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TALK



Bantustans and Bantu Authorities: A Confidence Trick SPIES AND SPYING

Basutoland's Road to Self-Government

AFRICANS AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES?



"THE RELAY RACE"

SEE SPORT — PAGE 15

FIGHTING TALK

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THE COVER PICTURE:

"THE RELAY RACE". Acknowledgements to Mike Adams and the Cape Eastern Region of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations.

Top of the List

BANTUSTANS AND THE MYTH OF AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT. Dr. Verwoerd airily dismissed the news of Basutoland's new Constitution with the pronouncement that South Africa's Bantustans and Bantu Authorities gave quite as much self-government to Africans. A swindle and a confidence trick, says Duma Nokwe. Speaking in the House of Assembly on the measure setting up the Bantu Investment Corporation, Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, M.P. said: "I can understand the government rushing in with this Corporation Bill at the moment. It is terribly important for this Government to put something in the shop window that looks like a positive step forward. This may look positive, but it is only a look . . . The danger of this proposition is that it is a mere facade . . ."

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THE REPORT ON PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA by an American Professor, Marvin Harris is one of the few to lift the veil of silence over that territory.

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BANTUSTANS: A CONFIDENCE TRICK

Under the Nationalists, their Ministers say from Parliament, a new era will come to South Africa. At last and for the final time a genuine effort will be made to guide the African people along the path of political and economic independence in their own areas. From now on apartheid will be apartheid with justice (like Dr. Dinges promised that the Group Areas Act would be administered fairly and justly!) and unimpeachable from the moral point of view. South Africa is entering the era of Bantustans.

Minister De Wet Nel's Bantu Investment Corporation will "bring about the economic development of the Bantu in his own areas."

And because he will live in an Eldorado of his own, the African no longer has any use for the meagre representation he has in Parliament and the African representatives' seats are being abolished.

Shades of Tomlinson

The talk of Mr. De Wet Nel, Minister of Bantu Administration and Development about the development of the African areas is far from original.

There was a time when the Nationalists could talk of nothing else but the Tomlinson Commission which would produce the Blueprint for Apartheid. Now any mention of the Tomlinson Report brings a strong, sick feeling over any Nationalist.

For the Tomlinson Commission spent years conducting an exhaustive enquiry into a scheme to rehabilitate the Reserves and it said virtually everything that could be said for separate development. Like:

"Save for a few blocs like the Transkei and Vendaland, the Bantu areas are so scattered that they form no foundation for community growth."

That is not going to be allowed to stop the Nationalists. The capital cities of the new Bantustan states have been marked on the map and — in Nationalist theory anyway — South Africa already has its Bantustans.

Hopes of Annexation

The Tomlinson Commission recommended the "consolidation of the Bantu areas into seven blocks which can be systematically constructed around the seven historico-logical nuclei or 'heartlands'."

Three of these nuclei were Bechuanaland, Swaziland and Basutoland. The main reason for this presumptuous act of annexation by the Commission was to increase the share of land for Africans from the 13 per cent in terms of the Land Act of 1913, to 47 per cent in terms of the Annexation Act of the Tomlinson Commission!

The Commission also recommended that:

"A Development Corporation for the Bantu areas be created and instituted under the South African Native Trust, to encourage and promote Bantu enterprise as well as to establish undertakings of its own, which can eventually be transferred to the Bantu."

The Commission summarised the estimated financial requirements of such a scheme. In the first ten years £104,000,000 would be needed. For industrial development £30 million would be needed for the first ten years, and £5 million in the first year alone.

Agricultural development, including soil reclamation, irrigation, sugar cane and fibre production would need £33 million in all. £12 million was earmarked for urban development, £1 million for mining, £3 million for forestry development and £11 million altogether for health, welfare and education.

Minister De Wet Nel was himself a member of the Tomlinson Commission which took five years over its investigations. Today he has rocketed into a Cabinet seat and is doing his best to treat the Tomlinson Commission and his membership of it as an unpleasant nightmare.

The new "development" plans no longer find it necessary to make more land available for the Africans in the Reserves.

Basutoland's constitutional developments have scotched the plan to incorporate the High Commission Territories. So the Minister's Bantustan development scheme will squeeze 4½ million Africans in the present over-crowded reserves.

A Flea-Bite

The amount voted for the development of industry for the first year is £500,000 — exactly one-tenth of the amount the Tomlinson Commission estimated. By the time the salaries of the numerous Nationalist directors and

petty officials of the Development Corporation have been deducted the sum will have shrunk to a good deal less.

The investment corporation will have one shareholder, the Native Trust. The activities of the Corporation will be under the absolute control of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development assisted by a Board of Directors appointed by the Minister himself. It will be the Minister who will decide whether the paltry sum of £500,000 be increased or not.

The acid test of all development plans is how much will be voted to pay for them. The £500,000 to be spent on the Bantu Investment Corporation is less than Johannesburg's profits from its beerhalls in any one year.

The Zwelitsha mills needed £500,000 capital for that one enterprise alone

More Taxes

The Tomlinson Commission recognised the extreme poverty of the people in the Territories and that capital for development could not realistically come from the African people themselves. It proposed that of the sum of £104 million, £55 million would come from private investment and £49 million would be socio-economic expenditure. The Minister is at pains to prove that the Africans have more than enough money to pay for their own development.

The signs are ominous. Africans are expected to pay for all their own welfare and it is the Africans who will have to find the money for the Government's fanciful development notions, in the last resort through taxation. The average yearly income of the African in the Reserves is £60. The Minister argues that the purchasing power of the African is enormous: £365 million a year. This is about £30 per capita per year or less than £3 per African per month.

Abuse of Words

The speech from the throne said the purpose of the Bantustan legislation was to give the Bantu authorities direct access to the Union Government for the promotion of Bantu interests, which will replace the present system of representation by Europeans.

It is not access to the Government that Africans want, but access to Parliament, the country's law-making body.

Dr. Verwoerd spoke of the setting

SOUTH AFRICA

up of Bantu authorities and the abolishment of African representation in the House being the first rung on the ladder to political advancement.

In 1853 one-third of the Africans in the Cape were entitled to vote on the common roll and they stayed on the roll till Union. The Glen Grey Council system was introduced in 1894 to teach Africans representative Government. Decades later South Africa's Nationalist Prime Minister is diving back into the past and trying to get Africans to unlearn what they already know. The Bantu Authorities are rooting out the elected element and will be composed not of elected but nominated members. The Councils will have no power but will be at the mercy of junior officials of the Government. Any councillor who earns the disapproval of the Minister can be dismissed without reason.

Talk of political representation is a lunatic abuse of these words.

The Bantustan plans are a swindle, a confidence trick, to disarm critics and defeat their opposition.

DUMA NOKWE.

POLICE STATE

Spies and Spying

Big spies have small ones; they in turn have smaller ones, and so on ad infinitum, observed Rudyard Kipling.

South Africa's own "Geheime Polizei" — the Security Branch — have thrown new light on this truism. Behind the revelations of the "blonde" girl spy who informed on her fellow-students at the University of the Witwatersrand to the police, beneath the superficial orderliness with which raids on student offices and flats were carried out, special interrogations of student leaders conducted, and a midnight court injunction obtained against the publication of the "spy's" picture, lurked the reality of a vast "state within a state", of a network of agents and informers watching and controlling the activities and thoughts of wide sections of South Africa's people.

Threads of the Net

As event succeeded event in breathtaking style, a shocked public was able to gather a few threads of the great net of secret police activity in the Union. The "blonde" revealed that she had a predecessor, a one-time member of the Students' Representative Council and known for his "liberal" interests. Today he is a practising professional man in Johannesburg. Student leaders were also able to put together the pieces that

indicated at least three more known informers within the University. This followed on last year's disclosure of students at Fort Hare being offered £10 each to take notes of student meetings for the Security Branch, and the confession of a Rhodes University student that he had spied on political activities at the University for ten years.

That information from the Universities was but a minute part of the work of the secret agents employed by the police, was indicated by the discovery of a Special Branch informer, who had spent a good part of a year on the part-time staff of *New Age*, in its Johannesburg offices. In the townships around the big cities, and within the Congresses, the presence if not the identity of Security Branch informers has long been known.

Tugging It Loose

Every tug at a loose thread seemed to bring the whole net into danger of splitting apart, judging by the speed and anger — at times blundering — with which the Security men sought to cover up their tracks, after the recent revelations.

No sooner had the report of the activities of the part-time informer at Wits University been publicised in a Sunday newspaper, than the heads of the Security Branch denied all knowledge. Questions appeared on the Parliamentary order paper and a spirited protest was issued by the University's Students' Representative Council. Then, in stormed police chief Rademeyer to announce that "if there were spies", it "must have been a very necessary measure", and that it was "necessary to keep one's ear to the ground" at the University. Minister of Justice Swart, hastily erected a barricade of privilege around the Security Branch and launched an attack on the students who had revealed the informer's activities. Lt. Col. Att Spengler, Johannesburg head of the Branch rushed in to angrily search student offices and flats for the evidence held by the students of spying activities in the form of a tape-recording. Demonstratively demanding the production of the recording, he only quietened somewhat when a medical student who was present, reminded him of the coronary thrombosis which had stricken him the previous year. Student leaders were subjected to an official interrogation, until the missing tape recording made its way into police hands.

Volunteer or Conscript?

For the benefit of those who were left unimpressed by the Security Branch

Liberal Viewpoint: by PETER BROWN

It is now some time since Owen Vine, writing in the "*Rand Daily Mail*", turned the spot-light on an obvious deficiency in political circles to the left of the United Party — the fact that there exist half-a-dozen or so organisations, with a wholly or partially White membership, which only get together in opposition to the Nationalists in the most haphazard way. Since then "*Fighting Talk*" has run its series of articles discussing this situation from different angles. It seems to me that the initial reaction to the "*Daily Mail*" articles and the views subsequently expressed in "*Fighting Talk*" make two points clear.

The first is that there is no prospect of forming a closely-knit "united front" at the moment. In his article Mr. Turok says that "it may be desirable to maintain separate organisations in order to give expression to particular points of view; in hers, Mrs. Foley says "I believe that small groups inspired by deep convictions are far more likely to effect a change of heart in our voters than any large organisation could do." The truth is that the members of each organisation joined it because it represented most closely the political ideas to which they subscribed and they look warily at any proposal which might submerge their own organisation in something bigger, but not quite the same. They hesitate, knowing that, if they merge with an organisation whose policies are broad, this very broadness may blur and perhaps even extinguish details of policy which they enthusiastically support.

The second is that it is not even going to be easy to achieve regular, informal co-operation between representatives of organisations to the left of the U.P. For example the Federal Party has already

machinery, the Minister and Brigadier Rademeyer announced that "many public spirited" citizens "volunteered" information to the police about "subversive" activities. This version did not tally with that of some of the erstwhile informers who came to light during the recent events. One girl at Wits. Uni-

Formula for Unity

said that it will have nothing to do with the COD. Nevertheless, if a united front is not practical politics at the moment, it is surely towards regular, if limited, liaison, however informal, that we should now be working?

Non-White Political Opinion

Before going on to make some suggestions about how this liaison might be established, there is one obstacle to Liberal Party participation which will have to be overcome. I think I am correct in saying that Owen Vine directed his remarks primarily towards White organisations and that the discussion which has followed has been directed towards closer co-operation in the White field. But the Liberal Party is not a White organisation. Anyone who subscribes to its principles may join it. The nature of its membership varies a great deal from one area to another and from one branch to another but there could be no question of its taking part in a field of co-operation from which some of its members would be excluded. And if African, Indian and Coloured members of the Liberal Party are not to be excluded from this new co-operation why should the representatives of Non-White political opinion? This is a point which must be thrashed out.

Find a Formula

If we accept that there should be closer liaison and if it is agreed that it should not be on a racial basis, what sort of liaison should it be and on what basis should it be built up? There are suspicions and antagonisms between the organisations we are trying to bring together and no useful purpose will be served by pretending that they don't exist. In my view, the best way to meet them is to

base co-operation on some agreed formula, to which everyone can subscribe without much difficulty and to make the co-operation as informal as possible in its early stages. To my mind the formula for co-operation exists in the findings of the Multi-Racial Conference. No doubt these findings don't measure up to everything that everyone who went to the Conference wanted but they do provide a broad basis of agreement and most of the people whom we are now trying to bring together supported them in 1957 and presumably still support them today. It should not be difficult for them to co-operate on the basis of something to which they have already agreed.

The Time Is Now

I am concerned to make liaison and the co-operation which might flow from it as easy as possible. It is for this reason that I suggest the Multi-Racial Conference Findings as a possible basis for agreement. It is for this reason also that I suggest that co-operation should, at first anyway, be on as informal a basis as possible. A third factor of importance could be to persuade some respected but "neutral" figure — a churchman or a university teacher perhaps — to convene and preside over meetings of representatives of the "co-operating" organisations. It is most important that the "front", even if it is informal, should be as wide as possible, and this is one way of trying to ensure that that is what it is.

The time to start establishing this liaison is now. It is useless to wait for Verwoerd or de Wet Nel to precipitate a new crisis before doing anything. That simply leaves the initiative with them — and they have had it long enough.

versity told how she had innocently attended a discussion evening in a Johannesburg suburb, and was later visited by Security Branch men, and told that there would be "trouble" for her if she did not co-operate with the police, and act as an informer. Another student

was offered assistance with her University fees if she played the role of secret agent. Passports are frequently used as a bargaining stick to induce men and women to "volunteer" as informers. Some years ago an arrested Indian on a criminal charge was told

the charge would be dropped if he undertook spying activities for the security police; and this is reported to have happened more than once.

To further befuddle those who for the first time became aware of secret police activity, the Security men hauled out the Official Secrets Act, as a warning to those who expose the Gestapo activities of the police. The Act says that a person obtaining information "which is likely to be directly or indirectly useful to an enemy" commits an offence and is liable on conviction to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 15 years.

One of the many questions which the Government left unanswered was: who is the enemy, and who are the defenders of democracy?

NATIONALIST AFRIKANERDOM

'Sins' of a Professor

The "sins" that Professor L. J. du Plessis has committed against Nationalist Afrikanerdom are numerous.

He has challenged the concept of *baasskap* which, he says, must be "exchanged immediately for a policy of freedom for all non-Whites and national self-determination with the co-operation of all Europeans . . . We can wait no longer."

He has urged Afrikaners to help the African to "become free"; warned that consultation with non-Whites must not be with "Government hirelings", but must include if necessary "agitators and rebels who represent the aspirations of the Bantu"; and pleaded for a relaxation of the colour bar.

Du Plessis Free-Thinking

He has met "cultured non-Whites" in his home to discuss "scientific and business" matters, and although he has not reached a stage himself where he would make "a purely social call on an educated African," he recognises that he might have to face that, too, in the future.

He has also contributed suggestions on how the Government can overcome the awkward problem of Black diplomats in South Africa: multi-racial clubs should be established in all centres where these Black diplomats can meet "all races" from the Union. The Government can issue "a kind of medal" to be worn in the lapels by all African diplomats and by all Union non-Whites "who have acquired certain cultural

qualifications to safeguard the wearer against racial discrimination."

Finally, as far as the overall racial problem is concerned, Professor du Plessis supports the idea of "independent national states for all racial groups"; but once this has been achieved the non-Whites who are left in the "White areas" must be given equal status with the Whites (with the proviso that this important concession can be granted "only after they have been greatly reduced in number by making their labour more expensive, after the Whites have been strengthened by State-aided immigration").

Not So Wild

As a tailpiece, it might be added that Professor du Plessis met the Rev. Michael Scott during a visit to London, and said of him that he did not seem to be "as wild as he was made out to be in Nationalist circles back home."

For someone like Professor du Plessis — a founder of the Broederbond, one of the authors of the notorious 1942 Draft Constitution for a Republic, a leading proponent of Christian National Education policies, and even now vice-chairman of a Nationalist Party branch in Potchefstroom — this is emancipation, indeed!

Professor du Plessis's thinking is still confused. He refuses to take his brave new thoughts through to a logical conclusion. Perhaps he will never accept entirely the inevitable course of events. That is not the point, though: the significance of the "du Plessis affair" is that Nationalist politicians have not succeeded in smothering the conscience and independence of thought of Nationalist thinkers. In fact, more and more independent thinking is becoming noticeable in the Nationalist ranks.

Drastic Purge

Clearly, Professor du Plessis has become irrepressible. His "free-thinking" has cost him the chairmanship of the Nationalist Sunday newspaper, "Dagbreek", and also his eminent position in the hierarchy of Nationalist Afrikanerdom.

Now Nationalism is obliged to proceed to another of those painful purges: isolating the infected part, washing it out of the body politic, and then piously drawing a shroud over the whole business.

It would be foolish to underestimate the skill of the Nationalist specialists at performing these operations. Where is Wassenaar today? Where will Basson be tomorrow?

The ruthlessness with which Nationalist Afrikanerdom turns on its so-called "traitors" is awesome to witness. A few weeks ago, Professor du Plessis went to Cape Town to put before Dr. Verwoerd his plans for a political re-orientation in South Africa. The plans — if they are the same as those proffered by Professor du Plessis to other political groups — involve a coalition of the Nationalist and United parties, under Dr. Verwoerd's leadership (for want of a better figurehead, declares Professor du Plessis).

Then, Assassination

Then South Africa watched the Nationalist guillotine grind into action with methodical precision: the preliminary repudiation by Dr. Verwoerd, the uneasy silence, and then the formal announcement that Professor du Plessis had been replaced as chairman of "Dagbreek" by Mr. J. van Wyk de Vries. An almost painless assassination.

Professor du Plessis, however, refuses to be assassinated. Dr. Wassenaar's revolt may have been motivated by personal chagrin at not receiving the promotion he expected; but the Professor from Potchefstroom is a genuine intellectual in revolt. He perceives that apartheid, in theory and practice, is unacceptable to the mass of the people, and he is trying to find an acceptable alternative. There is nothing extraordinary about this: what is extraordinary is that the obvious failure of apartheid has produced so few revolts among the Afrikaner intellectuals.

Narrowed Base

Incidentally, it is interesting to note how Professor du Plessis, one of the old school of Nationalists, periodically lashes out at colonialism (in an involved and obtuse way). It almost seems as if he is suggesting, subconsciously, that the Afrikaner and the African have a common enemy in colonialism. Or perhaps I am reading more into the Professor's outburst than I should.

Anti-Nationalists in South Africa should not make the mistake of expecting too much from the "liberal" flutterings in the Nationalist ranks (Du Plessis, Basson, the Sabra professors, etc.). On the other hand, these flutterings must not be dismissed as being of no political significance. The emergence of these Afrikaner "liberals" means that the base of Afrikaner Nationalism is being narrowed, and when this happens to a political party it must beware of the future.

- * A new Constitution for Basutoland
- * Federation Moves in French West Africa
- * U.N. Session on the Future of the Cameroons
- * Forced Labour in Portuguese East Africa

ROAD TO SELF GOVERNMENT

BASUTOLAND'S OPEN DOOR

Within a few months the long negotiations between the Basutoland National Council and the British Government will bear fruit, and for the first time in Southern Africa the people of a once "colonial" territory will move a long way towards self government.

In a way, this new constitutional development is an answer to the Government of the Union of South Africa, whose demands for the incorporation of Basutoland in the Union have hung like a pall of fear over the territory for some years. South African Prime Ministers have haggled with the Colonial Office for transfer of the territory. But no British Government would risk its office by such a move — least of all today. The Tomlinson Commission — counting its chickens before they hatched — went so far as to include Basutoland in South Africa's "Bantustan" empire. Today these dreams of empire have crumbled before the reality of Basutoland's advance to independence.

The Door Opens

Basutoland's reforms have been long in the making. In 1955, the Colonial Office appointed Sir Henry Moore to study conditions in the territory and make recommendations for administrative reforms. His report was rejected totally by the Basutoland Council, whose counter-proposal to the Secretary of State was that the Council be given powers to make laws in all internal matters, such laws to be confirmed by the Paramount Chief. The Secretary of State replied that he was "prepared to consider" such proposals; but he added, very emphatically, that laws

UPSURGE IN AFRICA

SELF GOVERNMENT is the cry in Africa today. In French Africa, the Congo, Algeria in North Africa, and the Central African Federation.

The Federal Government of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland has used African opposition to Federation and White supremacy rule as a pretext for declaring war against the African National Congress and its leaders.

In the French territories in French West and Equatorial Africa colonial policy is slowly changing in response to growing African pressure for independence.

The people of the Cameroons in West Africa want independence and the map re-drawn to unite the five million people at present separated into three territories.

At the bottom end of the scale is Portuguese East Africa, or Mozambique, the "land of the tombstone", untouched by the changes sweeping over the continent, and close cousin to the apartheid system in our own South Africa.

so adopted must affect the Basuto people only.

With the door thus partially open, the Council got down to work in earnest. They objected to the limitations placed on their powers, and demanded that their laws should apply to the whole territory of Basutoland and to all people of all races resident therein. The most difficult task was to reconcile the old and the new ideas amongst the people — the twentieth-century concepts of democracy with the age-old and still respected and powerful tribal authorities. The help of Professor D. V. Cowen of Cape Town University, was sought; he did valuable work in drafting the precise proposals which were finally accepted by the whole of the Council. In the course of his work, Professor Cowen assembled an impressive and authoritative legal opinion that the British Crown does not have the legal right to transfer Basutoland to the Union — or anyone else — even should it wish to do so! "To be a part of Her Majesty's dominions does not necessarily mean the dominium (or ownership) of the land vests in the Crown . . ." Thus runs the opinion which finally put paid to the hopes of South Africa to acquire the territory by legal cession from Britain.

The Picture

The recommendations submitted by the Basutoland National Council to Britain, and later approved were, broadly speaking, as follows:

- * The legislature to consist of one House, with an Executive Council of eight, four of whom are to be Basuto Councillors and four European officials. Each member of the Executive will be attached to a Government Department, and will be roughly the equivalent of a Ca-

binet Minister. The High Commissioner, as the chairman of the Executive will have a deliberative and a casting vote!

- * The function of the Paramount Chief as ruler of the country will be strictly defined, and all laws will require her approval before becoming effective.
- * The Council will consist of 80 members, forty nominated by the Paramount Chief from amongst the chiefs, and 40 elected. The elected members are to be elected by District Councils, who in turn are elected by the Basuto people, on the basis of universal, adult franchise.
- * Voters must be people of 21 years of age, either Basuto or British citizens, of any race, who have lived for over six months in the constituency.

There is, of course, a "but" to this fine picture. But . . . the legislative powers of the Council have been severely restricted, and the High Commissioner will retain not only a veto right over all legislation, but also executive rights to legislate on the following matters: External Affairs and Defence; internal security; currency, customs and excise and copyright; Posts, telegraph, telephones, broadcasting and television; and, finally, the civil service. On all these matters there is, however, an undertaking to consult the Council, and to refer all such matters to it for an opinion before action is taken.

It would be churlish, however, to seize on this fly-in-the-ointment and ignore the really democratic and beneficial qualities of the medicine itself, whatever its limitations. Perhaps this is not the whole fabric of a fully self governing and independent country. But it must be weighed up and assessed not against the ideals of perfection but

against the undemocratic, segregationist administrations of every part of Southern Africa; it must be compared with the primitive, tatterdemalion "Bantu Authorities" which the Nationalist government is trying to pass off as "self government" to be seen for what it is — the most advanced and far reaching democratic reform yet attempted in Southern Africa.

L. B. LEE-WARDEN, M.P.

FRANCE'S COLONIAL CRISIS

FEDERATION MOVES IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA

Colonialism killed the Fourth Republic and went far to destroying French democracy in the process. Rejecting the Algerian demand for independence, yet unable to defeat the rebels in a ruinous civil war, the French people tore up their constitution and surrendered themselves to one man, de Gaulle. Four out of five voted for his constitution in the referendum of September 28, 1958. The electoral system was changed so as to crush the Communists. In the November elections they polled 3,882,000 votes and won 10 seats, as compared with 5,533,000 votes and 145 seats in 1956. Communists and Socialists together received 7 million votes, but only 50 seats. For roughly 7½ million votes the Gaullists and Conservatives received 320 seats.

The Empire Crumbled

The swing to the right resulted from conditions created by the war in Algeria. But it was only one of a series of colonial wars. Demoralisation and disruption set in with the massacres by which the French crushed the revolt in Madagascar in 1947, the Indo-China war leading to Viet Nam's independence in 1955, the Tunisian wars of 1951 and 1954,

through which Tunis gained independence in 1955, and the Moroccan wars of 1953 and 1955 that brought independence in 1956.

The Fourth Republic fell because it was unable to hold the empire together. Yet the French were told, when they established the Republic in 1946, that it would do away with colonial rule by 'integrating' the dependencies into a commonwealth of equals. The constitution of 1946 made this an explicit aim. It 'rejected any system of colonialism based on arbitrary rule', and pledged France 'to lead the peoples of whom she has taken charge to full liberty of self-administration and the democratic conduct of their affairs'. The subjects of the old empire were given the title of citizens, and promised the same status and liberties as Frenchmen possessed. Colonies became overseas departments or territories, Indo-China, Tunis and Morocco were invited to become Associated States, holding broadly the same position as the British Dominions. The empire was transformed, in name, into the French Union.

Born out of the Resistance and the defeat of Fascism, the constitution expressed a genuine but confused ideal. It was a compound of liberation and imperialism, of gratitude to the colonial peoples who had stood with the resisters against Vichy and the Nazis, of dependence on colonial manpower to restore France's military and economic might. The French pledge, untainted by racialism, wished to embrace their Black allies in a common society, but would not concede their claims to autonomy or independence. Equality was granted on paper, but withheld in fact by an oppressive administration, greedy colonists, and right-wing groups in France. It must be acknowledged that the reaction found wide support among the French people, who had no intention of allowing themselves to be outvoted by enfranchised Arabs and Africans in North, West and Equatorial Africa.

The Loi-Cadre of 1956

Greed, stupidity, and failure to understand the strength of colonial nationalism cost France the loss of Indo-China, Tunis and Morocco. It seemed at one time that the constitution of 1946 had changed only the vocabulary of France's colonial system. But the change went deeper, or, more accurately stated, French colonial policy did undergo a significant change after 1946. This can best be illustrated with the reforms introduced under the loi-cadre of June 19, 1956.

Under this enabling statute, the regional, consultative assemblies of West and Equatorial Africa, Madagascar and other dependencies were raised to the status of self-governing and local legislatures, chosen by universal suffrage, and exercising wide powers, including control over the budget and taxation. At elections held on March 31, 1957 on the basis of a common electoral roll, an electorate of nearly 13 million (as compared with a million who voted in the previous election of 1952) chose representatives for 940 seats. Only about 100,000 voters were of European stock.

The Bamako Conference

The Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, under the leadership of the moderate M. Houphouët Boigny (an African who has held posts in successive French cabinets) emerged as the strongest party in West Africa. Its conference, held at Bamako on the Upper Niger in September, 1957, was attended by 3,000 delegates and observers from the twelve territories of French Black Africa. It decided in favour of sovereignty in a federal union attached to France, but the younger leaders pressed for a separate 'commonwealth'. That cry has been taken up and pushed further by the more radical Léopold Senghor, whose party, the Parti du Regroupement Africain, has called for the immediate independence of a Black African federation and the negotiation of new ties with France on a basis of equality.

De Gaulle responded to the demand for more independence by introducing a measure of responsible government in the individual territories. The governors' powers were transferred to the African vice-presidents. They became prime ministers, presiding over ministerial councils, and responsible to the territorial legislatures. **But the French administration retained federal powers.** The federal council at Dakar, which represents the eight West African states, remained largely consultative, as did the council at Brazzaville that links the four Equatorial territories together.

Africans generally reject the federal bureaucracy; but disagree over the alternative. Federalists, whose main spokesman is Senghor, want Africans to control the federal governments, and to link the two federations, instead of twelve territories, to France. Autonomists want federal ties to be reduced to a minimum, and wish each territory to establish direct relationships with France. **But all want self-government.**

Only Guinea Votes "Non"

The results of the referendum held in September last appeared to demonstrate an overwhelming desire to preserve constitutional ties with France. Asked to choose between federal union with France or immediate secession, only Guinea under the left-wing leadership of the prime minister Sekou Touré, said 'Non' to the constitution. It became an independent state at once. In all other territories, except Niger, over 90 per cent voted 'Yes'. The voters may have chosen this course to retain the system of subsidies and economic aids from France, or to prevent fragmentation into separate states. Whatever their motive, France can claim that the great majority of Africans have opted to remain within the 'Community'.

This is the word used in the new constitution to describe France and her overseas territories. They are promised 'new institutions founded on the common ideal of liberty, equality and fraternity and solidarity of the posterity' within a Community 'founded on peoples composing it'. The right is guaranteed them to become either a department of France (the status of Algeria), or an autonomous member-state of the Community. A member-state may at any time withdraw and claim independence.

The last provision was added after de Gaulle had seen, on his pre-referendum tour of the colonies, the strength of the Africans' demand for independence. One cannot foretell whether they will exercise their constitutional right to secede, or remain as self-governing states within the community. It is certain, however, that France can retain the goodwill of her African citizens only by conceding their claim to statehood.

A West African Federation

It may lead to the breaking up of the two great African federations into separate states. All territories except Niger, at the time of writing, have decided to constitute themselves as autonomous republics. This pattern may have been imposed by tribal and linguistic differences, or to avoid pooling of resources with more backward and poorer regions, but it may prove to be a preliminary step to federation.

The agreement between Nkrumah and Touré to join Ghana and Guinea 'as the nucleus of a union of West African states' shows that Africans do not feel bound by the frontiers that rival imperialisms drew over Africa. Tribal units must be welded into nation states.

That is a primary need of the African society. The size of the state may well be determined by rational considerations of economic and political welfare, rather than by standards imposed by a foreign invader.

These are matters that Africans will decide among themselves. It is too much to expect that they will be left to do so on their own, without external interference and imperialist pressures. Whatever opposition may be met with, it will not, however, stop the movement towards independence. Four new states — Nigeria, Togoland, Cameroon and Somalia — are scheduled to emerge in 1960. By then self-governing communities will put an end to colonialism throughout French West and Equatorial Africa. The tide rolls on into East Africa, and downward through the Belgian Congo to lap the frontiers of White supremacy in Central and Southern Africa.

H. J. SIMONS.

DRAWING NEW

BOUNDARIES

● THE CAMEROONS

Breaking down artificial boundaries has become an immediate question for many parts of Africa, and a new challenge to the General Assembly of the United Nations has come from the people of the Cameroons who are pressing for the unification of their five million people, at present separated into three territories.

The people of the Cameroons were never consulted when the former German colony of Cameroons was divided in 1918 under British and French rule. Though they became trusteeship territories in 1946 they were still really under French and British rule.

Accra Decision

The demand for a united and free Cameroons was a key issue at the All-African Peoples' Conference at Accra last December. Its resolution was clear and specific — withdrawal of foreign troops, amnesty for all political prisoners, and removal of bans on all African democratic movements.

Since 1955 no fewer than 7,000 Africans in French Cameroons have been killed by French soldiers, and thousands more arrested. The liberation movement (Union of the Peoples of the Cameroons) was declared illegal — as also in British Cameroons.

Referendum

The Accra resolution put forward the demand for a democratic referendum, to take place simultaneously in each part of the Cameroons, "For Or Against Reunification," and then simultaneously democratic elections to elect a National Constituent Assembly.

Obligated to Concede

Nominally there are two Cameroons — French and British — but, in fact, British Cameroons itself is divided in two. The north is submerged into the northern region of Nigeria, and the south has the status of a separate region, with its own Assembly and Prime Minister.

In the French Cameroons repression failed to stem the movement for independence. The Trusteeship Council (also under pressure from the Soviet and Indian representatives) was obliged to concede "internal self-government" as from 1959, and to promise complete independence in January 1960. The divisions would still exist, except that the two parts of British Cameroons would become part of an independent Nigeria in October 1960.

A divided Cameroons or a single, united, democratic Cameroons: **that's the issue facing the General Assembly.** The Trusteeship Council and the French and British Governments have always side-stepped this.

Unexpected

They didn't bargain for the election result in British Southern Cameroons last month. The Kamerun National Congress, led by Dr. Endeley, the Prime Minister, which has always stood for union with Nigeria, suffered a serious defeat. The National Democratic Party, led by J. N. Foncha, which stands for union with the French Cameroons, won a decisive majority.

Of the five million Cameroonians (over three in French Cameroons) there are 700,000 in northern Nigeria who have never had a direct vote in elections. Even in the Nigerian federal elections this year, women in the north have no vote at all. In any case the elections will not be concerned with unity of Cameroons.

Excuses are now wearing thin. If the General Assembly of the United Nations turns down a referendum then the people of the Cameroons will soon be strong enough to act on their own.

And any step they take to form a united and democratic Cameroons will have the backing of 200 million African people.

LAND OF THE TOMBSTONE

● PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA

It is a popular myth in South Africa, as in Portugal, that Portuguese East Africa is free of all the besetting troubles of the Union. It is said to be free of crime, untroubled by political conflicts, devoid of a colour bar. Yet singularly little of what really goes on in our closest neighbour ever manages to penetrate through from that territory to ours, despite the annual migration of some 100,000 contract labourers to the Witwatersrand Gold mines by treaty agreement with the Portuguese authorities.

Land of the Tombstones

What is the reality? Marvin Harris, an assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Columbia, U.S.A., who has spent a considerable time in the territory doing anthropological research, has been moved by what he has seen and uncovered, to lift some of the veil of silence, and disclose the facts of life in P.E.A. It is not a pretty picture. In many respects it is a land of the tombstone silence, the graveyard peace which current Nationalist Government policy and theory in South Africa is trying to create here, one hundred and fifty years too late for success. "In the heart of Lourenco Marques' African quarter" writes Harris — "a labyrinth of alleys winding among cane huts with galvanized roofs — Whites can do and walk about at any hour of the day or night in perfect safety . . . But this is because the Africans who live there are forbidden to step out of their houses after nine o'clock." More rigorous this restriction than South Africa's curfew laws, which operate in the "White areas" only.

Pass Books

So too the pass laws. Passes are carried by every African male over 18 years of age, by every boy over 12 years who is employed, and by All African women employed in towns. No pass-bearer may travel from one district to another without permission, and that permission, his destination and the purpose of his travels are recorded in the pass-book. On arrival he must report within three days to the pass officer, and have his arrival and the limit of time he is permitted to stay recorded in the book. The pass book also contains a complete record of all previous employment, wages received

ed and the reasons for dismissal. It proscribes the type of work the bearer is permitted to do.

South Africa's own laws contain many similar provisions.

Africans MUST Work!

The aim of both administrations is doubtless the same—to coerce Africans to work where, when and in what conditions the White population needs them. But in the field of coercion of labour—as in the field of pass regulations—the Portuguese authorities have moved further and more drastically than the South African. Here there is still the somewhat formal necessity to haul a "vagrant" before a court and sentence him to deportation from the towns before he can be required to "volunteer" for agricultural labour. Not so in Mozambique. There the law prescribes that Africans must work, or the public authorities can impose forced labour on them.

The system of forced labour — the so-called *shibalo* system is widespread, almost universal, imposed on all "malingerers" at the decision of a district administrator who is unfettered by courts of law, trials or defence lawyers. All African males are presumed by Portuguese law to be "idle" unless they can prove the contrary. Those unable to supply the proof are subject to conscription for six months labour on public works, unless they "volunteer" to work for private contractors. *Shibalos* are paid the minimum legal wage for the region they work in, ranging from 35 shillings to 15 shillings per month!

Two-Thirds Work in Foreign Lands

"The government and private employers together" writes Harris "probably employ 100,000 *shibalos* under contract during a given year. The significance of the laws against idleness, however, is by no means restricted to the actual capture and impressment of *shibalos*. Of far greater importance, are the effects produced upon the labour force by the threat rather than the fact of conscription for forced labour (which) is to force not merely 100,000 workers, but the overwhelming majority of Mocambique African males to participate in the European economy on terms which are deeply injurious to Native welfare, but highly lucrative for the Europeans, especially in the neighbouring territories." Of these neighbouring territories, South Africa benefits most, by the labours of some 100,000 mine-workers and 70,000 others, mainly agricultural labourers, who "are

greatly appreciated in the neighbouring territories since they will work for less than the prevailing wages and are unusually docile", and —so far as miners are concerned — work, on an average, longer contracts than other recruits. Rhodesia is not far behind, recruiting its labourers from those parts of southern Mocambique outside the W.N.L.A.'s territory. "The grand total of *indigenas* working in the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia may be placed very conservatively at 400,000," concludes Harris. "Yet . . . in 1950, the total active male population between the ages of 18 and 55 in Southern Mocambique was less than 600,000. This means that something like two-thirds of the mature, able-bodied men of Southern Mocambique are employed in foreign territories. When the domestics employed in the cities, and the *shibalos* are added, a staggering percentage perhaps as high as 75% of Southern Mocambique's adult male population turns out to be engaged in some sort of migratory wage labour involving protracted absences from the rural homesteads". . . This enormous contribution of manpower to the European apparently has no effect on the dogma that the African males live exclusively 'from the labour of their wives'."

Forced Farming

From forced labour in industry and agriculture it is a short step — as yet not attempted in South Africa's Native reserves — to forced production of crops by "independent" African peasants. "In this modern serfdom", writes Harris, "the role of the mediaeval lord is exercised by twelve private Portuguese companies, each of which has received monopolistic concessions over the cotton production of vast areas *Indigenas* within the concession areas of each company are assigned cotton acreage by the administrative authorities. They have no choice in the matter and must plant, cultivate and harvest cotton wherever they are told. Then they must sell the raw cotton to the concession company of their area at prices which are fixed by the Government far below those available on the international market Within the concession areas all recruiting for wage labour by foreign or domestic employers is prohibited." The results of this, simply, are hunger and starvation for the Africans. The acreages assigned to be planted are usually such as to make it impossible for families also to raise the traditional food crops for themselves, and food production has dropped to fa-

mine levels. In 1956, the half-million African cotton sellers acting under this scheme received an average of under £5 each for the year's labour of their entire family! But in addition, the 12 concessionaire firms have been able to experiment, systematically trying out each area for cotton production, discarding those unsuitable and concentrating on those suitable, without investing a penny of its own money, but purely at the expense of the African farmers. Of these African forced producers, the Bishop of Beira asks:

"What difference is there between the activities of these Natives and those who work as contracted labourers on the farms? None. Or better yet, a difference does exist: the contract labourers receive clothing, food and board; here nothing of this is supplied; whether the farm produces or does not produce, the contract workers receive a salary; here they receive the price of the cotton if the seeding is successful, and in case it isn't, as occurs in bad years for this kind of crop, they receive nothing."

How does such an oppressive, feudalistic system of labour exploitation exist without the upheavals and openly expressed discontents and revolts of other African territories? With all the surface serenity which has given rise to the great myth of Portuguese East Africa's benevolent and progressive colonialism? This is a subject for a study in itself.

(To be continued in our next issue)

SUDAN JAILS UNION LEADERS

Seven civilians have been given prison sentences of from one to five years by the military tribunal set up in Sudan after the military coup d'etat last November.

The trial was held in secret and the lawyers acting for the accused withdrew in protest because they were not allowed to cross-examine the witnesses.

Fourteen civilians were on trial, charged with being associated with the World Federation of Trade Unions and holding illegal meetings. Seven were released.

Three were sentenced to five years imprisonment. They were: Shafei Ahmed Sheikh, secretary-general of the Sudan Workers' Trade Union Federation and Honorary Vice-President of the W.F.T.U., Shakir Mirsal and Taha Ali Mohamed.

MacMillan in Moscow

The world looked fairly hopeful last month, and the thought of nuclear war seemed more remote than for a very long time past. The focal point at the month's beginning was Moscow with its 21st Congress of the Communist Party. And at month's end it was Moscow with MacMillan and Mikoyan able to swap travel notes.

● Soviet Union's Seven Year Plan

The Congress got very wide coverage in the overseas press, relatively little in South Africa.

The main business of the Soviet Communists was the seven-year plan which will bring the Soviet Union close to the present industrial level of the United States of America. The people of the Soviet Union are now within seven years of having achieved the impossible.

Not very long ago the announcement that the Soviet Union was within striking distance of catching up, would have electrified America and the rest of the world.

Today the remarkable thing is that the rest of the world more or less takes this news for granted.

Sputnik started it off. Then people began thinking about other soviet achievements — from their military defeat of the Nazi armies to their prowess at the Olympic Games.

Today more and more people are thinking in terms of parity between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and more and more official U.S. tourists are returning breathless to their country to tell Congress investigating committees that the U.S. is lagging behind — in education, in public health, in science, in child care, and even in such out-of-the-way things as forestry and fishing.

The fact of the matter seems to be that even with a smaller industrial output than that of the United States the Soviet Union has discovered the secret of using her resources so skilfully and intelligently that she makes a good deal less go a good deal further. Not that a planned economy under socialism is any secret copyright . . . If the United States tried it it would shoot ahead of the Soviet Union in no time.

As things are, it seems clear that when the Soviet Union does reach the United States' industrial level, she will, because of the incentive of the needs of her people, and not profits for a few, be far ahead of America in all fields.

While the Plan was the big thing at the Congress, it was by no means the only matter decided upon.

Soviet foreign policy was etched out more clearly than ever. The country wants peace. This it is no longer possible for sane people to dispute, because there can be no seven-year plan without peace and the whole of the Soviet Union is thinking and living and breathing the Seven Year Plan.

At the same time the Soviet Union wants it to be clear to everyone that militarily she is very strong indeed. Mr. Kruschov caused a panic in Washington and the appointment of a special Congress Investigating Committee simply by casually mentioning in passing, "We now have inter-continental rockets in serial production."

The speech of Chou En-Lai and the many references to China in the course of the discussions showed that the rumours about a rift between the two great socialist nations — believed only by the most gullible — was founded on hopes and not on facts.

● Berlin Flashpoint for Clashes

There is an immense range of problems to be solved between the socialist and capitalist worlds. Most of them can wait a while. But there is one which cannot wait. It is the problem of Berlin, deep inside the socialist world — a Nato base city that is a constant irritation and flashpoint for a minor clash which could grow into a major war.

As the problem of Berlin cannot be solved without a solution to the problem of a divided Germany it is necessary for the Big Powers to get together and talk about ways of finding agreement.

Because the West has not always been keen to talk the Soviet Union has announced that unless some other arrangement is suggested she is pulling her troops out of Berlin this year and is handing over to the German Democratic Republic. That country will then presumably not permit the U.S., Britain or France to cross her territory to Berlin unless they negotiate for the right to do so. If they try to shoot their way through, the Soviet Union will go to East Germany's defence.

Germany's Adenauer represents Krupp and big industry, eager to go in for mass armaments production. This

group depends for its continued domination of Germany on the maintenance of the status quo and, encouraged in the past by Dulles, still dreams of the annexation of East Germany and the territory lost to Poland. Adenauer has made no bones about his position. He wants the Soviet declaration to be ignored and the West to shoot its way through to Berlin.

And Adenauer, by joining with De Gaulle in a European Common Market designed to freeze Britain out, has won the support of De Gaulle.

● Britain MacMillan to Moscow

Against this background Mr. MacMillan's visit to Moscow is of immense importance.

Though Germany and France have been hostile to the trip, the United States has not. With the departure of Dulles a new struggle for power is commencing in the State Department and the U.S. is probably relieved to permit Mr. MacMillan to make the "reconnaissance"

He is, no doubt, considered perfectly reliable, although the Americans are certainly shrewd enough to know that British imperialism would not be averse to taking a few tricks for itself if it thought it could get away with it.

MacMillan's position is delicate because it is complicated by the fact that a General Election is pending in Britain. That this was one factor in both the Cyprus settlement and the Moscow trip is clear. But it would be naive to overstress this factor. British imperialism pursues a planned long-term policy little caring whether Tory or Labour government is in parliament.

Pieter Lessing, columnist of the morning newspapers put forward the absurd notion a little while ago that everything the Soviet Union was doing, including the Seven Year plan, was aimed at crushing Britain!

He may have got close to the truth in reverse. It may be that British imperialism the most experienced and shrewdest in the world has been the earliest to recognise that the socialist world has come to stay and that the first capitalist power which bases its policy on peaceful co-existence and trade with the socialist camp is going to steal a very big march over its rivals.

ANGRY YOUNG AFRIKANER

South Africa also has its "angry young men", and one of them, the Afrikaans writer Jan Sebastian Rabie, has recently caused a great deal of fluttering in the doves of Afrikaner nationalism with his novel "Ons, Die Afgod" (which literally translated means "We, the Idol").

This is the first serious attempt by an Afrikaans author to face up to the problem of race relations in this country and to take a stand on the issue of Afrikaner nationalism. For that reason it is having, and will continue to have, a momentous effect in Afrikaans literary circles. Imagine the serried ranks of Afrikaner intellectuals, most of them forced to dance to the tune of the Nationalist press and publishing houses, or to maintain silence; brought up on a diet of stale romances about the Boer War and nostalgic studies of the poor Whites; their heads bemused with the ideology of Verwoerd and Diederichs—imagine the reactions of the "volk" to the following outburst by Rabie's hero, the "displaced" intellectual Frans le Roux:

Faithful to the Volk?

"This community which speaks of parallel, equal development for the Non-European, denies it absolutely in practice. For this community a Non-European is in practice someone who works for you and calls you Baas. Otherwise he is an outcast, an enemy. Oh, we love them, so long as they remain our servants and subordinates. If he is a teacher or an educated man, he must necessarily be a danger, a communist . . . Do you know what I think? That I am ashamed every minute of the day of the hypocritical dishonesty of my people . . ."

Frans' friend, the traditionalist farmer Willem Marais, shocked to the marrow, asks: "Are you ashamed to be an Afrikaner?"

Frans replies: "No. I love my country and my people. I want to feel proud to be an Afrikaner, proud, and therefore I can't help feeling ashamed of what is wrong in us."

"Like what?"

"That we think only of ourselves, that we have made an idol of our Afrikaansness . . ." He began to stutter: "That . . . we . . . therefore in the name of Afrikaans, even if it is unconscious, act dishonestly and selfishly at the expense of others in the country . . . and that

that makes me sad, ashamed . . ."

"But I know only one thing," Willem interrupts him vehemently, "that I must be faithful to everything for which my people stand! So that my people can live!"

"Faithful even to what is wrong? To our leaders' narrow . . ."

"All men are fallible, but not a people (volk)! And I only know that I must be faithful to our Afrikaner peoples' only and superhumanly difficult calling, to the end! Faithful, I tell you!"

"But, Willem, that is spiritual suicide! For then you are saying you do not love your nearest as you love yourself!"

"Is that what you have thought of me all the time?"

They stood side by side and spoke the loud, passionate words from close at hand into one another's faces. Broad and firm on his feet, Willem began to tremble, and shouted:

"And who are you to condemn me? In my house you come to cast off my sister, and now you insult me!"

"I . . .? stammered Frans, "but I'm speaking as your friend and your fellow-Afrikaner . . ."

Willem leaned forward so that his grey eyes bored into those of Frans:

"No, Frans, you have strayed from your people, you despise us just as our enemies do, you are no longer an Afrikaner!"

Nationalist Excommunication

The excommunication which Willem has pronounced on Frans for having dared to denounce Afrikaner nationalism and race oppression, the Afrikaner Nationalists are attempting to pronounce on Rabie himself. Rabie is not new to the publishing game. Two books of his short stories — "21" and "Dakkamer en Agterplaas" — have already been published, in 1956 and 1957 respectively. Many stories and articles have been published in the press both here and overseas (Rabie writes with equal facility in English and Afrikaans and speaks several European languages). He is well-known as a radio announcer and producer of space fiction plays. A space fiction fantasy "Swart Ster Oor Die Karoo" was published in 1957. ("Why space fiction? You can educate people to think about human problems in this way where many others are closed", he says.)

Significantly, all his books have been published by one of the few Afrikaans publishing houses which are not subject to direct pressure from the Nationalists — apart, that is, from the pressure of public demand. And the demand for Rabie's books in the past encouraged the same publisher to print 3,000 copies of "Ons, Die Afgod", his first published novel. Printed in Holland, the first 1,000 copies arrived in the Union last November and were sold out in three weeks. Almost the entire consignment was sold in the Western Cape, only a few copies penetrating into the public consciousness in the northern provinces.

The book was reviewed twice in Die Burger, the Cape Town Nationalist daily. The first curt notice by H.J.F. came to the conclusion that "J. S. Rabie Fights Against Idols Which Don't Exist" . . .

"Rabie writes passionately, too passionately", said H.J.G. "There is for him apparently no shade of difference between black and white. His whites are sharply divided: one Christian, who tries to live up to the true spirit of Christianity, a bunch of idolators, and one futile man who tries to stand in both camps and ends up by being murdered."

A second review by one Aat Kaptein, after noting sourly that "the Afrikaners don't like having their traditional way of life described as an idol", tore into Rabie stylistically and concluded: "The hope that this young Cape writer would finally give us a good Afrikaans novel he has destroyed with hideous word-gymnastics and the false glitter of meretricious ingenuity."

The book was also reviewed, with greater or less understanding and sympathy, in Die Weekblad, Die Huisgenoot and Sarie Marais. But to the best of my knowledge, not a line about it has appeared in Die Transvaler, and it is clearly the intention of the hard core of Nationalist intellectuals to pretend that no such book as "Ons, Die Afgod" has ever been written, or, if it has, that it is not worth reading.

Body Blow to Apartheid

The attempt will not succeed. Coming from whence it does, this book deals a body blow to apartheid ways of thinking. A second consignment of the novel has now arrived in the country and is selling steadily. It has already made its impact.

I have purposely avoided discussing the literary merits of "Ons, Die Afgod" as a novel, because my knowledge of Afrikaans language and literature does not really qualify me to express an opinion. My impression, for what it is worth, is that it is of uneven quality, containing elements of crudeness and improbability in the very sphere where the author hoped to shed most light — on the relations between European and Coloured. However, one must salute Jan Rabie for his courage in making the attempt at all. His determination to seek, and speak, the truth will ensure a more rounded presentation of the subject in any future work, and it can be said that already he has nothing to fear by comparison with such English South African writers as Paton and Bloom.

Some critics complain that Rabie has become obsessed with the colour problem. He himself explained in an interview with me: "The crying reality of the country is human relationships, which overshadows everything else. Nationalism — any absolute — is my enemy, and I can say that because in my heart I am still a bit of a Nationalist".

He comes from a Nationalist family, and was reared in the atmosphere of the rural Cape. Born at George on November 14, 1920, he went to school at Riversdale, and later lived and studied at Stellenbosch University, majoring in geography and history. After obtaining his B.A., he taught at schools in Um-tata and Knysna for a while, but later returned to Stellenbosch to take his M.A. in literature. Just how little he had departed from traditional Nationalist attitudes by this time may be gauged from the fact that at the beginning of the war he was still sufficiently anti-British to be vaguely excited by Hitler's victories.

He left teaching to become a freelance writer, and in March 1948 left South Africa on a visit to Europe, where he remained until January 1955. Most of the time he spent in Paris, but he travelled also in Spain, Italy and other countries — but not Germany! His disillusionment with virulent nationalism had already set in.

"Europe showed me the truth about human relationships", he says, "and when I came back to South Africa I could only see the colour question".

No Surrender

Jan Rabie is one of the few South African writers who has made up his

mind that if he is to be true to his convictions, he cannot compromise with the evil policies of white domination. At the same time he is not one of those who writes with an eye to overseas consumption, thereby falling under the temptation to play to the anti-Nationalist gallery both at home and abroad. Since his return to South Africa he has written almost exclusively in Afrikaans, and addressed himself to an Afrikaans audience. This has the disadvantage of preventing his work from becoming more widely known; on the other hand, it probably compels the Afrikaans-speaking community to accept him as one of themselves and to pay more serious attention to what he says. He has written letters to Die Burger condemning the Government's censorship plans; he has, in a recent newspaper article entitled "What is liberal nationalism?" (Die Weekblad, January 16, 1959) outspokenly criticised N. P. van Wyk Louw, one of the acknowledged giants of Afrikaans letters, for sitting on the fence.

Van Wyk Louw had written, in one of a collection of essays published recently under the title "Liberal Nationalism": "In a small, threatened community (volk) the true nationalist must keep criticism and encouragement finely balanced — so finely that he will probably seldom feel that he has done his job properly."

He had also written: "The last temptation (for a people) is: to believe that bare survival is preferable to survival with honour (geregtheid)".

Rabie finds all this a bit mealy-mouthed. He comments: "We can thus reproach him that in this book he has not thought things out to the end, that he has even been intellectually dishonest. Every time his 'fine balance between criticism and encouragement' reaches a certain point where he dares to speak, and then remains silent. Every time he comes to the 'bare survival' and does not plainly say 'NO'.

"We have the right to expect courage and honesty from our greatest. We are a young people who have scarcely lived, and it is a bitter, almost superhuman thing to acknowledge that our will to exist can be something evil.

"But if even a Van Wyk Louw cannot keep faith during the 'greatest test', then perhaps we have no worth and right to exist".

That's fighting talk, that is. Some of us have been waiting a long time to hear it from the ranks of the Afrikaner people.

BRIAN BUNTING.

... 'The Words of the Law'

What is evil in principle must be evil in practice. Such is the basis of the Group Areas Act that is causing havoc among the Non-White people.

The implementation of this law has met with widespread opposition from Non-Whites and in many cases Whites too. The latest criticism of the measure comes from the angry pen of one of South Africa's most talented writers and the leader of the Liberal Party, Mr. Alan Paton, in a booklet: "The People Wept." (. . . the people wept when they heard the words of the law."

Nehemiah VIII, 9).

It is a guide to the confusing and complicated workings of the Group Areas Act.

As the Indian people are the chief victims of the law there is a brief historical background to land, political and trade restrictions suffered by them.

Under the chapter: "The Axe is Lifted" are extracts from the various hearings of the Group Areas Board. And, as so often happens, the truth is blurted out at the most unexpected places. Take this from Mr. V. A. Hiemstra, Q.C. when appearing for the Town Council of Klerksdorp: "Indians and their children would have to seek other occupations than trade, and the sooner the better."

The next chapter: "The Axe Falls" is a brief account of some of the proposals for Group Areas in the towns, villages, and cities. For example the village Council of White River in the Eastern Transvaal wanted its tiny but presumably dangerous (?) Indian population of fifty-four souls, and their businesses removed to under-developed municipal land some distance south-west of the town . . . and right away from any existing main road or natural thoroughfare.

The Group Areas Act, Paton says, has given the advantage, almost without exception, to the ruling group in the country. "This booklet is therefore partisan," he writes. "It is written not to praise the Group Areas Act nor to describe it dispassionately. It is written to reveal it as a callous and cruel piece of legislation, and to bring nearer the day when it will be struck from the Statute Book . . ."

PAUL JOSEPH.

"The People Wept . . .": The Story of the Group Areas Act, by Alan Paton. Published by the writer, 23 Lynton Road, Kloof, Natal.

Life on Other Worlds

The view that life evolved on earth from inorganic materials by processes not involving divine intervention is now generally assumed by biologists including Catholic ones. It is also taken for granted that the first simple living organisms underwent descent with modification to produce the amazing variety of plants and animals as well as those equally amazing creatures whose remains exist as fossils in the rocks.

The circumstances which made life possible on earth are admittedly rather extraordinary: a certain degree of temperature, neither too hot nor too cold; the presence of liquid water, a number of essential chemicals, and the absence of poisonous ones. Life it seems can only occur on a planet and a planet of a particular type. In our own solar system the earth, Mars and Venus appear to be the only planets where life is at all possible. Its presence in a very simple form on Mars is postulated where there is some evidence of a form of vegetation. Venus remains a mystery because we do not know enough about its atmosphere to judge what may be possible there.

One Sun Among Billions

But our sun is but one of many billions of similar stars in our own galaxy, which in turn is one of a vast number of similar galaxies scattered through space. The interesting question then arises: "Are there likely to be planets associated with other stars?" Our telescopes are not powerful enough to provide an answer, nor likely ever to be, and we must rely on indirect evidence in answering this question.

Astronomers' Theories

Since the 1920's, astronomers' opinions have fluctuated widely on this issue — from the view that planets are an extremely rare occurrence to the belief that the galaxy contains millions of them. It all depends of course on our theory or theories as to how planets come to be formed. Were planets formed incidentally by the same processes that gave rise to stars, or were they formed later as a result of some special "accidents" which certain stars suffered?

The sun-bolt theory, popularised by Sir James Jeans thirty years ago, suggested that our own system of planets was formed by the near-collision of our

sun with a passing star. A considerable quantity of gaseous material was drawn out of the sun by the gravitational pull of the star, and after the latter had gone off into space this material condensed into planets which remained circling round the sun. The chances of two stars thus colliding were calculated to be extremely small. If we compare the stars to bees and imagine a swarm of bees with the individuals separated from each other by distances averaging a few miles, it would clearly be very unlikely that any two bees would collide. It was therefore considered that our solar system was probably unique in the galaxy, except perhaps for that other star involved in the near collision which might conceivably also have planets.

In recent times, a number of alternative, and not necessarily mutually exclusive, theories have been put forward to explain the production of planets. Some of these suggest that stars like our sun, a "yellow dwarf", may all have planetary systems.

Once this view is adopted — and it is very popular at present — we can have no difficulty in imagining untold millions of planets in the super galaxy and quite a few million in our own star system. It would be asking too much to suppose that every other solar system had at least one planet resembling the earth in size, distance from the sun, chemical composition, etc. But with so many millions of chances the odds on something similar existing elsewhere are very great indeed.

Lucky Accidents

It is therefore reasonable to speculate that there is life on other worlds and that there may be many such worlds. Life is one thing and human beings are another. Human life has only appeared on earth during the last million years or so. And if organic evolution began, as we suppose, about 2000 million years ago, it has taken a mighty long time to produce man. Furthermore, there must have been a whole long series of "lucky accidents" which resulted in just this particular kind of animal being produced.

However there is no reason for supposing that evolution elsewhere in space has not resulted in forms of life equally or more intelligent than ours. Following this theme science fiction has let its imagination run riot. Men in

space ships, flying at umpteen times the speed of light, visit strange worlds populated by weird and awesome beings, and communicate with them telepathically. Again some of these creatures, exploring space in flying saucers, pay surreptitious visits to our earth and even land at times.

Unfortunately it seems impossible that we (or any other being) could ever fly at such speeds. A visit to the moon, in view of recent developments, seems just possible. Getting to Mars is in the highest degree unlikely and getting outside the solar system well-nigh fantastic. However science fiction remains good fun.

EDWARD ROUX.

The Expanding Universe

The Editor,
Fighting Talk,
Johannesburg.

Dear Sir,

I am obliged to you for printing the most interesting article by E. Roux titled the Expanding Universe. I would however like to add a comment of Oley Piszarszewsky of the Soviet Union. I quote:

"Soviet astrophysics endeavours to reconstruct a correct picture of the world. It represents a group of physicists who are investigating conditions of matter unknown on Earth. How different from the outwardly spectacular but helpless and, in essence, miserable constructions of the idealists, who deliberately falsify science with the object of "crushing" the materialism they detest. It means nothing to them to announce that from time to time space develops "folds" having five dimensions, and that stars are born out of "nothing" in these folds. They declare without any scruples that the stars have their origin before each space and that they represent a kind of "perpetuum mobile" in which energy is generated from "nothing". Without any grounds or proofs whatsoever, they build "theories" and "hypotheses" about the simultaneous birth of stars and their equal age.

Of course, the problem of the origin and evolution of stars still awaits its final solution, but the achievements of the Soviet scientists give grounds for the belief that they will wrest from Nature more and more of her secrets."

This is I think apt criticism of the views expressed by the scientists who are quoted by the article especially the view of Hoyle.

R. E. PRESS.

Africans at the Olympic Games?

Once again White South Africa stands accused before the bar of the world, charged with perpetuating racial discrimination, and as always, the complainant is her sister, Black South Africa.

In recent years she has appeared in one court after another. In UNO where she is the star prisoner, she has about as many counts against her as the age of UNO itself.

Approaching Doom

But it is in the field of sport that her doom is round the corner.

A few years ago White South Africa lost her international recognition to the non-racial South African Table Tennis Board which consists of Non-Europeans.

Last year, Mr. Fred Fell and Mr. David Snaier, president and vice-president of the Football Association of Southern Africa fought with their backs to the wall at the F.I.F.A. Congress to retain the international status of the Football Association. The challenger and applicant was the non-colour bar, predominantly Non-European South African Soccer Federation.

In spite of this victory and the devious intrigues used by the Association to get disgruntled Coloured clubs in the Western Cape districts to join the Western Province Football Association, and the frustrated Johannesburg Bantu Football Association to affiliate to the Southern Transvaal (European) Football Association, the fight by the Soccer Federation to win international recognition for 60,000 dark-skinned footballers is gaining momentum as country after country begins to understand the struggle for the abolition of the colour-bar in South African sports.

The Olympic Games

In Munich, on May 25, this year, it will be the turn of the racist South African Olympic Games Association in the dock to try to justify its discrimination in sport before the world.

Already the Association through its president, Mr. Reg Honey, has started a campaign to justify apartheid. It is using methods similar to those of the Football Association which tricked Non-Europeans into accepting inferior status by affiliating to European organisations in order to bluff the world into believing that there is no racial discrimination in South Africa.

Mr. Honey said "The South African Olympic Games Association as such has no colour-bar. Sports bodies affiliated to us have a colour-bar but it is dictated by our way of life. Nevertheless these sports bodies are willing and prepared to do everything they can to encourage and stimulate Non-European sport."

The European controlled South African Bantu Athletic Association has been led up the garden path to apply for affiliation to the South African Athletic Union as a sub-union with White representatives in the councils of the Association.

It is important to know that the South African Bantu Athletic Association is the baby of the Native Affairs Department. It was born when Mr. Rodseth its chairman, was Under-Secretary for Native Affairs. Since then it has been nurtured by the Native Affairs Department and the Native Recruiting Corporation of the Chamber of Mines. It is also receiving encouragement from the Non-European Affairs Departments of various city councils.

Mr. Botha, the secretary, is the Welfare Officer of the Anglo-American Corporation. And naturally he and other Europeans involved in the Bantu Athletic Association will be the representatives to the meetings of the South African (European) Athletic Association.

Affiliation is Subterfuge

Opposing Mr. Honey's colour-bar riddled organisation at the International Olympic Games Council meeting in May will be the South Africa (non-racial) Athletic and Cycling Board of Control. A memorandum will be sent to the headquarters of the International Council soon. The Board of Control like all other Non-White organisations which seek international recognition is opposed to the affiliation of the Bantu Association to the European Association.

Clearly the reason for asking the Non-European organisations to affiliate is a subterfuge. Firstly, it is intended to maintain the status quo and at the same time control of the Non-European organisations. Bluff them by giving them financial assistance here and there and arrange tours for them provided they will play against Blacks only. There is no intention at all on the part of the White sports administrators to give Non-White associations equal status with other sub-unions in the affairs

of the national associations. At general and committee meetings they will be represented by Europeans. They will never play with or against their White brothers.

Secondly, faced with the urgent problem of retaining their membership in world bodies they have to pretend that they are adhering to international principles of sports — no racial discrimination, selection of players on merit not on colour of the skin, and one organisation to affiliate from each country.

The Worrell Tour — On or Off?

The proposed tour of South Africa by a private West Indies cricket team led by Frank Worrell has set the tongues of sports administrators, players and fans wagging. Progressives from all walks of life, have for the first time, descended the pavilion stands to the batting crease to handle their bats with bare-hands and make strokes which cricketers must watch with keen eyes if cricket is to remain cricket.

From purely the sport point of view, this tour has aroused a lot of enthusiasm among the Non-Europeans. Up to the time Mr. Pavadia and Mr. Varachia, president and secretary of the S.A. Cricket Board of Control agreed to the conditions of the tour, cricket fans were anxious to see Worrell's team in action.

These two officials stated that the West Indians are fully acquainted with the conditions in this country and for the purpose of the tour they are prepared to accept them. "We have made our arrangements strictly in accordance with Government requirements and there should be no difficulties," said the officials.

This statement brought about a sharp change in the attitude of many people who were keen to see Worrell's team playing against Non-Europeans. Now they feel they are asked to agree to Apartheid in the name of cricket.

The Board of Control's stand is that it has no choice if the West Indies team is to come. They had to compromise with cricket on an Apartheid pitch. In other words Worrell can come with his 14 member team provided it will be Blacks only, provided it will play only against Non-Europeans, stay in Non-European hotels or private homes. And that at the grounds there should be separate sitting arrangements for Whites.

Let Worrell Come?

The argument in favour of the tour is that it is in the interest of the players. If the tour takes place our players will gain a lot of experience for they will have played against some of the best cricketers in the world. If our players acquit themselves with credit against this all star team, we shall have enhanced our position for the day we make application to the Imperial Cricket Council for membership.

Even though the Board of Control has advanced this argument, there is no unanimity within the Board of Control. The ranks of the constituent bodies, African, Coloured, Indian and Malay Boards are divided about the tour. As for the players their opinions are reserved, while the fans find the whole situation foggy. "It's dark, I can't see the ball," said an old-timer.

Call Off Tour?

The argument against the tour is that if the Worrell's West Indies team is allowed to tour this country on the conditions laid down by the Nationalist Government, it will not be in the interests of Non-European sport. It will in fact prejudice the case of various sporting bodies which are now seeking international recognition. What is more, this tour may set the pattern for future tours and thus perpetuate race discrimination in South African sports.

To say this is cricket and not politics is to be naive. For it is the declared policy of the Government to maintain the colour-bar in sports. This is why the Government consistently refuses to give passports to delegates chosen to argue their cases in the world sporting organisations.

The newly formed South African Sports Association which has the support of all codes of sports except cricket represented by the South African Cricket Board of Control, passed a resolution at its Conference in Durban, on January 10-11, this year, condemning the Worrell tour.

A letter sent to Frank Worrell by the Congresses also asks Worrell to call it off.

An apartheid tour will make it unacceptable to all those who hate colour-bar in sport and it would be wise for the Board of Control to call off the tour to preserve the unity of all sporting bodies and sportsmen in South Africa.

ROBERT RESHA.

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