

FIGHTING

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JULY, 1961

TALK



DUMA NOKWE on

Urban Bantu Councils

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India—The Unfinished Land

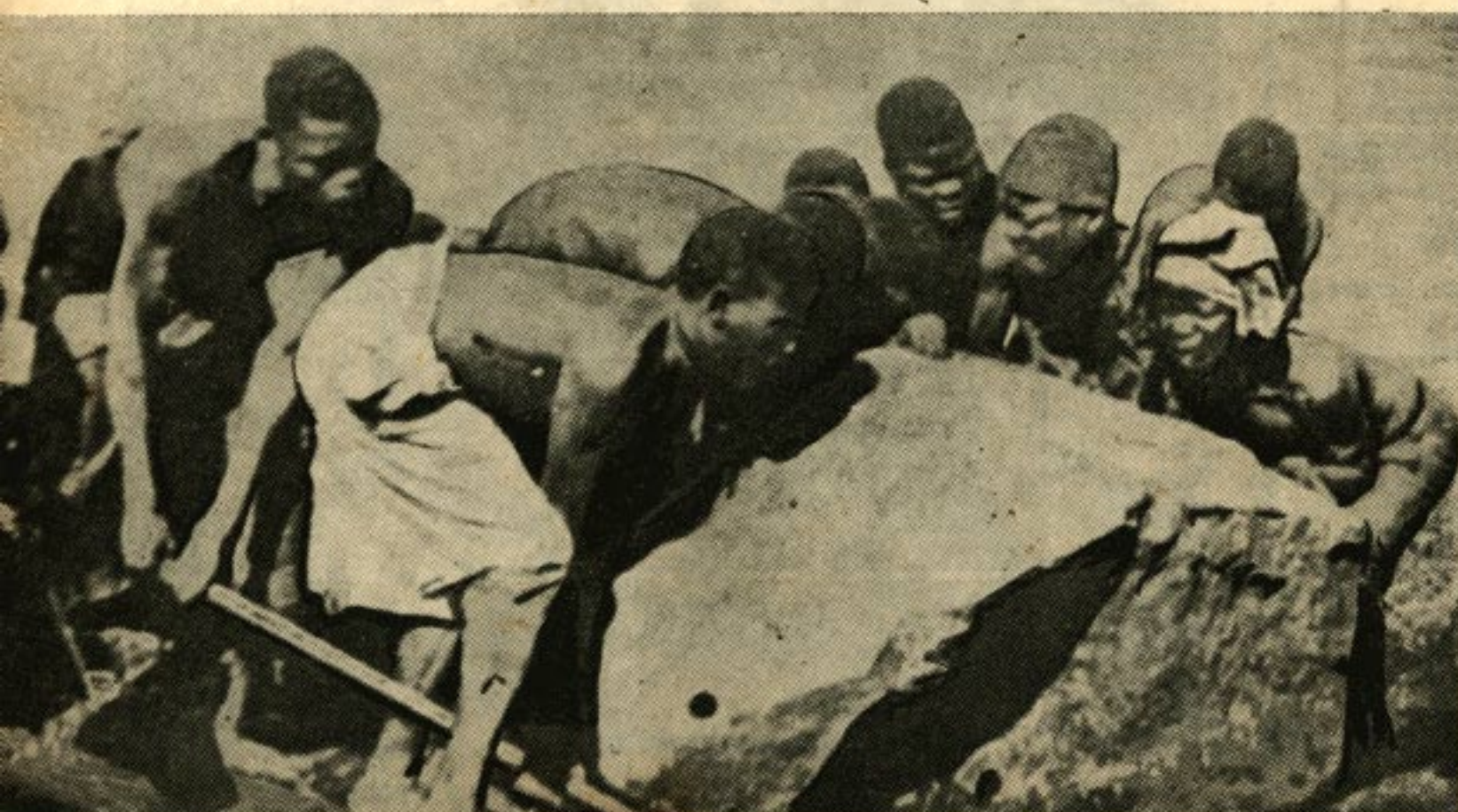
Travel Notes
by HILDA WATTS

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REVOLT IN A SCHOOL



ANGOLA



NKRUMAH
on
AFRICA
and
ANGOLA

* *

The
GALVAO
FORCED
LABOUR
REPORT

FIGHTING TALK

A monthly journal for Democrats in Southern Africa.

Vol. 15.

No. 6.

JULY, 1961

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PORTUGUESE TROOPS
INVADE ANGOLA

ANGOLA AT WAR

With the ending of the rainy season in Angola and the need to reap the coffee crop, the Portuguese are mounting a new full-scale military campaign against the Angolan people. Reports suggest it is to be one of extermination.

Much of what has been happening in Angola has been suppressed by Portugal by censorship of all news and letters coming out of the territory, and by expelling journalists.

But in the last few weeks missionaries in Angola — in chief the Baptist Missionary Society — have decided they can remain quiet no longer. (In fact, "the Africans have begged that we tell the world"), and they have collected and published reports which tell a shocking tale of violence and mass murder.

Portugal has owned colonies in Africa for 400 years and her pillage and atrocities against the people are probably unequalled in Africa's history.

In March this year there was "an end of patience."

The present wave of slaughter began when some forced labourers asked their employer for pay. He shot several of them dead. The labourers overwhelmed the employer and fighting broke out.

Africans organised themselves into bands armed with sticks, stones, knives, petrol, and a few stolen arms. They attacked European houses and there were reports of atrocities.

The African uprising spread from San Salvador (where the first plantation uprising had taken place), across the whole of the northern Congo province, south into the provinces of Malange and Luanda, and then to towns on the Elizabeth-Benguela railway. Portuguese military forces had to withdraw from forts, leaving 900 miles of the Congolese frontier and 40,000 square miles of the interior virtually undefended. The Angolan Nationalists estimated that about 1,000 Portuguese had been killed in the uprisings.

But this was nothing to what happened in return. Portuguese settlers were armed, formed themselves into vigilante gangs and committed terrible acts against innocent Africans.

The Portuguese used numerous stratagems to terrorise the Africans, the special correspondent of the OBSERVER reported. At the village of Tumbai a car with a loudspeaker drove through and announced that 'the king' of the



"The aeroplanes come over nearly every day now. They bomb the forest with fire bombs, and when we run out into the open, they shoot us with their guns. There are no more villages, they have all been burned."

Union of Angolan Peoples (U.P.A.) was arriving by aeroplane. A plane actually appeared. When the crowd had assembled troops converged on the village and killed 300.

Africans were lynched in the streets; and tens of thousands of men, women and children indiscriminately massacred.

Incidents of mass slaughter have been documented at Sanga, Tomboco, and other centres.

A reporter in Luanda has said that possession of a grammar primer has been enough to lead to a man's disappearance. In one area alone 1,500 Africans were arrested. The local prison holds only 100. Nobody knows what has happened to all those who have disap-

peared. 100,000 refugees have crossed the border into the Congo. It is estimated that at least 35,000 Africans have been killed.

There has been wholesale revenge against the Angolan people throughout the colony.

A telephone call to London from a missionary in Angola forced to evacuate his station, which was being used as a base by Portuguese troops, said: "The entire northern area of Angola is deserted today. Everyone has fled except the old and infirm who cannot walk." The Portuguese had threatened to set fire to the tall grass once the wet season ended "to burn out the bandits like game."

Latest reinforcements bring the Portuguese army in Angola up to 10,000 men carrying NATO (American and British) arms; backed by British warships; and under orders from Lisbon to launch a "once and for all" military operation.

The causes of the revolt are said to include:

Forced labour.

Brutality in the treatment of Africans including torture and flogging.

Appalling conditions under which Africans have had to live and work particularly when on forced labour.

Injustice and corruption among officials.

The desire for freedom from colonial rule as in other parts of Africa.

'Only the Dead Exempt from Forced Labour'

The rebel Captain Henrique Galvao who led the group of men who captured the Portuguese ship Santa Maria in an attempt to liberate Portugal's African colonies from Salazar is the author of a gripping report on labour conditions in Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea. The Portuguese Government commissioned the report, but it was suppressed by Salazar in 1947 and Galvao jailed. Extracts of the Report were released this year by the underground opposition in Brazil.

Captain Galvao's report begins by saying that for many years there had been a "migratory wave" out of Portugal's African colonies.

Authorised emigration to South Africa and Rhodesia had been an important factor but clandestine emigration was exhausting at an increasing pace the populations of Portuguese Guinea, Mozambique and Angola.

In Angola, fewer Africans were returning after the expiration of their labour contracts. Those who did return came back as "propagandists for emigration." They always brought news, the report says, which emphasised the difference between the standard of living in Portuguese colonies and in other neighbouring colonies.

In the interior and at considerable distances from the frontiers clandestine emigration was increasing. This was obvious from the desolate appearance of the native kraals; in the frontier regions able-bodied men were nowhere to be seen. The kraals contained only wailing old men, children, women, and the sick.

"The population flees en masse and deserts the land and its homes and the territories become empty."

The report estimates "conservatively" that the three colonies had lost one million Africans by emigration in the preceding ten years. The annual rate of loss, which was tending to increase, would be about one hundred thousand.

"The physical decadence of the native population, especially in the north of Mozambique (but less visible in Guinea) is a reality which cannot pass unnoticed even by the most casual observer."

"These ills are due," the report continues, "to the political administrative policies of the last sixty years." Wars of occupation succeeded three centuries of wars of conquest, which had themselves devastated the native population. Some military operations had been carried out with excessive cruelty and harshness — "exterminating operations in fact."

"Figures are mute, static. They don't shout, they don't tell of pain. One needs to go and see for oneself, one needs to encourage those who want to see, instead of condemning them to places of exile as the inconvenient ones . . ." says Galvao.

The visitor, he continues, must gain the confidence of the Africans and listen to them, must hear "from the administrative officers — who are afraid to report truthfully — what they dare to say only on special occasions." Finally, the visitor must "listen to the missionaries saying in friendly chats what they dare not write in their reports."

"Doctors try to escape going into the interior and are still concentrated in the most important urban centres; hospitals still lack elementary sanitary arrangements and many places which have a strategic need for a health service are still without hospitals."

"I assert that the health service for the natives of Guinea, Angola and Mozambique — both the service paid for by the State and that paid for by private industry and private organisations — does not exist, except for very rare local exceptions."

". . . We are suffering," the report says, "as though from the devastations of fire, having no water, no pumps, no firemen. Or more precisely, having no water available, no efficient pumps, and no trained firemen. Therefore, it is not surprising that infant mortality goes up to 60 per cent."

Discussing what he calls the problem of the situation of labour, Galvao says: "We all know the contrast between ideas and principles embodied in the law and the realities of compulsory labour. We have a very long way to go before labour is really free and voluntary."

In Angola the labour shortage was "very alarming" and, in this respect, the colony was "nearing catastrophe."

Quoting from the last census of what was officially known as the "non-civilised population," Galvao says that the population of Angola was shown as 1,775,425 males and 1,920,183 females. On a generous estimate of those of working age the census showed 1,023,717 males between the ages of sixteen and seventy-four.

According to statistics provided by the Department of Native Affairs only 746,589 males were accounted tax-payers and therefore considered fit to work.

'Only the Dead are Exempt . . . '—The Galvao Report

"In other words," the report says, "for several reasons, but mostly due to physical incapacity, 459,128 males (over 33 per cent of the population in the working-age group) are unable to work."

At the recruiting centres, the report says, tax-payers underwent medical inspections in which an average of 12 per cent were rejected for medical reasons; 10 per cent more ran away from work or fell sick and could not be counted for other reasons. The final result was an estimated deficit of 15,000 workers.

To cover it, there had been recourse to reprehensible violence. "Only the dead are really exempt from compulsory labour."

The position is worse in Angola than in Mozambique because, in the former colony, the Government has become quite deliberately the main recruiter and distributor of native labour to a point where settlers call on the Department of Native Affairs with written demands for 'supply of labour' which they hand in without embarrassment. This term 'supply' is used in the same way as if one were buying goods.

"In some respects," Galvao said, "the situation is more grave than that created by pure slavery. Under slavery the bought man, acquired as a head of cattle, was regarded as an asset by his master. He was interested in keeping him healthy and strong and agile in the same way as he would look after his horse or his bull.

"Today, the African is not bought — he is simply rented from the Government, though he may have the status of a free man. His master could hardly care less if he falls ill or dies as long as he goes on working while he lives . . . When he becomes unable to work or when he dies the master can always ask to be supplied with other labourers."

Some employers had lost 35 per cent of their labourers but had never been deprived from obtaining fresh "supplies."

"We cannot maintain this policy," said Galvao. "We cannot allow to continue undisturbed the serenity or indifference of those who consent to it and have apparently got used to it. I will refrain from citing cases and examples but I am ready to reveal them to the Government as I have insistently done over the last ten years."

The report notes that there were three kinds of conditions under which African labour was employed. The first was as volunteer labourers, but normally the authorities preclude the volunteer worker from the free choice of his employer. He could not choose the one who offered the best salary but was forced to accept the one named by the authorities, so that he would get the minimum salary stipulated by law.

The second was by the compulsion of the authorities based on the despotism of a chieftain. This was what Africans called *contracto* — the herding of people for supply to the employers through

The Portuguese army in Angola is using napalm bombs against the African population. The correspondent of the London Daily Mail quoted African refugees as saying the bombs "must have been full of petrol and set the village and the ground on fire all around." Angolan leader Roberto Holden is taking to the United Nations a portion of a napalm bomb made in the United States.

*

Portugal walked out of the United Nations in March 1961 in protest against a debate on conditions in Angola. The Portuguese delegate told the General Assembly that the disorders in Angola were a domestic matter and the United Nations had no legal jurisdiction. In April the UN set up a 5-member committee to investigate the situation in Angola.

*

A Portuguese Army Brigadier paid a hush hush visit to Cape Town some weeks ago and had talks with military heads there. The Government of Portugal is believed to have asked South Africa directly for assistance in its Angolan war. South Africa's Minister of Defence Mr. Fouché is NOW in Lisbon.

*

The African Freedom Organisations of Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Goa and St. Tome have set up a permanent organisation with headquarters in Rabat, Morocco. Mario de Andrade, chairman of the movement, said a recent Casablanca conference of the movement had made plans for the defeat of Portuguese colonialism by launching campaigns in Africa and internationally; and had appealed to the African and Asian heads of state for aid and support.

the Department of Native Affairs. The employers, in the milder cases, made use of recruiters helped and supported by the authorities. "It is useless to go into details about the hateful aspects these operations imply."

The report observes that the Africans hated the *contracto*. Certain *contractos* were carried out to S. Tome (an island with large cocoa plantations) in conditions under which one exports animals — and this terrorised them. They were even terrorised by the simpler contract for the plantations in Angola, since they knew that they died on the scale of 20 to 30 per cent.

The Government also recruited for its own services, as it recruited for the settlers; but as it ran into shortages, it frequently resorted to engaging women and the incapacitated. And since local departments were frequently left without the necessary funds to pay wages on time, the Government often forced Africans to work without salaries, without food, on roads and Government farms.

The system of fostering the production of some crops of great economic value to the Africans through a system of concessionaires was, in theory, tempting. In practice, though, only the immediate interests of the great concessionary companies had been considered and the African had been reduced to a slave of the soil. He bore all the risks involved in the crops, and the companies were assured, in optimum conditions, mostly without any risk at all, of sure profits.

Though technical assistance was promised, it never turned up. "The African farmers know only the presence of overseers, authorities, and other agents of propaganda who teach them nothing and impose on them the need to cultivate only the required commodity wherever they want it, in good or bad soil, sometimes involving loss to their own food crops. We could cite, not as exception, but as a general rule, distasteful cases of violence, of lack of sense, which result in the destruction of the population."

The Administration has been blinded by "the hunger for quantity"; it seemed to be unaware of its very grave failure as an instrument of native policy.

The attitude of the employers expressed itself in: (1) resistance in all possible ways to a policy of fair wages; (2) the bad treatment of the workers—"The idea that the native is simply a beast of burden still prevails; the indifference for the physical and moral health of their labourers is evident."

It also showed itself in: (3) the waste of labour: everything was done manually, from the pushing of trucks to the draining of marshes; (4) the quality and moral character of the recruiters of labour; (5) the displacement of labourers from one area to another without regard for climatic changes; (6) the extortions practiced by merchants over the Africans; (7) the indifference to housing conditions; (8) the last surviving influences of "the exterminating spirit" still rooted in the last century.

The report concludes: "I take the full responsibility to prove that all I say is true. You can only criticise me for not saying the whole truth or rather that I do not describe all the aspects of the problem. But that would be a matter for many books and take many hours."

“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 expatriate-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 Benquela, 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 Forminiere 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 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.

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.

L. BERNSTEIN.



Verwoerd Councils in the Townships

DUMA NOKWE on the URBAN BANTU COUNCILS ACT

"I now want to state unequivocally that this Bill is a means towards achieving separate development . . . This Bill must not be regarded simply as a separate little part of the overall policy of separate development, but as a very important part of that policy."

(Mr. Froneman, M.P. for Heilbron, reported in Hansard.)

This is a frank statement by a Nationalist M.P. of the true purpose of the Urban Bantu Councils Act, which some people have mistakenly regarded as a departure from the granite policy of apartheid, and as a significant concession by the Government.

The United Party supported the measure on principle because they regarded it as an extension of local self-government to Africans in the urban areas. Nothing could be further from the truth. In fact the law does not confer powers of self-government on the Africans but imposes the duties of self-oppression and persecution on the Africans.

Like its twin in the rural areas, the Bantu Authorities Act which is euphemistically referred to as the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act, the Urban Bantu Council Act is a skilful attempt by the Nationalist Government to sow division amongst the African people and to lure them into operating their own machinery of oppression.

Before dealing with the provisions of the law, it is essential to note that, like all apartheid legislation, it was introduced in Parliament without any reference to the African people.

Phantoms

The Minister of Bantu Administration appears to have had some sense of guilt about this when he said in Parliament:

"I personally have had discussions with individual Bantu from these areas whom WE REGARD as leading persons in the Communities concerned. Furthermore I say that they will be consulted personally as to what type of Council they want, they can therefore decide which type of Council they would like to have."

No one knows who the phantom leaders are with whom the Minister had discussions.

At any rate the Minister is a little contemptuous of the Africans if he thinks that all they want to do is to choose between two Apartheid Councils. This is Hobson's choice.

What the Africans want is the opportunity to participate in the normal machinery of self-government that exists today—not the apartheid-ridden Advisory Councils, which exercise no real power, but the City Councils and Municipal Corporations that really do the job.

The Minister also said about this Act:

"It is essential for the establishment of the RIGHT ATTITUDE, SPIRIT AND SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY among the Bantu in the Urban 'Residential Areas.'"

The measures provide for Urban Councils to replace the old Advisory Boards. Half the members of the Council will be elected and the other half will be appointed on the basis of being the representatives of different Chiefs in the urban areas.

Two types of Councils are visualised in the Act: an Ethnic Group Council and a Regional Council. The Minister has promised that Africans will be allowed to choose between the two.

The Council will at all times work under the supervision of the White Municipality and the Department of Bantu Administration.

The Minister in introducing the Bill complained of the opposition of Africans to Government policy, and stressed the fact that co-operation between the Councils, the Municipality and the Department would be the keynote of the new scheme.

It is therefore clear that when the Minister says the measure is essential to the establishment of the right attitude among the Bantu, he means that the function of the Councils will be to reduce opposition to Government policy and to stimulate a 'healthy' attitude to the Government.

Oppressing Ourselves

It is not surprising that apart from such 'executive functions' as laying out streets and playgrounds, the work of the Councils will include the removal of 'undesirable persons' from locations, and the operation of the detested influx control.

It will thus be the Africans themselves who will banish so-called agitators, who will persecute their people under the pass laws, and who will work the machinery of the Government.

It is characteristic of the contempt with which the Nationalists regard the African people that after so many years of massive demonstrations by the people against pass laws and influx control they should now be charged with the duty of operating this system themselves.

It will also be the Bantu Councils which have the responsibility for arresting thousands of Africans who are unable to pay their rents. These are the 'executive functions' which we are told are important steps towards local self government.

Another important job of the Councils will be the maintenance of law and order in the Locations. Nobody is opposed to the maintenance of law and order.

But what sort of law and order is this? The Nationalists have answered the question without any equivocation. It is the same old law of oppression and of race discrimination, which has been rechristened separate development.

Shock-Absorbers

It is in this context that the Community guards must be examined. A few years ago the Africans were arrested and prosecuted for organising their own community guards. The reason why the Government objected to them was because this demonstrated an initiative on the part of the people which the Government could not tolerate. Now the Government has decided to exploit this desire of the people for self-protection for its own purposes.

The police force is extremely unpopular with the people, and the Bergville and Cato Manor incidents are still fresh in our memories. Nor can the Government afford more Sharpevilles. But — if the hostility and clashes are between African Community Guards and the African people, then nobody can blame a Government only remotely connected with them — so they reason. It is indeed a skilful plan.

The Councils and the Community Guards will become shock absorbers for the police against the reaction by the people, and the real conflict between the Nationalists and the Non-Europeans will look like conflict amongst the people themselves.

The Government also hopes that the Councils will act as agents of the police against the liberation movement. If the Councils are called on to act against 'intimidators' and 'agitators', then what the Special Branch, bannings, deportations and prosecutions have failed to stop will be handed over to the Councils for urgent attention.

This is an insult to the intelligence of the people. It can only lead to strife and disturbance if the Councils do try to take on this role. It is precisely this aspect of the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act which has been responsible for much of what has happened in Pondoland, where the Bantu home guards of the Chiefs became strong-arm terror squads using violence against the villagers.

Nobody is opposed to the appointment of suitably qualified Africans as Magistrates and Judges to administer the law. But again the question is: what law, what crimes?

If Africans are asked to administer and inflict punishment on their brethren for crimes against apartheid laws and all the statutory offences which keep Apartheid and race discrimination going in South Africa, this certainly will be opposed by the Africans.

The mere fact that a person is the

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Striking Out Under the Republic

The advent of the Republic of South Africa was seen by the people of this country, and of the whole world, in its true light on May 31 — as a matter of small consequence compared with the major issue: the struggle of the people to end White supremacy and the winning of a South African democracy.

The centre of the stage was occupied by the National Action Council with its courageous campaign for a three-day national general strike in the teeth of savage repression and arrests, unheard of anti-strike legislation, all-out mobilisation of the military and police.

In the shadow cast by these historic events the proclamation of the Republic was shown up for what it was: the empty and meaningless gesture of a small group of frightened men, sheltering behind their Saracens and machine guns.

The Nationalists huddled in the rain at Pretoria to instal their State President in a South Africa where all gatherings but their own were banned; where martial law had been proclaimed in all but name; where for three days past a large proportion of the country's industry had slowed to a trickle, where empty lecture theatres and classrooms were an eloquent testimony to the contemptuous rejection by the youth of a "Republic" from which every vestige of the noble principles of republicanism had been deleted by the Verwoerdites.

That was the great achievement of the African people and the all-in Conference at Maritzburg. By boldly taking the initiative they focused attention on the rousing call for a fully representative National Convention with sovereign powers to frame a new, democratic constitution.

By passing from words to action they dramatically exposed, as nothing else could have done, the people's rejection of state forms decided on by a minority in its own interests; their unequivocal claim for government of the people by the people and for the people.

Strike Score

Was the strike call a "success"? In a very important sense, it was and remains a wonderful success by the simple fact that it compelled the attention of the people of this country and the whole world for weeks before the end of May, that it forced the Government to mobilise as if for a war; that it has won the support of a very substantial majority of all non-Nationalist elements for the demand for a National Convention.

Of course the success of a strike call must be measured not only by such objective historic effects, but more obviously by the number of workers who respond to it. On this issue there were, and still are, the most diametrically opposed opinions.

The daily capitalist newspapers, both English and Afrikaans, were unanimous in reporting that the strike was a "com-

ALAN DOYLE on the Strike and Forms of Struggle

plete failure." "Total Mislukking" exulted *Die Vaderland* (echoed by the scabrous Cape Town paper *Torch* — "A colossal flop.")

There can be little doubt that these newspapers made little or no attempt to find out the facts for themselves; they got their "information" from the police and B.A.D. authorities, and apart from being scared stiff, they were interested to paint as gloomy a picture as they could of the strike, so as to dampen the spirits of those who did stay home on the Monday, to make them feel isolated and defeated and more ready to go back to work on the Tuesday.

A very different picture emerged from reading the first-hand reports which were published in papers like *Golden City Post*, and particularly in *New Age*, which by vivid reports made it very clear that in the traditional centres of working class militancy, Johannesburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth, among wide sections of the Coloured workers in the Cape, and almost the entire Indian community throughout the country, the strike had enjoyed a very wide measure of support embracing tens of thousands of workers amounting in the main industrial areas to from 60 to 70 per cent.

As the weeks have gone by, more and more facts have come to light indicating that this view of the strike was the more accurate. In particular the strength of the support which was forthcoming among students and scholars at Fort Hare, Lovedale, Healdtown, Kilnerton and other educational institutions for Africans has leaked out — mainly through news of the draconic reprisals taken by the Bantu Education authorities.

High Sacrifice

We should not forget that the many thousands of workers, businessmen and students who, in the face of such massive intimidation from the State and employers, did take part in the demonstration displayed a very high level of political consciousness indeed.

They were sacrificing three days' income which they could ill afford. They were in many cases risking their jobs, at a time of increasing unemployment. They were facing the possibility of police reprisals which, in a country where people can be arrested without charge, beaten up with out redress, and even banished without trial, can be very serious indeed.

And all this not for some immediate prospect of betterment, such as an increase in wages, but in the course of a general struggle for the broad democratic principle — a struggle which will

clearly be protracted and many-sided, and in which, as Maritzburg's resolution made clear, the strike was merely the opening blow.

Indeed, the N.A.C. has been criticised, and not without justice, for failing in its propaganda to link the broad main slogans of the National Convention and a democratic South Africa with the immediate issues agitating the minds of the people. It was not easy to strike, and the many who did have set a high example which should be full of hope and inspiration to all who believe in a bright future.

All the same, it is true that the response was less than had been hoped for — particularly by those who had been working heroically for many weeks in one of the most dynamic and best-organised campaigns the country has ever seen.

What about those who did not strike? Didn't they care enough for freedom and the national cause to sacrifice three days' pay? Or were they overawed by threats, by Erasmus's show of strength? Were they confused by hostile propaganda and the appearance of disunity created by Government agents, conscious or unthinking, among the Non-White peoples themselves?

It would not seem that any one cause can be blamed: there was a combination of factors. Some of them deserve particular attention.

The National Action Council did a magnificent job, faithfully carrying out the mandate of the Maritzburg Conference, and its spokesman, Mr. Nelson Mandela emerged as an outstanding South African statesman, whose powerful voice reached the people even though he himself was (and still is) a hunted man constantly being sought not only by the Special Branch but by the whole police force.

If there are criticisms to be made, it must not be forgotten that the virtual monopoly of the press including the Johannesburg "African" papers, by European capitalist interests render any statement made to them by a people's leader liable to distortion and cunning "editing."

The fact remains that the repeated appeals to the PEOPLE for "non-violence" on the eve of the strike — at a time when it was obvious to all that the only ones preparing for violence were the Government and its police and army — could not but have a somewhat confusing effect.

Scabs and Pickets

Now, as everyone knows, the Government has rushed through draconic anti-strike legislation to stop picketing, or even giving a scornful word or look to a scab. Nevertheless, the workers have their own ways of making those who go

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The Press and the Strike

The progressive movement must not fall into the habit of blaming the press for its own failures, says GEORGE IRWIN

The English-language Press in South Africa was criticised for its coverage of the stay-at-home. The Nationalists accused it of aiding the stay-at-home, and the progressive movement accused it of undermining the stay-at-home. Where does the truth lie?

No one will challenge the statement that the Press gave the stay-at-home a tremendous amount of publicity. The Press in fact was the principal medium through which the stay-at-home obtained its publicity.

The Press reported the speeches of Cabinet Ministers, the warlike preparations of the State, the comments of employers, the warnings and appeals of all and sundry, and of course the initial declaration by the All-In African conference in Pietermaritzburg and the subsequent statements by Mr. Nelson Mandela.

In this way the message of the strike was carried to the furthest corners of the country.

The contention that the Press sabotaged the strike by writing it off prematurely on the Monday does not bear scrutiny. By the time the first Press and radio reports had appeared the fate of the strike had already been decided. With the exception of Johannesburg, the Africans in the major centres did not absent themselves from work in large numbers.

This was the decisive factor. Nothing can explain this fact away.

Two accusations are implicit in the criticisms which have been voiced by the progressive movement. One is that if the Press and the radio had not written off the strike, it might have snowballed on the second day into a national strike. There is no evidence to support this claim. It is speculation.

The second implied accusation is that the Press "switched" its attitude in the last few days of the campaign and sabotaged the strike. The suggestion here is that the Press wields enormous power, that it was able to avert a national strike merely by the power of the printed word. There is no evidence that the Press wields this power over the Non-Whites in South Africa.

In two ways, perhaps, the Press's treatment of the strike campaign was unusual. It reflected in the first place a half-desire to see the strike succeed and to oust the Nationalists. It reflected also, especially in the latter stages of the campaign, an awakening fear of the forces that might be unleashed upon the country.

Admittedly, the Press had started turning against the strike campaign in the last few days before the Republic was inaugurated, but this does not mean that it (a) raised the mood of the Non-White masses to a pitch where they were ready to strike, and then (b) caused it to subside again.

The Press simply does not exercise this influence over the Non-White masses. If the masses had been in the mood to strike, they would have done so, regardless of the last-minute warnings of the Press.

The progressive movement must not fall into the habit of blaming the Press for its own failures.

It is time, too, perhaps for the progressive movement to realise that an alignment between the Press and the Non-White workers is an unusual one, to put it mildly. The idea of the capitalist Press joining forces with the Non-White workers to stage a successful strike is unique.

It might be argued with some justification that the contradictory attitude of the Press — first, its support, then its opposition — reflected a desire only for a controlled strike, which would oust Dr. Verwoerd, but not oust the present system of White rule. This is quite probably true.

This still does not entitle anyone to portray the English-language Press in the role of both strike-maker and strike-breaker.

Anyone who thought the English-language Press would go along with the strike right through to the end was being naive. The political situation in South Africa is topsy-turvy, but not THAT topsy-turvy.

The progressive movement challenges the Press's description of the strike as a "flop." Examples of limited local suc-

cesses are quoted to support this challenge. This is not the point. The general attitude taken by the Press (with due respect to the progressive movement) was the correct one: the strike was an attempt to force Dr. Verwoerd, in an orderly, irresistible way, to sit down to consultations, and in this attempt it failed — utterly.

Some people might quarrel with this definition of the aim of the strike. Let us say, then, that it was an attempt to demonstrate the solidarity of the African people in struggle. In this too it failed — utterly.

The Press in fact divined the true nature of the events on May 29, whereas some sections of the progressive movement are trying to gloss over it and to turn a failure into a partial victory.

The limited successes in different parts of the country were irrelevant. A particular form of struggle was ventured, and it failed. The occasion was possibly even profound in its significance. A successful national strike would have been illegal, but quite possibly orderly. What now, though?

It will be some time before anyone dares to call another national strike. Certainly, this cannot be attempted without a lot of slogging work, or until the political situation changes considerably.

The view taken by the Press was that the strike move on May 29 was not another step in a campaign of mounting successes, but a setback for the whole Non-White struggle. This essentially is the dispute between the Press and the progressive movement. Who is right?

If the progressive movement is right, then the Non-Whites are busy now preparing for the next stage of a massive campaign. Are they? Or is discussion concentrated on the chances of local diversions?

If the Press is right, then the whole Non-White struggle has taken a crack, and will have to find new forms of struggle which will culminate in a national strike, not start with one.

There are valuable lessons to be learnt in the eve-of-republic events, not the least of which is that the State is a formidable nut to crack.

against a majority struggle feel the weight of their displeasure.

A strike, even a political strike, can never be a purely individual matter, and the failure to contradict the alleged statement could not but weaken solidarity.

Even the warmest of supporters will hesitate to "go it alone" when he sees others streaming to work; for the strike situation depends essentially on solidarity, as every trade unionist knows. That explains why in a number of areas the early morning trains were empty, but some workers changed their minds and went to work later in the morning — because they saw others doing so.

The Hostile Word

A similar point arises in connection with the stream of hostile propaganda to which the workers were subjected on the eve of the strike. An insidious role was played by the big English-language newspapers. Normally people are on their guard against such papers because of their well-known anti-worker bias. But on this occasion this normal vigilance had been lulled because until a week or so before the strike they had been reasonably impartial as regards the demonstrations, publicising the Maritzburg decisions and the statements of Mr. Mandela.

Suddenly, however, with a unanimity which suggests their editors had been subjected to concerted pressure by the authorities, or by the owners, or both, they changed their tune completely, re-the N.A.C., and, on the strike issue, becoming indistinguishable from the Nat. propaganda sheets.

A spate of leaflets attacking the strike and its leaders were issued by the "Bantu Congress", "Sons of Zululand", "Bantu Workers' Union", "African Nationalists", "Anti-CAD", etc. Some of these "organisations" are non-existent bodies, "invented" by the police-state Govern-

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Striking Out Under the Republic

(Continued)

ment for the purpose of issuing these very leaflets. Others consist of confused and disgruntled politicians, with a record stretching back many years of scabbing on every decision for mass action ever undertaken by the national liberation movement. The effect, however, is identical.

Sincere supporters of PAC and anti-CAD might ask themselves the searching question "Where are we going to?" when policemen and White inspectors on the trains give out their leaflets.

The effect of such leaflets has nothing to do with any "mass" support for such organisations. The ordinary worker does not support them, and never will. But they do contribute to an impression of disunity, which must inevitably undermine any great movement calling for sacrifice and determination. It is only natural that all but the most advanced and conscious worker will, however convinced he may be himself, look anxiously to see what the other fellow is doing. A small minority of scabs can destroy any movement, industrial or political, unless means are found, as they have been found all over the world, to expose them and render them harmless.

Like all our historic struggles in this country the strike was a rich and fruitful experience. It has shown us the invaluable and essential place of trade unions in the liberation movement.

Chief Lutuli's call of two years ago "Every Congressman a trade unionist", had it been heeded then, would have changed the picture completely: one can only hope that it will be thoroughly taken up now.

First Cannonade

But our need today is not mainly to dwell on the opening phase of the struggle launched at Maritzburg, but to turn our thoughts to the following and even more vital phases to come. It seems to me that many of those who like to describe the end-of-May protest demonstration as a "failure", imagine — or pretend to believe — that, in itself, it was intended by its originators to bring about the immediate downfall of the Nationalist Party dictatorship.

"See", say these critics, "Republic Day has come and gone, but Verwoerd is still there." True, the resolution called for the eve-of-Republic protest demonstrations. Not because the new state-form is called a "Republic" (many of the foremost African leaders are themselves convinced republicans) but because it was decided on by a phoney referendum which ignored the vast majority of the people, and because it consists, in essence, of a continuation and intensification of the hated practices of White baasskap and apartheid.

What the critics fail to note, or don't want to remember, is that the end-of-May protests were merely the first cannonade in what was clearly envisaged

as a long, stubborn and many-sided struggle of non-collaboration with the Baasskap Republic, aimed at the positive goal of a non-racial, sovereign National Convention to frame the constitution of a truly democratic South Africa.

The National Convention

Since Maritzburg, many organisations and individuals have come out in favour of a National Convention — and rightly so too.

More and more, the mark of a democrat in our country is whether or not he is in favour not of minor concessions to still the anger of the oppressed people, but of a clean sweep of the hateful practices which make our Government the polecat of the world, and a new deal inaugurated by a fully representative Constituent Assembly. For that is what a Convention means, in terms of South African history and usage — and they do an ill service to the democratic cause who seek to cover up that radical meaning, and to substitute a conception of the National Convention as a mere gathering or conference of opposition elements.

This is not to say that such meetings and conferences might not serve a useful purpose, even in present conditions where the great majority of the foremost democratic leaders of all sections of the community are banned from meetings.

There is much merit in the article "How to Get a Convention" by a Special Correspondent of "Contact" (June 1, 1961), pleading for unity among supporters of the call for a National Convention, and proposing "an urgent consultation or conference among all of us of all races to work out how to put teeth into our demands."

But he is on less sound ground when he suggests that such a conference should itself "consider a basic programme for the new South Africa" and "perhaps accept a Bill of Rights" (the Liberal Party's pet shibboleth.) We are not short of blueprints and basic programmes. The Congress Movement has its Freedom Charter, and doubtless every other opposition group or party worthy of the name has its own programme. We cannot and should not expect all of them to shelve their own programmes in favour of some watered-down version which might emerge at a conference of leaders.

A New Electorate

The great merit of the National Convention idea is that it will enable, for the first time in our history, ALL parties and movements to submit their blueprints for a new South Africa to the only judgment a democrat can recognise as competent — the judgment of the people of South Africa.

Let us have an ELECTORATE consisting of all adult men and women of the country, divided not racially but into geographical constituencies on the only fair basis — one man one vote. TO THIS ELECTORATE let the Nation-

alist and United Parties submit their versions of baasskap or "White leadership", the advocates of qualified franchises submit their proposals, and the advocates of equality — without gags and bans — submit their candidates. Let the people vote — and the candidates they elect be delegated with sovereign powers to frame the basic structure of the new South Africa "in any way the majority shall decide" (to quote the Maritzburg resolution.)

THAT is a National Convention. Any other proposal is, to my mind, a mere playing with words. And whether you support is or not will indicate decisively whether you are a democrat — one who believes that the people are, or should be, sovereign.

How do we get such a Convention? How do we force the Government to call it — or if they won't, to get out and make way for a Government that will?

As I write the National Action Council has not yet announced the next phase of its non-collaboration campaign — though I imagine that is a safe bet that its decisions will not be such as to give much aid and comfort to those supporters of various "Bantu" institutions of de Wet Nel who still mislead and help to oppress their own people.

But certain facts must be faced. Verwoerd is prepared to mobilise the entire armed strength of the country against a peaceful strike; to see the entire economy of the country drift to rack and ruin, and South Africa isolated from the world outside in every sphere of contact, in order to maintain the "granite wall" of apartheid and baasskap.

The ruling classes are armed to the teeth; their opponents, the great majority of the people are disarmed, policed like few other people on earth (the Portuguese possibly excepted), and — this is their greatest and only real weakness — unorganised.

A gloomy picture? Does it mean that we are doomed to suffer the disgraceful and shameful evils of apartheid for many years to come?

Not at all; but it does mean that the democratic movement in South Africa has to strike out boldly, to find new methods of struggle under the Republic.

Verwoerd's wall is far from being made of granite; already the turbulent tides of freedom running in the world are breaching it through a thousand holes and gaps. But we who want to build a new South Africa which joins in the advance of this continent towards freedom, must make haste to be up and doing, to unite, to organise, to draw ever greater numbers of people into dynamic action for freedom.

I have no doubt whatever that, before long, South Africa will be returned to its rightful heirs, the people of this country.

But we must beware lest, through apathy and disunity, we inherit not a beautiful and prosperous land — but a wilderness. For that is what Verwoerd and his Broederbond men are fast making of our country.

THE WHITES: Must Their Opposition Be Written Off?

Recent events have once again raised the question — can the White opposition forces be expected to play an important part in the coming political struggles in South Africa?

The issue arises now because two recent major events — the birth of the Republic, and the stay-at-home — were both treated with surprising passivity by this section of the population that was so politically vociferous in the past.

Can it be that anti-Nationalist Whites have been so intimidated that they are now politically impotent?

The creation of a Verwoerd Republic presented an excellent opportunity for anti-Nationalists to rally all those who voted NO in the referendum in a determined united front against the further growth of Nationalist domination.

Unfortunately, with the exception of the protests organised by the Congress of Democrats, university students and other organisations, the bulk of White South Africa did not grasp the opportunity, and the Republic was born with hardly a whisper from its previous White opponents.

It may be argued that the crisis created by the threatened stay-at-home was not conducive to extra-Parliamentary protests by Whites, but in fact, as the organisers of the Fagan meeting realised, the time was eminently suitable for the most widespread action by the opposition.

Disarmed

It must be admitted that the Nationalists displayed extraordinary adroitness in the period preceding May 31. With astonishingly brazen deception, Verwoerd and Louw, all injured innocence, turned South Africa's expulsion from the Commonwealth from the tremendous defeat it was into an emotional victory (as witnessed by the increased majorities in by-elections).

Playing on the fact that the world was bitterly opposed to South Africa, they called for unity within the laager, and disarmed Government critics with the argument that it was not the Government alone that was under fire, but White South Africa as a whole.

Bewildered by the threat of isolation in a hostile world, the U.P. dominated section of the opposition was forced to acknowledge that their own policies would have been no more acceptable to world opinion. Thus, floundering in the new situation and with no perspective for the future, the major sector of the opposition was paralysed into allowing the Republic to be born without protest.

Ample warning had been given to the country that the Republic would be a Nationalist Republic, intended to fulfil the aspiration of Afrikaner Nationalism. The Head of State was selected from the inner core of Nationalist leaders; emphasis was placed on the changes to be made in state procedures; education was

to serve a new 'national' purpose; and there was no sign of concessions to be made to the English speaking Whites, such as would make them at home in the Republic.

All this, together with the fact that neither the Coloured voters nor the Non-Whites as a whole were being consulted, indicated very clearly from the outset, that the Republic was conceived not in the spirit of democracy but rather in that reminiscent of Hitler's accession to the Chancellorship.

In retrospect, it is patently clear that the daily press and the Parliamentary opposition had been preparing the way for the acceptance of the Republic since their defeat in the Republican Referendum. They were led to do so by their fear of further antagonising Afrikaans voters, and by their concern at the increasing division among the White people.

Having given in on the Republican issue, it seems likely that the White opposition has surrendered the political initiative to the Nationalists for a long time to come, and it is doubtful whether a substantial section of the Europeans can now be rallied to fight the Nationalists outside of parliamentary politics.

By contrast, the initiative has been well and truly grasped by the Non-Whites.

Whereas stagnation has set in among White anti-Nationalists, the Non-White opposition movements are buzzing with activity.

The National Action Council has launched an all embracing attack on the Government with the demand for a National Convention with sovereign powers; the Coloured Convention movement has aroused the Coloured people in a most sensational way; the Indian people showed their high level of political consciousness by their unity and loyalty on May 29-31.

Feeble

All these signs of the maturing political consciousness in the liberation movement serve to emphasise the weakness of the White opposition. The collapse of the Natal Stand, and the feebleness of the protests at the monster of Christian National Education alone show that there is not enough determination and democratic conviction to stand up to Nationalist pressures.

Does this mean that the White Opposition can be written off? In my opinion it does not.

But at least for the immediate future it does seem that apart from the vital and admirable activity by liberal-democratic forces, the bulk of the White opposition has been stifled into sullen self-pitying silence.

This unhealthy state of affairs must be of concern to all anti-Nationalists, for if we fail to mobilise the White op-

position we thereby lose an ally in the struggle to remove the Nationalists from office. The liberation movement cannot afford to neglect such a large section of the people, and efforts should be made to find forms of expression for the dislike of Nationalist policies that is still to be found among a very large number of Europeans.

The problem is, what is feasible, and to what sort of call would they respond?

Non-Co-operation

Perhaps the answer lies in the non-co-operation campaign now being mooted in the liberation movement. Non-co-operation could be applied in many ways by Europeans. It could mean open dissociation from the practices of White Supremacy in their daily lives, it could include the refusal to co-operate with Government institutions at various levels, and it could involve a greater degree of support for the liberation movement.

The concept of non-co-operation is not a new one. It has been resorted to by many peoples when faced with an implacable and oppressive Government.

The basis for this idea is that no Government can rule without the consent of the governed, and that a Government which fails to maintain such support, must inevitably fall. In South Africa this concept has a special meaning for the Government requires at least the tacit support of the bulk of the White population on major matters, in order to maintain the system of the oppression of the Non-Whites.

Non-co-operation has many aspects, and it should not be confused with defiance.

In fact non-co-operation is resorted to by many people in their daily lives where, although it passes largely unnoticed, it nevertheless chalks up a mark against tyranny.

The thousands of parents who protested against the Republican ceremonies at their children's schools are a case in point. The insistence on the right to speak English to Government officials is another example of the daily stubborn resistance to Nationalist domination that goes unseen but is nevertheless of value. Even small acts of defiance of the conventions of the colour bar are useful, especially as they are not lost on the Non-Whites who appreciate every effort made to break down colour barriers. There are many other examples of White resistance to Nationalist coercion.

If we can spread the idea that every opponent of the Nationalist Government has an obligation to use every opportunity open to him to register his opposition to the policies which are dragging us all towards increasing strife, we shall thereby make the task of the Government so much more difficult.

B.T.

Revolt in a School

An account by a Pupil

On April 29 we received visitors from X Training Institution. Tea was served as soon as the visitors had arrived, and again after all the matches had been played.

Cakes which everybody had supposed were for the visitors, were baked by some students on the previous night.

On that very morning, shortly before the visitors arrived, the teacher, who was to be the adjudicator at music competitions which were held at a neighbouring village, took along with him all the cakes to sell them to the children there.

The mistress who was left in charge had no choice but to serve the tea with the bread that was kept in the storeroom for the students.

The visitors had their tea with the bread and after they had left, the students had their tea without their usual share of one slice in the morning and another in the evening.

Actual revolt began on May 1. The boys had taken the situation very hard, while the girls had taken it as one of the many such previous occasions.

When the bell rang for school, the girls all ran to assemble at the usual place for morning prayers, but no boy was to be seen. They were all in their hostel. The girls knew the reason why and were thus inspired. They started scattering about the school grounds.

The staff-members tried maintaining order, but failed. At lunch time all the students went to a nearby shop and bought bread. No other student ate the meals cooked at school, except for eight girls who had decided that they were not prepared to mix with the throng.

In the afternoon, three Europeans arrived. I do not know where they were from. If they were policemen, they were clad in private attire. All the boys were assembled. I was not there, I cannot definitely tell, but I understand thirteen boys were expelled and told to leave the school the following day. The three men left without having said anything to the girls, but having taken with them the names of the thirteen boys.

It was decided among all the girls that the eight girls were to be thoroughly beaten in the evening. All these girls were cornered, but four of them slipped away unseen. The remaining four were seriously wounded by broom-sticks, belts and fists that were landed on them by the mob of girls.

As I have said, the principal witnessed the scene but had nothing to say. With a few staff-members, he tried to call all the girls inside the hostel, but they refused, and instead

went to the boys' residence and told the prefects about what happened. The boys told us to keep cool and go back to our hostel. We went back. The principal left instantly by car, and we all thought that the only place he had decided to go to was the police-station.

The boys thus sent word that we should all leave the school premises, for two reasons, to try and keep away from the police, and to go to a secluded spot where we had to share views and decide on one thing. We left. It was at about 8.30 p.m. We trudged a distance of about three miles. There we sat and discussed the whole matter until about 12.30 a.m.

A petition where all the students' grievances were laid down was drafted, and it was also decided that if the thirteen boys had to leave we were all leaving.

I can't remember everything quite well, but the petition read something like this:—

1. That we had to get three slices of bread in the evening and two in the morning with jam.
2. That for lunch samp and beans instead of porridge and beans was to be served, with fat in it.
3. That we should vary our beverages; instead of tea alone, coffee and cocoa should also be served on some days.
4. That corporal punishment should be abolished.
5. That no expulsion should be carried out during the course of the year.
6. That with all the above mentioned demands the school-fees should not be raised higher.

We arrived at school in the early hours of the morning, to find the school surrounded by men armed with knob-kerries and a police lorry. We entered and went to our dormitories and slept. About fifteen minutes later, there was a knock on one of the doors. A certain teacher had been sent to tell all the girls to wake up because there was a sergeant who wanted to speak to the boys but they said they would not utter a word before the girls come. There was no response at first. It was not until we heard the voices of the boys outside, that we woke up.

We all assembled outside the girls' hostel. The principal was there, a police sergeant was there, the chief and his men were all present.

The petition was handed to the principal, who in turn interpreted it in Afrikaans to the police sergeant. He assured us that the Inspector and the board members would arrive the following day to discuss the state of affairs.

We woke up at about 7 a.m., X had already told us where to find the four

culprits who had slipped away unseen. They were hiding at a certain house nearby. The principal had taken them there.

We surrounded the house, and asked the woman there to tell those girls to get out; she would not. The husband went to tell the principal, and the principal sent three teachers to escort the girls up to the school. It would seem they were afraid too, for they just barred the door and never moved. Rain was falling hard at the time, and we were drenched to the skin.

Seeing that there was no progress in our fight, we sent for the boys. When they arrived, they just stormed inside. The owner of the house had no alternative but to let the girls out. He only asked us to stand outside the fence. The teachers came out with the girls, but as soon as they were outside the gate the poor girls were dragged from the teachers, and a few minutes later, no one could make them out, for their faces were covered with blood.

The principal had already gone for garrisons of policemen behind whose lorries came a huge railway bus. They had nothing to tell us but just ordered us to pack our trunks and leave.

We had to enter our hostels in fives. The whole mob of students was outside the fence. Nobody could pack his or her trunk properly when there was a policeman telling or rather commanding you to make haste and get out so that another five should get in. As a result our trunks were thrown over the fence, and we packed them properly there.

We refused to get into the railway bus for we thought it unsafe. So transportation was to be our own affair.

We thought it wise to take our trunks and keep them temporarily at the village.

We had to divide now, for there were those who were going North, and were compelled to board their train from X, and those who were coming South. We footed the way, a distance of fourteen miles or so, until we got our train from X the following morning.

Nokwe (Cont. from page 7)

representative of a Chief is absolutely no qualification for administering the Law.

The Africans on the other hand, demand instead a National Convention for a new Constitution which will ensure democratic rights for all the people of South Africa, both in local affairs and on national issues.

To introduce instead, at this stage, a Bill which makes a mockery of their demand will only anger them deeply, and fortify them in their resolve to overthrow the whole vast machinery of discrimination.

"Pass the Bottle"

by MARY TUROK

Pass the bottle! Prohibition is to end at last — no more need to slink into a back alley for a drink, nor to pay black-market prices for it.

But don't imagine that it's legal as soon as the Liquor Bill becomes law — the Minister of Justice is expected to choose a date in October, just to make sure the General Election doesn't go the wrong way because of it.

What lies behind this "gesture of goodwill" by a Government notorious for its contempt for the feelings of the African people? Why this sudden concern for the "grievances" of the Non-Whites, after twelve years of stubbornly refusing to admit that any grievances exist?

In a rare mood of concern and fatherly understanding Minister Erasmus told Parliament that he was eradicating the root of racial tension, that he was saving 300,000 people from gaol each year and lifting a burden from the shoulders of the police and courts who found the law impossible to implement. These noble sentiments have a hollow ring when they are uttered by the Minister of a Government insensible to the greater sufferings caused by the pass laws which are equally impossible to implement.

The Liquor Lobby

The ulterior motive isn't hard to find. Pressure for a relaxation of the liquor laws has been building up for several years, the pace being set by the wine farmers and liquor producers.

"Spearheading the agitation is the rich and influential 'Ko-operatiewe Wijnbouers Vereeniging', the wine farmers' co-operative, which has an almost total monopoly of the production and export of wine and spirits produced in this country." (Brian Bunting, *Africa South*, July 1958).

While wine and spirits production has been increasing steadily in recent years, markets have failed to expand sufficiently to absorb the increase and, although the farmers aren't starving, their position has been growing somewhat precarious.

The unpopularity of South African products overseas brought matters to a head. The wine farmers must have presented the Government with a pretty stiff ultimatum, for it felt obliged to go even further in the Liquor Bill than the Malan Commission had recommended.

This Government Liquor Commission recommended the sale of natural wines and "European-type" beer to Africans in beerhalls. The Liquor Bill provides for the sale of all types of liquor to Africans by any licenced seller — both off sales and on-consumption. It does, however, introduce severe penalties for illicit brewing, no doubt in an attempt to wipe out potential competitors.

'Ideals' Overboard

A gimmick has been found by the Nationalists to bolster at least one section of the sagging economy — the fact that long-cherished "ideals" have had to be tossed overboard is unfortunate.

A frenzied last-minute appeal by the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk to stay the bill in the interests of the white man's "safety and civilisation" was ignored. Not even conscientious objectors within the Nationalist caucus were permitted to oppose the measure.

The whip was cracked so effectively that even the idealists indulged in some hasty re-thinking. An appeal to all Christians "to pray that God will endow our legislators with wisdom and understanding as they discuss these far-reaching proposals" was made by Dr. William Nicol, ex-Transvaal Administrator and one time Moderator of the N.G.K., and that was the last that was heard of any protest from those quarters.

Backing the demands of their fellow-farmers in the South, Transvaal farmers have long been demanding permission to institute the tot-system on their farms, and some have already done so in spite of the law. They claim that the Cape farmers have a more stable labour-force, no doubt because their labourers, if at times unruly, become so addicted to drink that they cannot do without it and thus are willing to stay on at a farm regardless of other conditions.

The first draft of the Liquor Bill contained a clause allowing all farmers the unrestricted right to supply labourers over 18 years with natural wine. (It had previously been limited to one and a half pints a day for workers over 21.) But the Minister evidently took fright at the outburst the clause evoked and withdrew it. However, as the Bill now stands, there is nothing to stop any farmer applying for a permit to supply liquor to his labourers and thus getting what he wanted through a back door.

Tots in lieu of decent wages is an old South African abuse, now sure to spread.

Africans who hope to find new business openings in the field of liquor sales are likely to be disappointed. In the first place each person granted a licence by the Minister, or an authority delegated by him, will have to pay a fee of up to R400 to the Consolidated Revenue Fund, and once he has set up business he faces the prospect of making no profit, for the Minister reserves for himself to decide how profits derived from the sale of liquor to Africans shall be dealt with. Africans will not get liquor licences easily, and there will be extremely strict control.

Make no mistake, even in this Bill there are still restrictions that can land a man in gaol for three months or more.

It is an offence for an African to consume his liquor in a public place or on any premises where he does not have the permission of the owner.

Theoretically it is still an offence for an unlicenced person to serve drinks to an African, even in a private home. But how a court will be able to prove whether the African concerned was drinking his own or his host's liquor is an interesting poser.

Sting in the Tail

Scorpion-like, the Government has reserved the real sting for the tail of the Bill. All penalties for offences under the Liquor Act have been stepped up steeply. A fine of R50 now becomes R100 or three months (no alternative gaol sentences appeared in the old Liquor Act); a fine of R200 now becomes R400 or twelve months.

Home-brewing, a long established institution among the African people in town and country, comes under the heaviest fire. In the past the consumption or possession of any so-called "concoction" was liable to a fine of up to R200.

Now, any person found guilty or possessing, drinking or supplying any drink made from the fermentation of treacle or sugar, other than "kaffir-beer", is liable, on first conviction, to a fine of up to R1,000 or imprisonment for up to five years, or both. On a second conviction he must be sentenced to a minimum of 6 months imprisonment and not more than five years plus a fine of R1,000, or to imprisonment only.

These extraordinarily severe sentences apply even to the purchase or possession of yeast or malt by Africans.

Home-brewing is put on a par with dagga-running and illicit diamond buying — in spite of the fact that it is so widely practiced and accepted. It will not cease simply with the introduction of the new liquor law — white man's liquor will still be out of the reach of the lowest paid Africans who will continue to create a demand for the cheaper drinks like isityimiyana, hopana, uhalil or skokiaan.

And as long as there are women who are forced by economic hardship to find a "side-line", the shebeen traffic will continue, regardless of the "deterrents". Innocents will become criminals — frustration and bitterness will continue. The new Liquor law solves nothing.

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Africa's Trade Unions Join Hands

The All-African Federation of Trade Unions was formed at the First All-African Trade Union Congress held in Casablanca from the 5th to 31st May, 1961.

The Congress was attended by 45 trade union centres from 38 African countries. Among the delegates were two representatives of the South African Congress of Trade Unions. An attempt was made by Mr. Nana Mahomo, a leader of the banned P.A.C. and now a member of the South African United Front overseas, to gain admission to the Congress as a delegate of the Federation of Free African Trade Unions of South Africa (FOFATUSA). However, the Congress refused to seat him as a delegate and he later joined the delegation of the Rhodesian TUC as an observer.

The Congress was the result of two years of intensive work following the call for trade union unity in Africa made by the All-Africa People's Conference at Accra in December, 1959.

The Congress did not adopt a constitution for the new body but accepted a Charter which sets out the basic aims of the organisation.

The Charter declares:

"The workers of Africa, workmen and peasants, are engaged in an implacable struggle against COLONIALISM, NEO-COLONIALISM, IMPERIALISM, FEUDALISM and REACTION.

They are fighting alongside all workers of the world in their common struggle against all forms of human exploitation."

The Charter emphasises that the conditions of this struggle in Africa are special. New conceptions and methods of work have to be found by the workers of Africa.

The Charter points out the role of African trade unions in the building of the new Africa by saying:

"... Their role is first of all political: no worker is in a position to consider liberty as of no account . . .

"The trade unions do not have to submit to the dictatorship or political guardianship of any party: they will take, on the contrary, a chosen place which will confer upon them rights and assign to them duties . . .

"... The role of African trade unionism is next economic . . . taken with a view to freeing Africa from exploitation . . ."

The main emphasis of the Charter, is on the need for the trade unions of Africa to be independent.

This independence, it declares, entails notably:

"The non-interference of foreign organisations in the orientation, management, and trade union action in Africa. African trade unionism must be the authentic expression of Africa and not an African version of the optics of a foreign trade union."

Few could quarrel with these provisions. But the sponsors of the Congress — Guinea, Ghana, Mali and Morocco — insisted that in order to be independent the national trade union organisations at the Congress could not be affiliated to the new Federation unless they ceased to be affiliated to international trade union organisations.

As a temporary measure national trade union organisations belonging to central international trade union bodies were given ten months in which to disaffiliate from those bodies, principally the ICFTU.

It was on this question of disaffiliation that there was a deep-seated spilt at the Congress, eventually resulting in the delegations of 12 countries walking out of the Congress on the last day. These were the representatives of trade union centres of Kenya, Uganda, Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, Tunisia, Somalia, Congo (Leopoldville), Cameroun, Madagascar and Mauritius, all of which are affiliated to the ICFTU.

Amidst shouts of approval the Zanzibar and Pemba Federation of Labour on the other hand, declared its immediate disaffiliation from the ICFTU.

The other ICFTU affiliates are doing their utmost to discredit the Casablanca Congress.

Tom Mboya of the Kenya Federation of Labour stated after the Congress that the composition of the steering committee of the Congress was such that non-sponsors were not given the opportunity to direct the conduct of the Congress. He alleged that the chairman, Mahjoub ben Seddik, of the Moroccan trade unions, had conducted the meetings partially and that the conference hall was packed with members of the public who jeered and heckled some delegations. In this atmosphere, he claimed, no decisions could be reached.

The Trade Union Congress of Nigeria (a splinter body) went even further than Mr. Mboya. It claimed that the Casablanca Congress was a complete failure and that the decisions reached represented the opinion of 3 countries only—Ghana, Guinea and the United Arab Republic. It alleged that the recognised trade union centres of Gambia, Sierra Leone, Cameroun, Uganda, Liberia and Congo (Leopoldville) were not invited because of their differences with the sponsors. When they nonetheless sent representatives to Casablanca they were refused the status of delegates.

The TUC of Nigeria endorsed Mboya's statement that African trade union centres were not obliged to accept the decisions of the Congress.

The General Secretary of the ICFTU, Omar Becu, made other allegations about the Congress. He said that the organisers of the Congress seated 5 delegates from each of their own organisations while giving to others the right to

only 2. He claimed that instead of creating an independent AATUF the organisers of the Congress had deliberately created a division by injecting the extraneous issue of international affiliation.

Despite these protestations by the ICFTU the vast majority of delegates unanimously adopted the Charter of the new Federation amidst tremendous applause.

Mahjoub ben Seddik of Morocco was elected President, John Tettegah of Ghana was elected General Secretary and the Secretariat consists of trade unionists from Guinea, Morocco, Algeria, Mali, the United Arab Republic and Kenya (Tom Mboya). The headquarters is to be at Casablanca.

The split which came to the surface at the Congress has helped to expose the manoeuvres of the ICFTU, which at every stage has endeavoured to prevent All-African trade union unity. Colonial authorities throughout Africa encouraged the ICFTU in the hope that this largely U.S.-dominated body would be able to "tame" the strong political and economic demands of the African unions.

Just before the AATUF preparatory conference in 1959 the ICFTU convened an African Regional Conference in Lagos.

In November, 1960, prior to the meeting of the AATUF preparatory committee in Accra the ICFTU quickly convened another regional conference, this time at Tunis.

Last year the ICFTU pumped 432,000 dollars into Africa.

Now the ICFTU and its African affiliates have allowed the question of international affiliation to become a major bone of contention. Instead of accepting the views of the majority they walked out of the Congress. Actions such as this only play into the hands of the enemies of African unity.

It is clear from Tom Mboya's speech to the Congress and his statement afterwards that he is prepared to concede the need for a loose federation of African unions with the strongest possible local autonomy and the continued affiliation of national centres to other internationals, in particular the ICFTU.

However, the majority of trade unions in Africa have had enough of the intrigues and corruption of the ICFTU.

Diallo Seydou, General Secretary of the Guinean trade unions, made this clear when he said that African trade union unity had no hope of success if the aims to be reached were not clearly defined. He told the Congress

"... Unity at any cost, without a purpose, without principles, would not stand up to any attack by our class enemies. This must be understood if the Pan-African movement is to succeed."

— R. HAMBLE.

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-powering 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 BOAC 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 Luytens. 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 chapaties 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 1959 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 Amritsah. 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 poisoned 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 salve 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 conveni-

ent 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 Amritsah: First, they took us to the Golden Temple of Amritsah, 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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