approaching its climax in both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It is growing up too in Southern Rhodesia.

In that struggle, the Federation and its white political leaders have tried to act as the policemen of imperialism. They have used force, states of emergency, rule by decree, imprisonment of political leaders of the Africans, outlawing of African national organisations. All to no avail.

FORCE — AND FRANCHISE

The single stark issue which faced the Belgians in the Congo has faced the British government in the Federation. Is it to hold Federation together by naked and open armed force, against the wishes of the people?

To attempt to do so in the world today is a dangerous course, one which might well end in greater disaster for imperialism, in the break-away of other, newly independent members of the Commonwealth, in loss of prestige and influence in Africa and Asia, in war and the prospect of revolution in the territory itself. But if not by force, by what means?

Basically, this has been the problem of the British government for some time. The Devlin Commission, appointed after the widespread struggles in Nyasaland last year, suggested that imperialism cut its losses, and permit Nyasaland to break away from the Federation, if it cannot be persuaded to stay in.

This year, Mr. Macleod has tried another tack — a revised Northern Rhodesian franchise, which will give the Africans increased political power, and the Whites decreased, but which will still keep Northern Rhodesia firmly within the Federation. If the idea could be sold to either Africans or Whites, it would perhaps give a further lease of life to the shaky edifice of Federation.

In fact it has satisfied nobody.

Both African leaders at the Conference, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda and Mr. Harry Nkumbula wanted much more; they wanted a straight 'one-man-one vote' constitution, which would have ensured an African majority.

All European leaders at the Conference wanted much less; they wanted a constitution from which it would be impossible for an African majority to emerge.

What the African leaders are going to do is, at the time of writing, not clear.

For a while Sir Roy Welensky, with the backing of the whole Northern Rhodesian Government, turned this into an academic issue by denouncing the proposals and provoking a crisis.

CALLING OUT THE TROOPS

Sir Roy Welensky said he would fall back on the use of force. Troops were called up for active service, not to meet any threat of disturbance, but in the hope of provoking it.

It is here that the recent events in the Congo point the lesson. Belgium decided, when the demands of African liberation could no longer be suppressed, to provoke such internal conflict and disorder that armed force could be employed to set up open terroristic regimes. Welensky appears to be moving to the same 'solution'.

Where Belgium had to find African puppets — Tshombe, Mobutu, Ileo — to man the guns, Welensky relies purely and simply on the White population, who — we are told — are responding almost unanimously. Welensky, like Tshombe, speaks of 'Independence' — meaning, in this case freedom to dominate the African majority by open force without the restraining hand of Britain.

And yet the position is not parallel to the Congo's. In the Congo, unification in a single Congo state is the essential for national progress. In the Federation, dismemberment, and the splitting off of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland from Southern Rhodesia is an essential, if the peoples of those territories are to gain control of their national economies, and wrest economic power from the hands of the British South Africa Company, and the Oppenheimer empire.

Reaction aims to dismember the Congo; the African awakening seeks to dismember the Federation.

Nor can Welensky rely on foreign imperial support from Britain, as Tshombe has relied on Belgian arms, advisers and finances. British finance may be at his disposal, but not British troops or government diplomatic support.

Welensky in the last analysis is going to be forced back either on his own resources, which are too weak to successfully throw off the challenge of African nationalism, or on the support of the Union of South Africa.

But here another aspect emerges. The White settlers of the Federation are not all admirers or supporters of the Union of South Africa. 100,000 Whites, almost half the White population of Southern Rhodesia have emigrated there in the last ten years, mainly to get away from the South African government, the Nationalist government. Their motives have not all been uniform; some dislike the South African government because of its anti-British and republican policies; others because they fear that the South African government is making bloody revolution inevitable in South Africa. Whatever their reasons, they will not easily or lightly allow South Africa to become the real power behind Welensky's throne, as Belgium has behind Tshombe's.

Welensky faces the crisis thus in a position of weakness, without singleness of purpose in the White ranks, with the opposition of Britain's government, and armed only with much bluster and a fairly well-equipped army.

THE KEY: AFRICAN UNITY

On the other side, on the side of African nationalism, there is a solid majority against Federation and against the Welensky government. There are political parties better organised, more powerful than any in the Congo at the time of its crisis.

But there is here — as in the Congo — one factor which might well tip the balance in favour of the White settlers. Are the African leaders united? Will they act together? Will they be able to work out a single united policy, which allows no division in the ranks of their people? This is the key question for today.

Thus far from neither Mr. Kaunda nor Mr. Nkumbula is there any answer. United, their opposition, backed solidly by the people of Nyasaland, must certainly bring the Federation to an end in the very near future. But divided, warring on each other, scrambling for personal prestige or for leadership? That way can lie another tragedy of the calibre of the Congo's.

The battle is not yet over, nor its outcome decided. Only one thing is certain. Federation cannot survive for long. It has had a short innings. So short, that a new glossy volume titled "The Vision Splendid — The Future of the Central African Federation" is still among the latest arrivals in the bookshop windows, while the newspaper posters outside proclaim not the vision but the reality — "Crisis looms in Federation", "Troops called out in CAF." — and more sinisterly, in the Afrikaans posters: "Talk of open rebellion in Federation."

A short innings, but now its time has passed. The sweep of African liberation has caught up with this empire-building scheme of imperialism, and will shortly roll it into the dust of history.

THE PARTIES

United National Independence Party: Led by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda. Totally against Federation; stands for one man one vote constitution. Most powerful party in Northern Rhodesia, has recently campaigned to win the support of Northern Rhodesia's powerful chiefs.

*

African National Congress; Led by Mr. Harry Nkumbula. Its main platforms are also the end of the Federation and a democratic constitution based on one man one vote.

*

United Federal Party: Governing party with 46 seats in the Federal Parliament. Policy: to keep federal government for all time in the hands of 'civilised responsible people' — that is WHITES. Is prepared to concede only a token representation of Africans in Parliament. Northern Rhodesia's UFP leader is Mr. John Roberts who has condemned the latest constitutional talks as that 'headlong and senseless rush to hand Northern Rhodesia over to a black nationalist majority incapable of ruling.'

*

Dominion Party: Extreme right wing party with a policy of 'Southern Rhodesia first'. Is opposed to Welensky as 'too liberal!' Baasskap policies are close neighbours of Verwoerd's.

*

Central Africa Party: Looks to the Macleod constitutional plan described by the C.A.P.'s leader Sir John Moffat as 'ingenious' as a chance to hold the balance between the Africans and right-wing UFP and Dominion Party. Sir John Moffat applauded the Macleod constitution as the best that could be produced 'in view of the irreconcilable attitudes of the African and European nationalist parties.' But the United National Independence Party issued a warning to its branches not to be misled by Sir John Moffat 'and his henchmen.' 'True liberal Europeans' said the statement 'have joined the United National Independence Party.'

Votes for Africans

FRANCHISE FACTS

by NANCY DICK

Less than a generation ago there was not a single African member of an Executive or Legislative Council in the Central and East African territories. Today, the Africans' goal of effective African majorities in both governing bodies, and universal adult franchise, is within sight. Only in Southern Rhodesia is this doubtful.

What a contrast to trends in South Africa! The Cape Franchise and Ballot Act was introduced as long ago as 1892 to check the increasing influence of African voters. They were alleged to hold the balance in 5 out of 35 seats on the Legislative Assembly. Today, there are no representatives of Africans in the governing bodies and no African voters..

British Government — Settlers — Africans

In territories under the British Colonial Office, there is always the possibility of the combination of British Government + Africans vs. Settlers, as an alternative to British Government + Settlers vs. Africans.

In 1923 the British Government stated that:—

'Primarily Kenya is an African territory, and His Majesty's Government think it is necessary definitely to record their considered opinion that the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail.'

The Government had in mind a conflict between African and Indian interests, and although excuses have been proffered about the African's 'political immaturity' etc., to postpone the day of their advance, nevertheless African interests are at long last becoming paramount over all others.

THE PATTERN

The pattern of constitutional advance to self-government is unfolding. In the Legislative Council it is from official majority + nominated unofficial minority, through official majority + elected unofficial minority, to official minority + unofficial elected majority. Finally the Executive is responsible to the elected members of the Legislative Council and the Governor's powers are withdrawn altogether.

The six Central and East African territories are all near the top rung of the ladder. The present stages reached by some of them are as in the following table:—

	Leg. Co.	Franchise
Uganda	African majority.	Elections of all representative members on a common roll planned for 1961. 6 Eur., 6 Asia; 18 African.
Kenya	Unofficial rep. majority over Government members.	Some elected on separate communal roll: some by Leg. Co. sitting as an electoral college: 18 Eur., 12 Asian & Arab; 18 African.
Tanganyika	70 out of 71 seats won by T.A.N.U. The last stage of constitutional development before self government.	Common roll for all races; age, residence, literacy or property qualifications.
N. Rhodesia (before the new White Paper).	6 ex. officio, 2 nominated (including 2 African Ministers) & 26 elected members.	Common roll with property or income qualification; recognised chiefs may vote, Ministers of religion. Special temporary roll with lower qualifications. Wives of the above may vote on a simple literacy test, age & residential qualifications.

Nyasaland adopted Aug. 1960. 5 Govt. members, 28 elected members. Common roll for all races with age, residence and either income & literacy, tax payment qualification. Pensioners, those holding prescribed posts, master farmers.

In Southern Rhodesia all members of the Governing bodies are white. The franchise is by means of a common roll, but the qualifications are so designed that Africans are mostly excluded. In 1954 there were 441 registered African voters as against 48,000 European.

It is appropriate here to quote the words of emancipation and encouragement by Nyerere, Chief Minister, on the results of the Tanganyikan elections in August last years:

"The people of Tanganyika accepted our leadership, and immediately began to think of themselves not as Europeans, Indians or Africans, or even as Wasukuma, Wamasa, or Wamanyamwezi, but as Tanganyikans. It is that unity that has made it possible to reach this stage peacefully."

THE MONCKTON REPORT

The African political parties in the Central African Territories have set their faces resolutely against Federation.

Their rejection of Federation before the Monckton Commission was appointed was based on certain criticisms, and the Commission's recommendations should be measured by the extent to which these criticisms have been met. On balance the Africans have certainly carried more weight than the settlers.

1. The Labour Party and the African political parties boycotted the Commission because the terms of reference did not include the right to secede. But the Commission did discuss this matter and recommended that territories be given the right to secede after a further trial period or after the granting of self-government.
2. The Commission rejected the possibility of holding the Federation together by force and stated that it could only continue "if it can enlist the willing support of its inhabitants." Since the majority of Africans in the Northern Territories, even the moderates, expressed opposition to Federation (as admitted by the Commission) it is obvious that vast concessions would have to be made in order to win their support.
3. The Commission met the fear that Federation is holding back the constitutional advance of the Territories by recommending that Northern Rhodesia get immediately the same constitution as that agreed to by Nyasaland at the Conference in August, 1960. This gives an African majority in the Legislative Council and an unofficial majority in the Executive.
4. The 1957 Federal Constitution provided for the election of 44 out of 59 seats by Whites (and therefore White members), 8 Africans elected by Whites as well as Afri-

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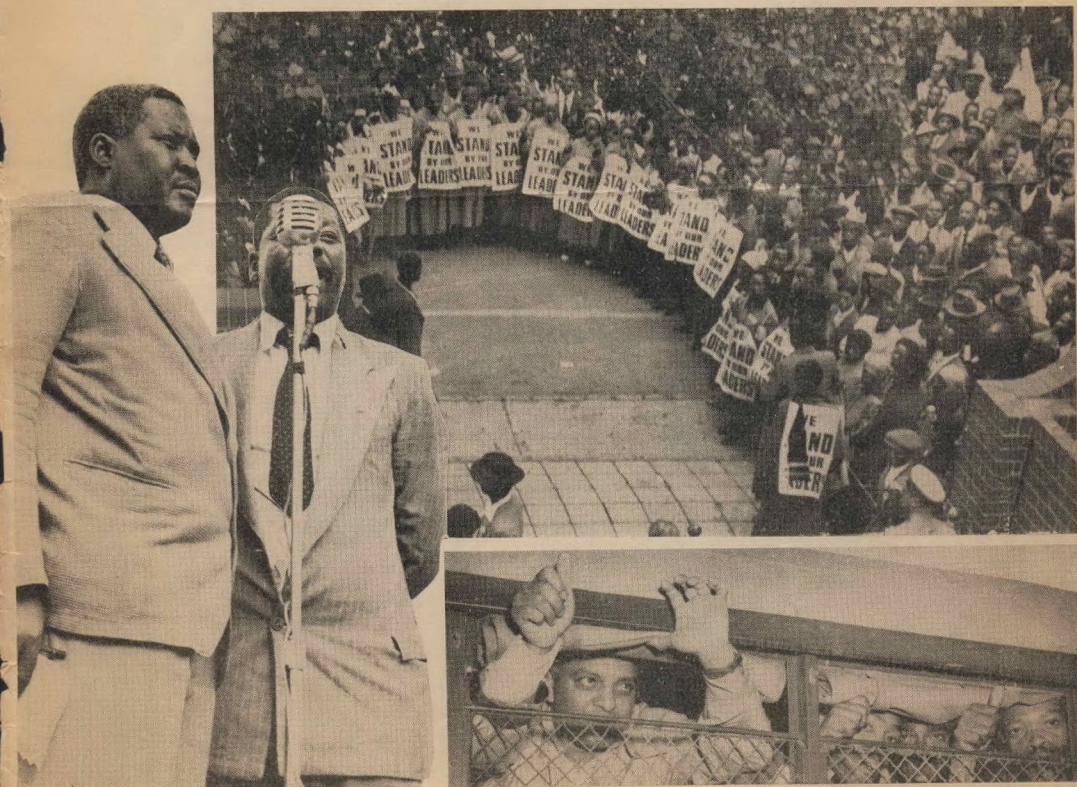
TALK

FREEDOM DAY – JUNE 26 SPECIAL ISSUE

Joe Matthews on
50 YEARS OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS

FREEDOM
CALENDAR

Fatima Meer:
INDIAN STRUGGLES
in
SOUTH AFRICA



(Left) CHIEF LUTULI. (Top) Demonstrators protest at the Treason Trial Arrests: "We Stand By Our Leaders" say their posters. (Lower right) Dr. I. M. Naicker leads a batch of defiers to prison in the 1952 Campaign.

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FREEDOM DAY — JUNE 26 — ISSUE

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IN THE PRESENCE OF HISTORY

This issue of Fighting Talk is devoted to some chapters from South African history. The events and incidents dealt with do not, in the main, appear in any of the standard history text-books. Almost without exception, they are chapters which are still within the range of living memory; many of our readers, like many of our writers, have taken part in them and been themselves makers of history. Perhaps few of them have ever thought of themselves that way. They think of themselves rather as people who did what they had to do, what their consciences and their passions drove them to do. They lived their lives as they chose, struggling forwards as best they could without thought or consciousness that thus they were making the history of this country. But looking back on the tale revealed in the chapters in this issue, who can doubt that here South African history was in the making?

There are few heroes of gigantic stature in these episodes, few titans whose tremendous deeds are popularly associated with history. There are few dramatic moments in which the face of a country is suddenly transformed, few of those stark days when the whole fate of a nation is decided.

Instead there is the record of a multitude of indecisive and inconclusive struggles, of strikes won and lost, of campaigns completed and uncompleted; there are a multitude of nameless, faceless ordinary people, some few remembered but many forgotten. Can this be history? Have we who live today left our mark on the future?

To answer these questions, historians looking back from a future time will one day give answers. They will be able to grasp the broad sweep of our times without being involved in its daily trivialities, to pick out the decisive moments and turning points which we who are so close to them cannot distinguish from the rest.

Doubtless they will see, that, between the writing of this issue in May 1961 and its publication in June 1961, a chapter of South African history has ended, the chapter of South Africa as part of Empire and Commonwealth, and a new chapter of Republic has begun.

But for most of us, living in this moment of history, there will be nothing that will set this period apart from others. The sun will go down one day and come up the next. Life will go on. We will go forth again to our jobs and our cares. We will live, think and act much as we did before. Can this be the stuff of history?

History, so the dictionary has it, is the study "of the growth of nations." By this test, the chapters from our own life and times are the essence of history.



For in these chapters, we tell something of the tale of growth towards a new South African nation. The growth has not yet matured; there is no South African nation yet. But we live in the era of its beginnings. And the episodes in this issue are episodes from the birth-pangs. A single silver thread runs unmistakably through all the chapters — the unconquerable spirit of ordinary men and women, who are driven by life itself to struggle ceaselessly upward towards new life. Nothing has yet been able to crush that spirit; nothing will ever be able to divert it until it has given birth to new life.

Each group has struggled, fought and been beaten back. That is the tale in these pages. But each group has kindled a spark somewhere else, or falling, handed on the flame for others to carry forward.

Gandhi's Passive Resisters fought and failed; but the spark was handed on, to burst into full flame forty years later in the Defiance Campaign. The White miners of 1922 fought and were defeated; but the spark lived on to be born

again, brighter and more undeviating by the African strikers of 1946. The Native National Congress fought and fell, but in falling passed on the torch to the African National Congress.

Thus each generation starts off not from the beginning of the struggle, but from the footholds built for it by others, and with the experience and the inspiration bequeathed to it by others who have gone before. Steadily and painfully, each generation fights its way upwards, higher than the last, nearer to the goal.

Each episode we record in these pages had its own special reason and its own special aim. These were not struggles started with the intention of blazing trails in history, or of building a single South African nation. The 1922 miners fought to protect their wage standards against threats of cheap, African labour; the 1946 miners for ten shillings a day. The Indian passive resisters fought to demolish the provincial barriers to free movement, the Defiance Campaigners against six specific unjust laws. But every struggle developed aims and ideas far beyond its starting point. From the White miners' struggles grew the first beginnings of understanding that White worker and African worker are equally dependant upon each other; from the Indian passive resistance grew the first appreciation that colour bars can be swept aside only by joint action of all Non-White peoples.

Though this is recent history, it is hard to recall today the dim visions of those times. We have passed far beyond those early beginnings of a new, non-

(Cont. on following page, column 1)

THE ROARING YEARS

IN THE PRESENCE OF HISTORY (Continued)

racial consciousness, far beyond the days when only the small outcast sect of Communists and negrophiles proclaimed their non-racial visions in a hostile wilderness. Understanding of the need for race unity has been fostered by every campaign, every struggle, and even by every defeat and failure recorded in this issue.

Struggle has given birth to understanding; and understanding to action. Already, in the most recent of the episodes we record, men and women of different racial groups have acted deliberately and consciously to crash through the old divisions, to seek out the basis of inter-race unity; and finally to struggle forwards together, shoulder to shoulder, towards the united, non-racial South African nation whose future shape is being traced in the actions of the present.

We stand at the highest point of this struggle towards the light. The most formidable unity of White and Non-White aspirations has been achieved in the single demand for a new National Convention of all races. We are closer to the goal than any generation ever before, because we stand on the shoulders of the men and women of South Africa who campaigned, fought, failed and even died in the struggles of the past.

By the time this issue reaches you, the reader, May 31st will have come and gone. You will be able to judge, by that time, the legacy of those struggles of the past — the non-racial outlook which they have bred, the organisation to which they have given rise, the experience which they have handed on to us and the unity-in-action which they have produced. It will be almost June 26th, Freedom Day — the day of annual remembrance of the battles of the past and of the ordinary men and women who became heroes in the course of them, the day of annual re-dedication to the unending struggle for life and freedom.

This is, above all, a Freedom Day issue. It looks backward because history is a process of looking backward. But its purpose is not to dramatise the past; its purpose is to illuminate the present. It is written not as a tribute to the dead, but as an inspiration to the living — to the men and women of all races whose lives and actions in this year 1961 are bringing a new life and a new nation into birth before our eyes. We look backwards without nostalgia for the past. Looking back along the long and trying road we have come, we are inspired with the knowledge that we are near the top of the hill, and within sight of freedom in our lifetime. We live in the presence of history.

The Editors.

Next year is the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the African National Congress.

Since 1912 the African National Congress has played a notable role in the freedom struggle of the African people, not only in the Union of South Africa, but in other parts of the African Continent as well.

Statesman and Warrior King

It would not be correct to say that the founding of the African National Congress marked the beginning of the struggle for freedom of the African people. For over a century prior to 1912 the indigenous peoples of our country had fought long and hard against the invaders from Europe. They had fought not as a single national group, but as individual tribes. Even as they fought in this way many far-sighted tribal leaders realised the inevitability of defeat arising from disparate efforts. In their own way these leaders tried to achieve a united front of all the African tribes in the fight against the invaders. Notable amongst these leaders of the past were the wise Statesman-King of the Basuto, Moshoeshe I, and the Warrior-King of the Zulus — Chaka. The former sought to achieve African unity by means of diplomacy, and the latter by disciplined force.

This is not the place to recount the long and gallant tale of tribal resistance to the well-armed and organised Europeans. But the tale can be regarded as having ended with the defeat of our most dramatic and colourful people — the Zulu in the "Bambata Rebellion" of 1906. From then on the fight for freedom has had to be conducted within the framework of modern political practice. It became necessary to find the political instrument for a struggle of National Liberation.

Founding A Nation

The formation of a National Organisation was already fore-shadowed in the African national delegation that proceeded to England in 1908 to protest against the passing of the South Africa Act by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. This delegation recorded African opposition to the decisions of a National Convention to which our people were not a party. Not for the last time Imperialist Britain refused to take into account the feelings of the African people in matters vitally affecting their own destiny.

At it happened the call that resulted in the first Conference of the African National Congress in 1912 did not come from any of the established leaders of the time, but from a young lawyer newly returned from a period of study overseas. Dr. I. P. Ka-Seme in an impassioned plea published in the only African owned newspaper, "Imvo" called for

the formation of a united nation in these words "the demon of racialism, the aberrations of the Xhosa-Fingo feud, the animosity that existed between the Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basuto and every other African must be buried and forgotten . . . We are one people." He advocated the formation of a Congress and proposed an agenda for an inaugural meeting.

On January 8, 1912 what was without doubt the most representative gathering of Africans held to date met at Bloemfontein. Delegations came not only from the Union of South Africa but from the High Commission Territories and further afield.

Traditional and modern leaders, chiefs and commoners all came together to mark the founding of a new nation. Those who were present tell of the wonderful spirit that prevailed at the Conference, and of the ease with which the Conference elected, for the first time, National Leaders. Dr. John L. Dube was elected first President-General, and as Secretary-General the Conference elected the noted author and translator of Shakespeare Sol. T. Plaatje.

Under the influence of American-educated Dr. Seme an attempt was made to construct the African National Congress on the model of the American Congress.

The efforts of the Conference seemed to be directed along two main paths. The paramount aim was to do away with the divisions of the past and to speak with a single mouthpiece which would be the African National Congress. No less important was the desire to achieve within the newly formed South African State, complete freedom and equality of status for the African people.

Within a year of its formation the Congress was faced with a major challenge. The notorious Natives' Land Act (1913) was passed by the Union Parliament. Both before and after the passing of this Act the Congress waged a vigorous campaign of protest against it.

A very vivid and moving description of this campaign and of the sufferings that arose from the passing of the Land Act are contained in a book (now unhappily out of print) entitled "Native Life in South Africa" by Sol. T. Plaatje, the first Secretary-General of the African National Congress.

Realising the futility of trying to persuade the Union Government to withdraw the Land Act, the African National Congress decided to send a delegation to Great Britain. There it was hoped to influence the British Government to veto or disallow the Act. The delegation led by Sol. T. Plaatje got to England in 1914 and engaged in an active publicity campaign to influence British public opinion. The British Government refused to veto the Land Act and advised the delegation to return to the Union and cooperate with the Government. During that year World War I broke out and

the pleas of the African people were drowned by the thunder of guns.

It is perhaps convenient to mention at this stage the organ of the African National Congress which played a vital role in the building up of national unity among the African people. This was the newspaper "Abantu-Batho" founded almost simultaneously with the African National Congress. Until this newspaper went out of existence in 1931, it carried the message of African unity and freedom throughout the length and breadth of the country. An important feature of the newspaper was that it was a multi-lingual journal. In it for the first time all the African languages were used in newspapers. Not only did the "Abantu-Batho" use the African languages in this way but it campaigned for the teaching of African languages in schools, which up to then did not include them in the curriculum. The newspaper popularised the policies of the organisation and even its songs.

The Roaring Twenties

After the first World War, in common with other oppressed people the Africans in the Union, launched great struggles. Numerous strikes were organised, including the famous "Bucket Strike" by workers in the sewerage department in Johannesburg. Also worthy of mention is the 1919 Campaign against the first attempt by the Union Government to impose the pass system on women. The attempt failed.

The declaration by President Wilson of the United States that all nations were entitled to the right of self-determination had its effects on the South African political scene. The African National Congress decided to send its second delegation to Europe, this time to the Peace Conference at Versailles. The delegation went there to demand on behalf of the African people the right of self-determination.



It is interesting that a delegation led by Dr. Hertzog was at Versailles at the same time to claim the right of self-determination for the Afrikaner people. There was also the official Government delegation led by General Botha and his right-hand man General Smuts.

The Peace Conference, dominated as it was by the Imperialist powers, paid no heed to the demands of both unofficial delegations.

Whilst in France the delegation of the Congress was able to participate in the first Pan-African Congress held in Paris in 1919, under the inspiration of the Negro thinker, Dr. W. E. B. Dubois.

Meanwhile in the Union the people were getting disillusioned at the apparent failure of the Congress to achieve immediate success. There seemed to be a growing lack of direction in the Congress leadership, division and corruption. New organisations sprang up, two of

which were destined to play a major role in the African struggle for freedom.

In 1919 the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, popularly known as the I.C.U. ("Ndiyakubona Mlungu" — "I see you White man") was founded in Cape Town by Clements Kadalie.



In 1921 the Communist Party of South Africa was founded in Johannesburg.

The history of the twenties is dominated by the activities of both these organisations and in particular by the I.C.U. The latter organisation eclipsed the African National Congress as the mouth-piece of the African people until inherent weakness, internal dissension and government repression caused it to disappear from the South African scene in the early thirties.

Although severely weakened the ANC still continued to organise the struggle of the people on the political front. Some regions were very active in campaigns based on local issues.

Very important legal struggles against unjust legislation were conducted by the Congress in the courts of the land, for example, the famous **Letanka Case** in which the Congress challenged the right of the Transvaal Province to impose a tax on Africans. The 'twenties are important too as the period during which the A.N.C. popularised the National Anthem "Nkosi sikelel'IAfrika".

In 1935 the African people in the Union faced a very serious crisis.

Until then Africans in the Cape had enjoyed franchise rights on a common roll with Europeans provided they satisfied certain qualifications. The franchise rights of the Africans in the Cape were much prized by them. Although they were hedged about with qualifications with which the majority of Africans could not comply, nevertheless they implied that some Africans at least were recognised as citizens of the country. Thus even in those parts of the country where Non-Whites had no political rights whatsoever they looked up to the Cape African franchise as a guarantee of hope for the future even for themselves.

General Hertzog who was Prime Minister of the country indicated that he would introduce certain Bills in Parliament, one of which was designed to abolish franchise rights of Africans in the Cape.

The First All-African Convention

Professor Jabavu of Fort Hare and Dr. Pixley Ka-I. Seme, then President-General of the African National Congress issued a call to all African org-

anisations to attend a Conference which would be held in Bloemfontein, on December 16th, 1935. The object of the Conference was to formulate the African reply to the Hertzog Bills. This Conference which soon came to be known as the All-African Convention captivated the public mind to such an extent that when it took place it turned out to be the largest Convention that Africans ever had. A memorandum was drawn up at the Conference rejecting the Hertzog legislation, and a delegation was elected to carry the decision of the Conference to the Prime Minister Dr. J. B. M. Hertzog.

A delegation led by Professor D. D. T. Jabavu and including among others Z. R. Mahabane and Dr. J. L. Dube was elected and, needless to say, it failed to persuade the Government to withdraw the legislation.

At the December Conference it had been arranged that the deputation which would interview the Prime Minister in January 1936 would report back to a special Conference to be held in Bloemfontein in June 1936. The deputation had carried out its mandate and it looked as if they would have nothing to report, except the failure of their mission. Subsequently, in February 1936 it was announced in the press that a solution had been found. The solution which came to be known as the "Compromise" had apparently been suggested by some members of the All-African Convention deputation and had the support of certain members of Parliament. The Prime Minister invited the deputation to return to Cape Town so that he might ascertain their views on the "Compromise."

This news came as a bomb-shell to the African people as the deputation had no mandate whatever to suggest a compromise. The situation was not improved by the fact that the names of those who suggested the compromise were not disclosed. This started a series of rumours and conjectures among the Africans as to the possible identity of the compromisers. The mystery remains as tantalising as ever up to this day.

The All-African Convention deputation then met the Prime Minister again and indicated that they adhered to their original memorandum. Despite this, General Hertzog decided to go ahead with the compromise suggestion, subsequently embodied in the Representation of Natives' Act (1936).

The Second All-African Convention

As had been arranged at the first All-African Convention, the second convention took place in July 1936. By this time the Hertzog Bills had become law and the Conference decided to give the Representation of Natives' Act "a fair trial".

Another question which engaged the attention of the second All-African Convention was its own future. The idea was suggested of converting the Convention into a permanent body. This was hotly contested by the representatives of the African National Congress. Many of the people who attended the Convention were newcomers in politics

"Africa Must Act on Angola"

In Angola, in spite of the enervating force of slave labour, in spite of the absence of any form of proper education, in spite of all the grinding disabilities and misery suffered by the people there, that country has now entered the African nationalist revolution and it will never be the same again. However, if the Angolan people are left to fight their battle entirely on their own their sufferings and casualties will be enormous.

The evils of Portuguese colonialism are realised by all African States without exception. We should therefore be able to go united to the assistance of the people of Angola and it is most important that the differences of approach which we have on other problems should not prevent our mobilising the full strength of African opinion against what is taking place today in those parts of Africa controlled by Portugal.

I stated before the United Nations, and have stated many times elsewhere, that what is happening in the Congo can be repeated in other African territories under colonial rule unless the Africans themselves unite to save Africa from the misery of these tragedies.

In the neo-colonial world of southern Africa, the Portuguese colonies and all that they stand for are essential for the purpose of depressing African wages, preventing trade union organisation and maintaining high profits for expatriated-owned industries and farms.

Of considerable influence in securing support for Portugal among certain circles abroad, is the fact that much of the investment in the Portuguese colonies is not Portuguese at all, but international.

The Benquela Railway, running from Bequela, with a 20-mile addition along the Atlantic to Libito, to Beira in Mozambique on the Indian Ocean, stretches for 1,700 miles. It was built largely by British interests to bring out ores from the mines of Katanga. Ninety per cent of the stock of the Benquela Railway is held by the British holding company of Tanganyika Concessions.

Tanganyika Concessions is linked with the copper interests of Northern Rhodesia and with Union Miniere and other industrial concerns in the Congo. Through interlocking directorates this company is linked with Forminire and certain diamond interests which, together with De Beers, the great South African mining company, control the Angola Diamond Company with mines in the Luanda Province. This company is a State within a State. It possesses a prospecting monopoly over five-sixths of Angola and a labour conscription monopoly over most of the Luanda Province, one-third of the size of Ghana. One half of its pro-

fit goes to the State, the other half to the private shareholders.

For these economic reasons Portugal can count on heavy backing from vested financial interests throughout the world. Her position in maintaining her colonial dictatorship is, in addition, immensely strengthened by her membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

Let me at this stage state the policy of the Government of Ghana in regard to such organisations as NATO. We do not object to — indeed, we have no right whatsoever to object to — other States forming defensive alliances. In so far as such alliances, contribute towards peace they are indeed to be encouraged and in any event the steps which other nations take to preserve their own security are entirely a matter for the judgment of the independent States concerned. Ghana is in favour of an African High Command which would provide for the defence of the African continent, and it would be illogical for a country which supports such a proposal to criticise other countries who have formed defence plans on a continental basis. Nevertheless, I consider that Ghana is completely justified in opposing any military alliance in so far as that alliance is directed towards the maintenance of colonialism and imperialism in Africa.

The criticism which Ghana has at the moment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation has nothing whatever to do with its defensive aspects; our complaint is that certain members of the organisation appear to use their position in it to obtain arms and financial support for the worst type of colonial oppression and suppression.

Why is Portugal in NATO at all? Portugal is an impoverished country without military forces of any value and the only possible strategic argument why it is necessary to include her in the NATO alliance is that she possesses some bases of doubtful value in the Azores.

Do the NATO powers really consider that the possession of these bases is worth the goodwill of the African continent?

Portugal is only able to wage a colonial war because fundamentally she has the backing of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. If this backing were withdrawn tomorrow and Portugal was excluded from NATO, Portugal's colonial rule would collapse the day after.

The African States can only assist the people of Angola if the African States themselves escape from the influence of NATO, or any other defence alliance, and of neo-colonialism.

Portugal is at home an old-fashioned despotic oligarchy established and maintained in the interests of a minute

group of extremely wealthy families and at the same time is the poorest of all European countries. There is therefore a potentially revolutionary situation in Portugal itself. All those who are afraid of social changes in Europe thus become the allies of Portuguese colonialism since its maintenance appears to be the only method by which Portugal itself can be saved from revolution. All the injustice, social degradation and slavery of the Portuguese regime has now reached a climax in the revolt in Angola.

The independent African States should band themselves together to end once and for all Portuguese and other colonialism in the African continent.

Thanks to the initiative of the Afro-Asian Group at the United Nations, the Security Council will debate the Angola question. All pressure should be put on the United Nations to see that a positive and effective resolution is adopted. Action through the United Nations is of the greatest importance and Ghana will support to the full any positive proposals which may be made by the Security Council. Our experience, however, of United Nations action in the Congo should warn us against trusting exclusively to action by the Security Council for resolving the crisis in Angola.

Resolutions of the Security Council require to be backed by all African States working in concert and within the framework of the United Nations Charter.

What more can we do? Our immediate task is the enlightenment of the conscience of mankind. We must build a machine in co-operation with all other independent African States to expose in detail exactly what is taking place in Angola today. We must appeal by every peaceful means at our command to the people of Portugal itself to put an end to this unjust and inhuman colonial war.

We must make concerted arrangements for the assistance of the wounded and the refugees from Portuguese territory. We must appeal to the great international trade union movements of the world for concerted action against Portugal. We must appeal to dockers not to load arms destined for Portugal. We must appeal to seamen not to carry goods of any description to or from Angola.

Divided we can do nothing for the people of Angola, united we are certain of securing their triumph. Let the Union of the Populations of Angola and the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of Angola unite and go forward together in their grim fight to achieve self-determination and freedom for the people of Angola. The African's duty is clear — all Africans must stand united behind them. If all this should fail then we have to find some other means.

* This is an abbreviated version of the speech made by Kwame Nkrumah at the Ghana National Assembly on 15th July, 1961.

RHODESIA: Constitutions for Trouble

In our time, the British skill in hanging on to its colonial positions is being revealed less in warfare than in constitutional manoeuvre. Successive governments have shown something of a genius for provoking constitutional troubles and conflicts in the colonies on the eve of independence.

In India, that genius gave rise to partition, and bitter Indian-Pakistan warfare; in Israel, to continuing Israeli-Arab hostility and incipient war; in Cyprus to Turkish versus Greek Cypriot strife. The pattern is not accidental. It has proved to be a useful device, enabling Britain to protect imperial interests while conceding to the irresistible demand for independence. It is the current form of the old policy of "divide and rule."

Constitution for Trouble

The policy is being followed out in the Rhodesias, where the African demand for political power is becoming irresistible, but British imperial interests are best served by White political control.

Constitutions are being formulated in Downing Street, with only one apparent end in view — trouble — civil clash and internal strife to delay the day of independence, or to enable Britain to maintain its position by standing as an arbiter and peace-maker between two warring factions. Neither the Southern nor the Northern Rhodesian constitutional proposals from Britain will be acceptable by the African majorities. They will be acceptable to the White communities only as a stepping stone to their own continuing political power, which depends upon maintaining the Central African Federation intact against the wishes of the overwhelming majorities in Nyasaland and both Rhodesias.

The Northern Rhodesian constitutional proposals offer the greater semblance of "fairness" to the African majority. The original proposal was for a forty-five member elected Parliament. Of these, fifteen members would be elected from an "upper roll", whose qualifications for voters were set high enough to ensure that there was an overwhelming white majority; fifteen more from a lower roll with lower qualifications for voters which would enfranchise some 70,000 Africans out of a population of 2½ million; and a further fifteen "national" members, elected by voters on both rolls with provision that elected candidates must receive a minimum number of votes from each of the 'upper' and 'lower' rolls.

This proposal, undemocratic enough where Africans outnumber Whites by thirty-six to one, could conceivably have led to an elected African majority in Parliament. It raised — as one suspects it was meant to raise — unholy squeals of outrage and protest from the White minority in the territory, and also from the ruling White minority of Southern Rhodesia who control the Fed-

eration Parliament. It raised little enthusiasm amongst Africans, though it marked a substantial advance on present conditions.

New Round Opens

But the British government has backed down on its own proposals. Clearly the crucial question of who governs is decided by the fifteen 'national' seats. And on this question, the British government has bowed to White opinion and produced a revised scheme; it is a complicated scheme, whereby there are seven national constituencies, each electing two members of parliament, with voting so balanced and calculated that at least seven of these fourteen members will certainly be whites. The fifteenth seat is reserved for a communal representative of the Indian community. The White community in Northern Rhodesia, backed by the White settlers of the Federation generally, have grasped at this new arrangement like drowning men at straws. The African population recognise that they have been 'sold out.' A new round of struggle for effective political power begins, with both sides embittered, and with little prospect of a peaceable, "constitutional" settlement in sight.

In Southern Rhodesia, all the constitutional parleys in Whitehall have led to a blatantly White-dominated constitutional proposal. The proposal is for a Parliament of sixty-five members, elected by an 'A' and a 'B' voters roll. The qualifications for voting are so arranged that there will be 3,000 Africans and 80,000 Whites on the roll, though Africans in the country outnumber Whites by fourteen to one. The A roll will elect up to 50 of the 65 members, the B roll, mainly Africans, will elect not more than 17. Such a blatantly discriminatory constitution cannot hope to win any substantial African support. Why then has the British government bothered to incur the wrath of the White settlers by making any provision for increased African representation?

Scrapping the Veto

The reason is not difficult to see. Up to now, the British government has kept to itself a veto right over legislation passed by the Southern Rhodesian Parliament which discriminates against Africans. That right has never been used, but it has served as something of a restraint on the more reactionary and racialistic White politicians. Part of the new constitutional proposal is to scrap that veto right. In its place, there will be set up a Constitutional Council, which will ensure that no legislation is passed which conflicts with a Bill of Rights drawn up by the British Government. The Council itself will consist of twelve members, a chairman appointed by the Governor, and eleven members of whom only two need be Africans. There will

be an appeal to the Privy Council on all laws affecting human rights — but not in respect of any existing laws which are already on the Southern Rhodesian statute book, which will remain irrespective of the provisions of the Bill of Rights.

The electorate of Southern Rhodesia will be asked to vote in a referendum in July on whether this new constitution should be accepted. There are only 4,000 Africans at present eligible to vote. There seems little doubt that the electorate will accept. What have they to lose? But there is also little doubt that the African population will resist and struggle against the new constitution, as they have struggled against the old.

The Edge of Conflict

What can be the outcome of all this? Only that, despite the constitutional manoeuvres, Southern Rhodesia faces a new round of internal political strife. The White community, having seen the prospect of an African majority government in Northern Rhodesia, and having seen the thin edge of the wedge in the new proposals for their own country, will fight more bitterly than before to hold the pass against African advance. The African population, having opened up a breach however small in Southern Rhodesia's parliament, will struggle more determinedly and fiercely for the reality of political power.

Thus the Rhodesias stand on the edge of profound conflict. That the British government has been responsible for its makings is not accidental. This is the pattern of imperialist strategy. Imperialism's days are numbered in Central Africa, unless it can provide and maintain such internal civil strife that the African majority cannot achieve political power, such strife that Britain will be able to step in as arbiter, and peace-maker, and continue to wield effective power for herself. That at least is the plan.

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INDIA — the Unfinished Land

TRAVEL NOTES by HILDA WATTS

The bus into Bombay left the airport at midnight. There were only two other passengers, an engineer from Nairobi, returning from a visit to relatives, and one of the airport employees. He spoke about Bombay as the bus hooted its way through narrow, crowded streets.

"Six million people," he said. Even at this hour, most of them seemed to be still on the streets, wearing crumpled white suits. "They come out at night to get cool." But there were no women to be seen, or almost none. "The women are in the houses."

Bombay assails you with a confusion of smells, sounds and sights, sharp and strong, like a physical attack. Shanties along the pavement—huts of sacking and straw crowded together like Mpanza's first shantytown. "Road-workers," said the airport man. "They build shacks close to the job and live there." People sleeping on benches, on pavements. "They sleep outside because it's so hot inside." The over-pouring stench of filthy, stagnant water. "It's a pity you can't see the sea — it's just behind those buildings."

Miles and miles of small, slummy shops; only the dry-cleaning establishments appear to be new and brilliantly lighted. Walls scrawled so tightly with slogans that there was not space for another word: "Vote for A, Vote for B, Vote for the Socialist candidates, Vote for Congress"; slogans with the voting symbols, a cock, a wheel, a house, that illiterate voters recognise. "It's the municipal elections," said the man. Later I saw a small, printed notice pasted on a wall: "Don't vote for vandals who spoil city walls."

At the airport offices a little girl, not more than nine or ten years old, holds up a garland of flowers and begs for money in a soft, persistent, sing-song voice. One o'clock in the morning. They say the Chinese take children from their parents and put them in nursery schools. Where are her parents? She throws the flowers into the bus, and begs and begs.

Only a few hours next day to see the city. Too hot to walk very far. A friendly Indian at the EOAC office gives his advice: "You ought to go to X beach," he says. "It's very nice there — for Europeans only." Too difficult to explain why this sounds so shocking in liberated India to South African ears.

On the plane for Bombay to Delhi, a handsome young American attached to Engelhard Enterprises extols the opportunities in India today. "Terrific development," he says. "Industry is going ahead with leaps and bounds." His firm is making the most of it. America placed an embargo on China, but there's no embargo on the American capital pouring into India today.

Purdah at Palam airport, Delhi. A man walks in, followed by his wife, who gropes her way carefully. As she lifts a cautious corner of her black veil to peer at the ground, I see thick-lensed spectacles; she must be nearly blind behind her concealing curtain. Strange that she can accept air-travel in such a disguise.

Delhi is a village, say the Indians. It is indeed completely different from other cities in India. New Delhi was designed 30 years ago by the British architect Lutyens. It has wide, tree-lined streets, open spaces, magnificent buildings. It bears for all times in this air of openness and ease the indelible marks of imperial British rule. Here, until 11 years ago, the British law-makers and administrators could go from imposing office to garden suburb homes without having the teeming, crowded, sick and under-nourished life of India thrust upon them.

Interlocking with New Delhi is the old city, still partially enclosed by its ancient walls, the North Indian version of the Muslim cities of the Middle East, with crowded residential quarters and congested bazaars. Big white humped cows blunder along the traffic-packed streets; birds fly into the hotel rooms, sit quite unconcerned on wardrobe or bathroom light.

Since liberation, New Delhi has become an international meeting ground. There is nearly always a world conference of some kind going on; the delegates feel the ground to be neutral, so that representatives of socialist and capitalist countries can meet to discuss trade, or health, or economic questions — or peace.

To provide accommodation for delegates to an important conference, the Government took over and completed the building of the Hotel Ashoka, luxury on a grand scale in red sandstone with overwhelming decorations in traditional style; great columns, huge halls, a whole street of shops within the hotel itself; and if you come in late at night, and walk up the stairs instead of taking a lift, in the shadowy corners of the carpeted landings you will see dark forms asleep — employees of the Hotel Ashoka.

My window looks over onto the big blue swimming pool, with its gay umbrellas and lounging chairs. And beyond, to a piece of waste-land, on which cluster a jumble of shacks — Jabavu on a small scale. The people who live in the shacks built the Hotel Ashoka. They have no permanent homes—they build their bits of straw close to the building site when they get work. The women work in long, once-white robes, dirty and hot, clinging to them awkwardly as they carry bricks and stones in baskets on their heads. Their thin, fly-and-dirt-

covered babies lie or sit on the charpais, the light bamboo and string beds that they carry everywhere.

I go sight-seeing, then leave the ancient and glorious monuments to walk through a village on the outskirts of Delhi. Ruined palaces, ruined villages, ruined people. The open shops are called bazaars — just a raised platform in narrow buildings, each one with a dirty jumble of goods, almost touching across the dusty street. In one, a man is being shaved, on his face and under his arms; on the next platform another man is making chapatis and cooking them in a charcoal oven. The uncooked dough is thick with flies. A detour to avoid a mangy-looking dog — I have been warned that rabies is common. A child sits playing in the dust, its arms and legs like thin, curved sticks. Flies everywhere. Dirt everywhere. Smells of refuse, of dung, of decay. On the crumbling walls, painted signs to show that this village was sprayed with DDT in October 1950 as part of a world-wide campaign to eradicate malaria. Malaria! That looks like the least of its troubles... (the Chinese ran a nationwide campaign to eradicate their four pests, flies, rats, mosquitoes and locusts, but the whole population was mobilised and that, say the Western democracies, is regimentation. How badly India needs a little of this regimentation!) Weeks later I recall this village, walking through the villages of a Chinese Commune, with streets as narrow and walls as ancient — but all clean, no flies, and a row of shops as modern and well-equipped as any small town.

They have cleared the beggars out of New Delhi. When I take the bus to Agra, 120 miles away, to see the Taj Mahal, I find out what happened to the beggars. They cluster at level crossings where the booms come down as bus and cars approach, and stay down for twenty minutes, then rise again without a train coming in view. The same thing on the return journey. During the wait for the invisible train, there is plenty of time for the big, sad-looking bear to perform, the boy with the trachoma-closed eyes, the man with the twisted limbs, the sick-looking monkeys, the collection of flotsam swept away from outside the tourists' hotels...

Eight hours in a hot, dusty bus, with the horn going all the way, just to spend half an hour at the Taj Mahal. At first sight of this building the tiring ride through depressing, dust-covered, crumbling countryside is forgotten. It is a dream of perfection, peerless, a great white pearl, floating on the earth in flawless beauty.

Most of the visitors are Indians. They are acutely aware of their cultural heritage, and speak of it constantly; the glories of the past become an excuse for the failures of the present.

Two young British engineers, on their way home from the local Power Pro-

ject admire the Taj Mahal, but speak with bitterness about India. They pour out endless examples of graft, corruption, shoddy work, indifference. "They don't know what work means . . . they won't be able to run the place when we pull out. They're only good for taking bribes and making cakes of cow-dung." (Two months later a Chinese tells me: "When the Japanese left Answan, they destroyed the steel works. They said in any case we Chinese could never run it—we were only good for growing sorghum.")

From Delhi, a night train to Amritsar. As we arrive at Delhi Station a veritable army of red-jerseyed porters descend, grabbing bedding rolls, suitcases, parcels, even handbags — anything you may be carrying so that each one will qualify for a tip. They are a ghastly sight, thin and ragged, reminding me of the African convicts at the Fort. We get rid of the porters, but two old, grey-bearded, beggars stand on the platform, tapping on our window and chanting incessantly. Why doesn't the train go? How tourists hate the beggars! They are living reminders — impossible to ignore — of the great gulfs in human standards; turn away, and you feel pained by your hardness; give, and a veritable army descends, each one whose thinness or rags or sores or deformities demonstrate his greater need over the others. The coins do not solve the conscience, so it is easier to hate the British, whose three hundred years of rule made India what she is today. (But China had as much dirt and disease, and India and China were both liberated eleven years ago . . .)

Our host is the Vice-Principal of the Sikh College, a grey-bearded, turbaned Sikh like a merry brown-faced Father Christmas; portraits of Marx and Lenin on his walls; and of his daughter, a University lecturer, his pride; while his soft, over-weight son lounges around the house waited on by innumerable women ("My son's contribution to India's problems — a baby every year for four years"). The Professor shows us the College, and we wander to a village at the back where College servants live. We ask permission to go inside the homes. Flies settle on the women and children in black clouds. A woman says to us, through our interpreter: "Now you see how we live — what can we do about it?" There is despair in her voice.

We speak at a meeting in a little village just outside the town. A procession arrives, bearing a red flag — textile workers who have been on strike for four months. The men and women listen intently to our talk of peace, and ask us questions about the struggle for peace in our countries, South Africa and America. From there, to a tea-party reception by the local national bourgeoisie, the Mayor, lawyers, business men. They ask questions only about the China-India border dispute, and complain of the intransigence of the Chinese. But after several such meetings, the dispute appears as a very conven-

ient red herring, and we begin to think that land reform is a dangerous disease to some people, who are happy to have a barrier to erect to prevent it spreading even over those high and lonely borders.

But India, too, has her Five-Year Plan. Early one morning we take a bus from the new capital of the Punjab, Chandigarh, the concrete city designed by Le Corbusier, to the little town of Nangal, and from there another bus through the dusty, stony, barren mountains — so much like some of the Transkei Reserve country — to Bakra Dam, nearing completion. It will be the highest dam in the world and supply power and water to large areas of the Punjab. Impressive, beautiful in its potential power, among these stony, heat-burned mountains.

Back at Nangal, a meeting awaits us. We asked the men to bring the women, and the women have come with their babies. Sores, flies, dirt, little brown bodies struggling to grow in the harshest of surroundings. How poor these people are, how friendly, how kind. They are deeply interested to hear of other countries; the bonds of poverty and hardship and the constant struggle for a better life, ties them to the people of distant lands. They feel personally their own involvement in the South African struggle for liberation, they who fought so long against British imperial rule.

But what has happened to them in these eleven years! There have been big changes, both through the national sector, embracing schemes such as Bakra Dam, and the private sector, with individual capitalists — liberally aided by foreign investments — developing industry. But the effort is not enough. Too many people, too much poverty, too much disease, a land too crowded, a sun harsh. Only a massive effort drawing in the entire population can lift India today out of these fearful conditions. "Just to stand in one place, India and China must run," a friend remarks. China is running, India is walking; each week intensifies the problems, they do

not lessen. Every year the population increases by ten million.

It was all there in the town of Amritsar: First, they took us to the Golden Temple of Amritsar, tawdry and beautiful, rich with lavish and intricate decorations of the past, set in a circle of decaying slums; close by, they showed us the stone flame in Jadianwallah Bagh where in 1919 General Dyer slaughtered hundreds at a Congress meeting — the bullet marks in the buildings are protected with glass; then we met the national bourgeoisie, offering delicacies between their complaint's of China's aggression; and finally, at night, in a packed office in a crowded bazaar, the tight-skinned workers with protruding bones, pausing long enough in discussion of their struggle for a decent living to stretch out hands of friendship to the people of other countries . . .

There it is — India; the fading glory of the past, the great struggle for independence, preserved behind glass, and the revolution incomplete. Surely there is a lesson for South Africa? To achieve independence is only the first step on the road to a better life.

CORRECTION

Our April issue carried a picture of Jomo Kenyatta in exile meeting Kenyan African political leaders, and stated erroneously that Mr. Oginga Odinga was "of KADU". Mr. Odinga is the vice-president of the Kenya African National Union (KANU). We apologise for this error.

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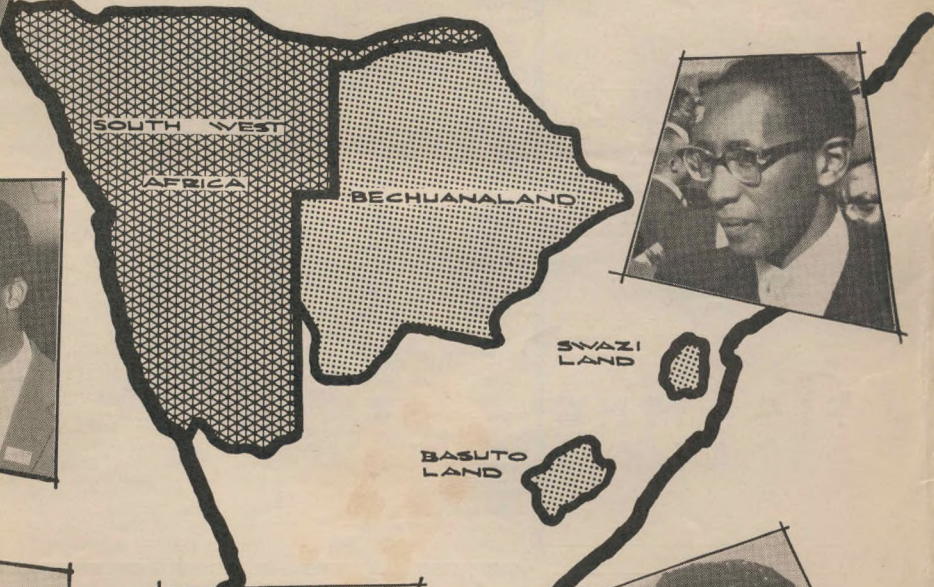
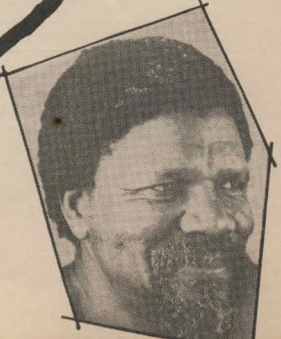
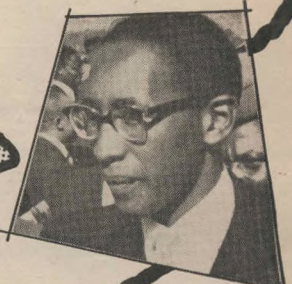
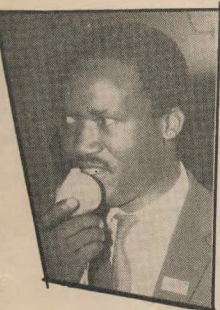
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AUGUST, 1961

SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE PROTECTORATES

BASUTOLAND — SWAZILAND BECHUANALAND



THE PROTECTORATES: THEIR FUTURE

THIS IS THE AGE OF AFRICA'S INDEPENDENCE. WHAT OF BASUTOLAND
BECHUANALAND, SWAZILAND ?

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THE PROTECTORATES AND THE VERWOERD REPUBLIC

by L. Bernstein

BREAK OUT OF THE NET

A traveller flying over Southern Africa would have difficulty in picking out the boundaries of the Republic, or in deciding where the Republic ends and the Protectorates begin.

The Eastern Transvaal is divided from Swaziland only by an imaginary line drawn on the map; nothing marks the frontier on the ground. Perhaps a quarter of Basutoland's frontier with the Republic is marked by the Caledon river; for the rest, there is only an imaginary line, the peaks and foothills of the Drakensberg scattered indiscriminately both sides of the border. On the West, between the Transvaal and Bechuanaland, much of the border is marked by the Limpopo and Marico rivers; but to the traveller on foot there is nothing in the vegetation or topography to distinguish one side from the other. Geographically, it would seem, Republic and Protectorates are indistinguishable.

Thin Lines on the Map

Nor are there any clear racial or ethnic divisions at the frontiers. The inhabitants on the one side of the border are indistinguishable from those across the thin line on the map. They speak the same languages, follow the same customs and trace their ancestries through the same tribal histories. They follow the same pastoral lives; the men go off to work in the Republic's minefields and cities in much the same way.

There are, of course, the man-made differences.

In Basutoland there is no White settlement on the land; in the Eastern Free State peoples.

State little African settlement. In Bechuanaland, White settlement ends with the fertile strips along the border river, and in the hinterland the land is occupied only by Africans.

There are other differences too.

Within the Republic, generally there are more schools, more hospitals, better medical facilities; on the other hand, there are pass laws preventing all free movement of people within the country, filling the jails with petty offenders. Within the Republic there are opportunities for industrial employment, offering an escape from rural poverty and relatively high wages; on the other hand there is rigid apartheid, extending into the most insulting and degrading colour bar in the world.

Life in the Protectorates is perhaps poorer; but then it is also freer.

More Fiction than Fact

The only real divisions between Republic and Protectorates are the divisions made by politics.

75 odd years ago, the first political decisions were made to establish these separate entities; the factors were almost accidental. With slightly less forceful resistance by Moshesh to Boer encroachment, without the fanatical Cape to Cairo railroad dream of Rhodes, they might well all have become part of the Republic of South Africa. Until perhaps five years ago, it is doubtful whether this would have made substantial difference to the lives of the Protectorate.

PROTECTORATE PERSONALITIES ON THE COVER

(Left Panel (Top): MR. MOTSOMAI K. MPHO of the Bechuanaland People's Party.

(Centre) DR. A. ZWANE of the Swaziland Progressive Party.

(Bottom) MR. NTSU MOKHEHLE of the Basutoland Congress Party.

(Centre Picture) SERETSE KHAMA, hereditary chief of the Bamangwato, Bech.

Right Panel (lower) CHIEF SOBHUZA, Swaziland Paramount Chief.

Right Panel (Top) CHIEF CONSTANTINE BERENG MOSHESH II: Paramount Chief of Basutoland.

Despite the political frontiers, they have been tied to the Republic so closely that the "protection" of the British throne has been a fiction rather than a fact.

Economically all the territories are shackled to the Republic's migrant labour system; the men leave the Protectorates under contract to the Republic's mines and major farms, just as they do from the Republic's own African reserves. Agriculture has become as much the responsibility of the women, the aged and the children as it has been in the depopulated Republic's reserves.

Where there has been European settlement, it has been — as in the Republic — on the most fertile lands, in the best irrigated areas, in the only places accessible to the town markets. Where there are roads and railways, it is — as in the Republic — where there are industries to serve, White farmer's products to carry, or able-bodied men to transport to the gold mines.

Wages and conditions of work have been settled in tune with the Republic's — only on a lower level since labour is more abundant — which have been determined by farm owners and the Chamber of Mines.

The Gaps Grow Wider

The British "protectorate" has not kept the Republic from penetrating deep into the life, economy and administration of the Territories.

Republic currency is the currency of the Protectorates. The Republic's postal services and radio services are the Protectorates services. Customs duties, and import and export control are exercised by the Republic.

The British administration has maintained a colour bar, less rigid and less lunatic than the worst of South Africa's, but still rigid enough to reserve almost all senior administrative posts for Whites, and to keep the clubs, hotels and main sporting amenities for Whites. In this congenial atmosphere, very many of the British-appointed administrators and senior civil servants have been White South Africans.

The divisions thus between Republic and Protectorate are not, generally, substantial — except only the political divisions. For the past few years these divisions have been rapidly widening.

The Republic under the National government has been receding steadily into an ever more cramped and confined political prison for the Non-White people. The last Non-Whites have been removed from the common voters' roll; the last White representatives of Non-White electors have been evicted from Parliament; the elected Transkeian General Council and the elected Advisory Boards are being dismissed.

At the same time the Protectorates — one and all — are moving towards new and more representative forms of government, in which the people are, for the first time, voting for local administrations with some measure of authority.

The position is not everywhere the same. In Basutoland, universal male suffrage elects half the national Council, the tribal chiefs the remainder. The Council has real legislative power in many things, but important powers — defence, internal security and others — are reserved for the British-appointed administrator. In Bechuanaland, a Legislative Council, indirectly elected, partly nominated by the Administrator and heavily weighted in favour of the White minority exercises substantial authority under the Administrator's veto right. In Swaziland, representative government of some type is only now under discussion, with constitutional proposals being formulated. Basutoland is thus closest to the goal of fully responsible government elected by universal franchise.

SOUTH AFRICA'S TONGUE IN CHEEK

PREMIER STRIJDOM in 1955: "If the Territories are transferred to us we will treat them in the same sympathetic way we have always treated the Native Territories within the Union."

But all are moving in direct opposition to the course of the Republic.

High Stakes and Low

There is a close link between the extent of White settlement and the progress towards self government.

The Republic with the greatest White settlement stands furthest from democratic government; Basutoland with the least White settlement stands closest. Swaziland, with considerable White settlement, is further from self rule than Bechuanaland, with little. Partly, no doubt, this close link can be accounted for by the stubborn resistance to Non-White franchise which is put up by the White communities everywhere in Africa. But only in part.

For the constitutional advances of the Protectorates are not only the result of the internal struggles of their peoples, but also — perhaps mainly — the result of external factors.

There has been little political struggle worthy of the name in recent times in Bechuanaland or Swaziland; there was not a great deal either in Basutoland before the present constitution was formulated. Britain, it would appear, has been prepared to concede gracefully in the Protectorates what it resists desperately and forcefully in Kenya, the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

There are, no doubt, many complex reasons for this.

One at least is that we live in an age of African independence, when the revolutionary struggles of the people against foreign domination can no longer be easily suppressed. Britain clings desperately to its imperialist possessions; but it is a losing fight.

And in an effort to prevent the total loss of its colonial positions it is anxious

to divest itself of its blatant imperialist past, and to pose as the friend and protector of backward Africa. Where the imperial stakes are high, there nothing is conceded without a fight. But where the stakes are low, there a demonstration of the 'new look' imperialism is worth while.

And in the Protectorates, the stakes are low. None of the Protectorates have ever been bright jewels in the imperial crown, nor are they likely to be in the near future.

They are generally poor in known mineral deposits; their soil and climate are generally unsuitable for large-scale ranching or plantation farming; they have no known oil, no natural forests of commercial timber. There are no glittering profits to be extracted from places

such as these. True, these are not the only stakes of imperialism. In some places, colonies acquire great value because they are strategically placed to defend imperial possessions; but the strategic value of these three land-locked enclaves is slight. Basutoland and Swaziland are militarily untenable as bases without the co-operation of South Africa and perhaps Portugal. Bechuanaland is locked indefensibly between the desert and South Africa. All three lie anyway outside the main traffic routes and trade-lines of modern commerce and modern military planning.

In the long run, their only substantial value to British imperialism has been their manpower — which has built and continues to support one of the richest commercial enterprises of Empire — the South African gold mines. It is mainly THIS that Britain has gambled within its easy concessions towards self government in the Protectorates.

Setting Made by Struggle

It should be added — lest the people of the Protectorates in their easy fortune forget it — that the decisive factor in deciding Britain's policy has been the struggle of the people of South Africa against their own government. By their own struggles against National apartheid, they have forced South Africa's colour-bar system into the forefront of world affairs.

In a way, they have made South Africa the dividing point, between progress and reaction.

Who sides with the South African government brands himself as an arch reactionary; who dares copy the South African colour-bar institutions reveals himself as an enemy of the African peo-

ple. In this setting, made by the struggle of the South African liberation movement, Britain risks her entire prestige and status everywhere in Africa if she does not lead the Protectorates away from the South African system, towards votes and democratic government.

Elsewhere in Africa — where men still battle desperately against Britain's unrelenting rule — they will doubtless look on the Protectorates' easy passage to self government with envy. But it is proving to be a mixed blessing. Because it comes to seamy, the liberation of the Protectorates take place without the mass upsurge of the people, without the entry of the ordinary people into the arena of political action and economic reconstruction.

There is about it more of the grudging air of cheeseparing reform than the heady effervescence of rebirth. The way in which they approach their day of liberation is conditioning the character of their liberation.

It is difficult to describe the process which is taking place. On the one hand the British government concentrates the attention of the people on detailed matters of constitution, thus obscuring larger matters of principle.

On the other, the local organisations turn more and more attention to the securing of office under these constitutions, and lose sight of the fundamental need to mobilise the population for the tasks of liberation.

Thus, when faced with the serious and obvious economic difficulties of their territories, they can do little better than to demand more assistance from the Colonial Office, and raise false hopes of "what would be possible" if only the Colonial Office made the funds available.

No Charity from Afar

Clearly the Colonial Office will not. It has never been a philanthropic organisation; it invests imperial funds where it can derive either strategically necessary raw materials or military positions, or where it can pave the way for substantial and profitable private capital investments.

None of these conditions exist in the Protectorates. The Protectorates will have to raise themselves by their own boot-straps or stagnate. But to lift themselves by their own boot-straps — as the experience particularly of Guinea indicates — they must mobilise the whole people, inspire them with revolutionary fervour, and enable them to see that they are working for their own future.

This perspective is what, thus far, seems to be lacking in the Protectorates. It is this lack that explains the political rifts appearing in Basutoland at a time when political organisation is still in its very infancy. It is this lack that explains the feeling of popular apathy and indifference which many visitors to Bechuanaland comment on. It is this lack which leads to Basuto passivity in the face of provocative military preparations on its borders, such as happened during

the last weeks of May; here indeed was a great opportunity for arousing the Basuto people to self defence, and thus to laying the groundwork for a Basuto national army of the future — an essential and ultimately inevitable part of breaking the dependence of Basutoland on the Republic and establishing its own complete independence.

Break Out of the Net

No doubt these things will come. The people of the Protectorates will learn from their own experience, as others have learnt. But this does not mean that time is of no account.

There is a situation existing today which may not last for ever, and which may not recur again.

That is the situation in which South Africa is the pariah of the world, without friends abroad, bitterly besieged by its own people at home.

This is the moment for the Protectorates to strike out for their own independence, to break the chains of South African penetration. At this moment, world sympathy and world support can be won for even the most daring, the boldest steps to break out of South Africa's net. The people of the Protectorates dare not miss this moment when conditions are so favourable.

And there is the other side of this matter. Every forward act of the Protectorates weakens still further the already weakened and desperate South African government, at the same time it heartens and inspires the South African people to overthrow their government. Thus well timed, bold action by the Protectorates now can be a decisive contribut on to the liberation of South Africa.

This is more than an act of international solidarity. For, in the long run, the Protectorates and their future are bound up with the future of the Republic. Even as independent states, even when they have achieved full democratic, responsible government, the economic problems of the Protectorates remain to be conquered. And they cannot be conquered fully without co-operation, inter-change and joint assistance between the Republic and themselves.

For willy-nilly — boundaries or no boundaries — economically the fate of South Africa is the fate of the Protectorates. They sink or swim together.

"In Swaziland the main need is to create conditions favourable to the economic development that must eventually come in any case and that will enable the Swazi people to participate in the associated benefits." (our emphasis.)

Report of the Morse
Economic Survey
Mission.

Basutoland:

No nation can enter the
modern age riding on
ponies, says
MARIUS SCHOON

When Basutoland was granted limited self-rule in 1960 many people in South Africa watched events in the Protectorate with considerable interest. It was exciting to envisage an independent African state within the borders of the Republic, and perhaps we even had visions of pressure from there making things uncomfortable for the South African Government.

Did we allow our hopes to be raised too high? Basutoland is still a long way from independence, and possibly even from responsible government.

At the present half the Legislative Council is nominated by the chiefs and only half is elected. The Executive Council is appointed by the administration, and a number of officials are ex officio members of it.

So both the Colonial Office and the chiefs still retain considerable control over the future of the country.

Britain has recently shown that she is not prepared to spend enough money on Basutoland to make it self-supporting in the foreseeable future.

The Morse Report recently recommended an immediate expenditure of £7 million on the three Protectorates. The British Government has decided to allocate £1,200,000 to the three territories over the next two years. At this rate it will take 14 years to carry out the minimal recommendations of this report.

Operation Shop-Window?

Those who speak of "Operation Shop Window", i.e. building the Protectorates into model states to try to influence events in the Republic, seem to misunderstand the very nature of colonialism.

Even the most benevolent colonial power does not spend large sums of money unless there is a possibility, no matter how indirect, of some future return.

Only Swaziland seems at the moment to have a definite industrial future, and Britain is loth to invest on a large scale in either of the other territories.

There are two other important points. Firstly, Britain's own financial affairs are not as healthy as they might be. Secondly, Britain has more money invested in South Africa than in any other country except the United States. Both

FIGHTING TALK, AUGUST, 1961.

Where Will the Money Come From?

2: AID FROM THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

Socialist aid, by contrast, is directed quite purposely to assist the underdeveloped countries to build up their economies, to become industrialised and to secure their economic independence. The experience of the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries, and now of Cuba, too, shows that the quickest and most successful way out of underdevelopment is to leap over into socialism. The new African states have not yet taken this step. They are only just emerging from colonialism and have yet to determine whether their future path will be capitalist or non-capitalist.

During this transition period, though it is essential that they rely mainly on the accumulation of capital from their own internal resources of manpower and materials, socialist aid can be of considerable importance.

Socialist aid to underdeveloped countries takes many forms—trade and navigation agreements; the construction of whole plants; the granting of long-term, low-interest credits (usually 2 to 2½ per cent as against the usual 4 to 7 per cent charged by Western monopolies and in-

stitutions); trade and payment agreements by which the underdeveloped countries pay in their own currencies and the socialist country purchases from the country in question the goods it wishes to export; and large-scale technical help, including the carrying out of surveys, designing projects, the provision of patents, blue-prints, scientific advice and equipment, and the training of technicians and skilled workers.

To assist the training of technical cadres for Africa, Asia and Latin America, the Soviet Union has set up the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University, which already has 600 students from these regions. Similar provision is made by other socialist countries, in which a number of Africans are receiving education and technical training.

When Guinea declared its independence, the French imperialists took a number of unprecedented steps to bring her to her knees. They removed practically everything from the country which could dislocate Guinea's administration and economy. They even took criminal records from police stations and health

records from hospitals. The socialist countries, when approached, responded to every request to assist the young republic, providing loans and equipment and making trade agreements which enabled Guinea to face up to her hour of need. The new trade relations which Guinea has been able to build up with the socialist countries have been exceptionally beneficial to her.

In 1958, the year in which Guinea declared for independence, she had an unfavourable balance of trade, imports costing £17,800,000 and her exports earning only £8,700,000. The main reason for this imbalance was the high cost Guinea had to pay for imports from France, and the artificial over-valuation of the French African franc. Guinea's new trade agreements with socialist countries are changing all this. Sugar imports from the German Democratic Republic, for example, have reduced the price of sugar in Conakry by no less than 75 per cent.

(Continued on page 10)

DOLLAR DIPLOMACY

American Millionaires in Africa

Judging the United States by Mr. "Soapy" Williams, Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, you would think that it has now become an unconditional supporter of African Liberation. When he first visited Africa officially, he made his famous 'Africa for the Africans' speech. Now, after his third visit, he has called for full support for African independence and equality. He has gone even further, and urged vastly increased "aid" for Africa. This "aid", he says, should be poured into Africa without hesitation — even if the recipients regard the U.S. as imperialists, even if they maintain their relations with Socialist countries, and even if they do not emulate the American way of life.

Can one take Mr. Williams' professed support for African nationalism at its face value?

Anyone who takes a closer look at U.S. dollar diplomacy will see quite a different picture.

U.S. "aid" for African states has already been at work for some time, but somehow, it has not quite come off. In the first place, while Africa is crying out for money to build up its natural re-

by
BEN TUROK

sources and basic industries, U.S. cash has been directed at secondary, less important works. President Kennedy, in his first "aid" message said, "a large infusion of development capital cannot now be absorbed by many nations newly emerging from wholly underdeveloped conditions."

Secondly, money that has been appropriated for "aid", has not fully reached its intended destination, but, rather like the money allocated for the development of South Africa's Bantustans, it has been eaten up by the hordes of American administrators that go with it. "... all the results we see are high salaried Americans driving through Addis Ababa in long, sleek cars, and living in our best homes." Quoted in the *New York Times*, February 7, 1960.

Yet, it is clear that both U.S. foreign policy and economic self-interest demand that "aid" be increased rapidly. Wall

Street has already invested 900 million dollars in Africa, and more is on the way.

One Hand Washes the Other

There must be few countries in the world where the link up between those who carry out the foreign policy operations, and those whom this policy serves, is more blatant. In the U.S. the tie-up between the foreign affairs administration and the Financiers of Wall Street is as obvious as the fact that its President is a millionaire, speaking for the millionaires.

Take the case of Mr. Dillon, the Secretary of the Treasury. Although an ardent Republican, he was drawn in by Democrat Kennedy to take on one of the two highest cabinet positions, and he now has more authority over "foreign aid" than any other cabinet member.

Dillon's family owns most of the voting shares in Dillon, Read & Co., the big international banking house which has close ties with both Rocke-

(Continued on page 10)

CHIEF ALBERT LUTULI

NOBEL PRIZE WINNER 1960

It was perhaps inevitable that, sooner or later in our time, the Nobel Prize should be awarded to a man of Africa. This is the age of Africa's regeneration, an age which throws up the men of heroic stature, great thinkers, great statesmen, great peacemakers.

Of them all, except in his own country, Albert John Lutuli is the least publicised and the least known.

Partly the reasons for this lie in the social system of South Africa — in the fact that the Nationalist government has kept Lutuli confined to the rural reserve of Grootville, off the main beat of press reporters, broadcasters and television cameramen; in the imposition of arbitrary bans on Lutuli's right to address public gatherings which have been imposed under the Suppression of Communism Act. Partly the reasons lie in the iron-clad traditions of the South African press—English and Afrikaans—that the doings and thinkings of Africans are not news, and that pictures of Africans are not fit for printing in the 'white-man's press.'

But partly, the reasons for Lutuli's comparative obscurity outside his own country is to be found in the character of the man himself.

Amongst the leading men of contemporary Africa, 'Chief' is in many ways unique. Unlike many of them, he commands no golden-tongued oratory which can sway thousands by its skill and passion. He has no flair for the dramatic gesture which sets the press and newsreel cameras clicking, and becomes part of the folk-lore of a national movement. In speech, dress and mannerism, he has none of the flamboyance or extravagance of the popular figurehead. It is typical of his personality that he does not draw to himself the extravagant titles of other leaders in Africa — 'redeemer', 'father of the people'. In South Africa, a land of many chiefs, he is simply 'Chief'. The title itself has a unique history.

Defiance

From 1936 to 1952, Lutuli was chief of the Umvoti Reserve. Unlike most lesser and greater South African chiefs, his title derived neither from birth into a ruling dynasty, nor from government patronage. He was elected by his tribespeople, and held office until removed by the Nationalist government.

Sixteen years spent in dealing with and seeking to solve the affairs of his people, drew Lutuli steadily out of the confines of the tribal system, with all the limitations and restrictions placed upon it by white authority, drew him steadily into the forefront of the arena of South African national political life.

From 1936 onwards, he exercised the collective vote of his five thousand peo-

ple in the elections of members of the Native Representative Council, and in the election of white Senators to represent Africans in Parliament.

From 1945 to 1948, he himself served on the Native Representative Council; in 1945 he joined the African National Congress, and was almost immediately elected to its Natal Provincial Executive; he helped draft the 1949 Programme of Action, which transformed the policy of the African National Congress from an ineffectual concentration on parliamentary methods to a modern and mass-supported movement based mainly on extra-parliamentary struggle and agitation; in 1952 he became Natal President of the ANC, helped to plan the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign, and by 1952 was in the forefront of the organising drive to recruit "Defiance Volunteers" to break unjust laws and go to prison by way of protest.

In November 1952, the Nationalist government delivered its ultimatum; resign from the Congress and the Defiance Campaign, or from the chieftainship.

It was not an easy decision. Lutuli had been raised in a Christian tradition of respect for authority, of rendering unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. A lesser man might have wavered. On the one side lay personal advantage, economic security, a measure of personal power, a title; on the other, looming persecution. Lutuli chose the path of conscience and of principle, and was summarily dismissed from the chieftainship.

"Who will deny" he wrote at that time, "that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door? Has there been any reciprocal tolerance or moderation from the government, be it Nationalist or United Party? No! On the contrary, the past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all

"It is with this background and with a full sense of responsibility that I have joined my people . . . in the spirit that revolts openly and boldly against injustice and expresses itself in a determined and non-violent manner."



A month later, at the annual national conference of the African National Congress, Lutuli was elected to the position of President-General. A tribal chief had disappeared, and the new national figure, 'Chief', had arrived.

These were not easy times for the ANC or its leaders.

The Defiance Campaign, which had flared up fiercely across the country, had been extinguished by two of South Africa's newest and most vicious pieces of legislation, the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Laws Amendment Act. The one empowered the government to proclaim States of Emergency, suspend all established law and rule by decree; the other created a new crime — "an offence by way of imprisonment" — with long-term imprisonment and savage whippings as the penalty.

In the courts, the top-level leaders of the ANC stood indicted on charges of "Communism" for their leadership of the Defiance Campaign.

Inside the ANC itself, things were no easier. The former President General had been tested by the Defiance Campaign and found wanting, his defection had shaken confidence amongst the rank and file. The Defiance Campaign had brought thousands of new ANC members flocking to the ranks, outnumbering the 'old' members; but would their convictions and their understanding prove adequate for the testing times ahead? The younger members of the ANC, alive with a new militant national

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