

FIGGETING

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OCTOBER, 1962

TALK

The Two Faces of the Nationalist Government

THE INDIAN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

**ZEKE
MPHAHLELE
ON
GHANA**

**Famine
and the
Food
Surplus**

**Joshua Nkomo
of Southern
Rhodesia**



The Terrible Paradox

by MARIE REYNOLDS

Needless hunger
in the midst of
plenty . . . Food
that rots and
children that
die . . . South
Africa's challenge

Man's battle against hunger was never-ceasing. For hundreds of thousands of years his existence was precarious. Only in recent times has he mastered both the technical production and the scientific understanding of food. He knows how to increase production by plant and animal selection, water management, soil fertilisation, mechanisation; and to preserve food through canning and refrigeration. He knows how to cure food deficiency disease — scurvy, with fresh fruit and vegetables, goitre with iodine, rickets with vitamins, kwashiorkor with protein foods.

Yet despite all this, the majority of people of this world are still hungry. Asia, Latin America and Africa suffer the hidden hunger of malnutrition that brings disease and saps initiative. Not only do children die, but millions are listless, deformed, diseased, blind, because they do not eat well enough.

But South Africa's problem is unique: the problem of hunger — even famine — amidst the stored or rotting piles of *too much food*.

unsatisfactory market." Huge, hidden dumps of oranges and other citrus fruit were discovered in the Eastern Transvaal — a great sea of oranges taken and left to rot in remote hills. Tons of pineapples have been destroyed due to "slack markets."

STICK-LIKE LEGS

If you have seen a small child with reddish hair, with round, distended belly above stick-like legs, a child with unsmiling face and hard, piercing gaze, you have looked at kwashiorkor.

Kwashiorkor is Africa's 'protein-deficiency' disease. It occurs wherever children exist mainly on a diet of grain: among the children of South America who eat only 'beans and tortillas' (maize pancakes); of Asia, who eat only rice; of Africa, who eat only cassava or maize. It is simply cured by the addition of skimmed milk or other protein-foods to the diet.

Only one industrially-advanced country in the world has a high rate of kwashiorkor — South Africa. Once the baby is weaned and put on mealie-pap, the trouble begins. But that is not all.

Today, in the drought-ridden Northern Transvaal, even maize cannot be obtained. It is not simply 'malnutrition'. It is famine.

● The maize surplus is causing an agricultural crisis. 23 million bags must be exported at a loss, although the Government still pays enormous subsidies to maize-farmers.

Yet the babies die of hunger. Fresh milk is unobtainable in the Reserves, butter almost unknown, powdered milk too expensive for the people to buy. Cheese, pineapples, oranges—these protein- and vitamin-rich foods, the spindly-legged children have never seen.

The children die. In the rich, beautiful holiday-town of Durban with its curving beaches rimmed by great luxury hotels, babies die faster than anywhere else in the world. The infant mortality rate is 246 per thousand live births. Can it be higher in the famine-stricken Reserves? It is estimated that 90 per cent of infant deaths in the Reserves are never reported, but that 3 out of 10 children die, mostly because they are underfed.

White South Africa, on the other hand, enjoys one of the lowest infant mortality rates, a favourable 27.7 per thousand (in England it is 22.2, in Ghana 90.4, in India, 185).

Doctors at a Johannesburg municipal clinic for Non-Whites estimate that at least 80 per cent of African children are malnourished. This is not the Congo, not Nigeria, not barbaric Angola; this is in the richest, most industrially advanced city of the richest country in Africa.

One doctor put it this way:

"With the exception of those who are breast-fed, one hardly sees a child who does not show some signs of malnutrition.

"The worst cases occur between the ages of one or two, when the baby has been taken off the breast and put straight on to a staple diet of mealie-meal and water."

There are usually two or three cases of gross malnutrition at the clinic. During the last six months of drought in the Northern Transvaal, the average has

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HACKED TO PULP

And while the people starve . . .

● There is a butter surplus of 24 million pounds; no market can be found for it, although a small proportion is being sold overseas at a loss of 15 cents a pound.

● There is a cheese surplus of nine million pounds. Unsold millions of butter and cheese are kept in cold storage at a cost of thousands of rands.

● There is a milk surplus. An officially unconfirmed report stated that thousands of gallons were poured into the sea at Cape Town.

● 18,000 beef and 80,000 sheep carcasses clutter the Meat Board's cold storage rooms, while South Africa seeks markets for surplus meat.

● The fruit surplus is even more acute. Thousands of tons of top-quality bananas were hacked to pulp on the instructions of the Banana Control Board, so as not to worsen an "already

'Malnutrition permanently plagues the majority of the people of our land'

risen to 15. Most of these have been sent to town from the Reserves or farms, where they have been looked after by their grandmothers. But there are plenty in the townships, too.

TOO WEAK TO WALK

These are the children who are so weak they cannot walk. They are mentally apathetic and show no interest in their surroundings. Sometimes the only sign of life about them is a consistent irritable cry. Some are thin and shrunk-en; others have grossly swollen bodies. Their hair is changing colour and falling out. Their skin is covered with sores; a doctor said that sometimes it looked as though boiling water had been poured all over them.

Not all the underfed children die. Malnutrition not only causes kwashiorkor and infantile diarrhoea; it also gives a baby decreased resistance to tuberculosis and other diseases. Ten years ago SANTA said they would wipe out TB in 10 years. But last year there were 58,491 notified cases, and an estimate of as many not reported.

Clinic Cases

This is an average distribution of new cases at a Johannesburg clinic on one morning last month:

NORMAL MALNUTRITION: 16. 15 of these were breast-fed, either fully or partially, and under the age of one year. The other well-nourished child, three years old, was the son of a teacher.

MILD MALNUTRITION: 15. Most of these were between one and three years old. Many lived almost entirely on porridge, with small quantities of milk, meat, fruit and vegetables. One meat and vegetable meal on Sundays, with porridge and a little milk, fruit and vegetables the rest of the week, is a common diet for township children.

GROSS MALNUTRITION: 4. Two of these, aged one year and two years, were sent to Johannesburg critically ill from the Northern Transvaal. Both had lived only on porridge. One of the other, aged two months, had been fed on powdered milk, incorrectly diluted. The other was a 19-month-old baby from a Johannesburg township who was living only on porridge.

"Worst of all," writes Jessie Hertslet, "the rows of scores — literally scores — of children with tubercular spines on the verandah of a hospital, all, so I am informed on unquestionable authority, infected originally through contact with a mine-worker who returned with dust-laden lungs." (Poverty and malnutrition make them more likely to get it.)

She also writes of one of the most distressing after-effects of malnutrition: contraction of the pelvis, because the bones in a malnourished toddler cannot endure the weight of the torso. This means that grown women fail to give birth without the utmost agony, and, too often, the death of the babe. So the present wide-spread incidence of kwashiorkor means untold suffering and heartache 20 years hence.

Perhaps the most horrifying effect of malnutrition is its stunting of brain development.

The human brain trebles in size during the first year of life, and five thousand million nerve cells are produced, according to Professor P. V. Tobias, head of the department of Anatomy at the Witwatersrand University. Malnutrition during this critical period can therefore cause considerable mental damage. It is not yet known whether this damage can ever be remedied. Observers from a rural clinic watched children who had suffered from kwashiorkor and were now cured. They found them slower, more passive and quiet than the other children, listless and uninterested in play. So hundreds of thousands of children are growing up with their potential blunted before they even get started. Do the sociologists take kwashiorkor into consideration when studying abilities of various groups?

OFFICIAL SEAL

"But there's no famine," states the Government, and throws a seal around the drought-stricken countryside. Travellers can only see the dusty, shrivelled countryside from the main roads. Reporters are turned back.

In January of this year, R30,000 was given by the Government to aid the drought-hit (white) cattle farmers . . . in April the farmers asked the Government to make it possible for them to buy surplus mealies as cattle fodder at the low export price. No cattlefodder for the Africans who struggled on emaciated limbs to a local hospital, itself desperately short of food. As late as June this year the Government denied there was famine amongst the Africans of the Northern Transvaal. In July, an official called the suffering of the people in the drought "their own fault."

They Scratch For Food

The dire poverty among Non-Whites in Grahamstown has been spotlighted by an open petition signed by 26 leading citizens during the city's centenary celebrations.

The petition revealed that there are Non-White mothers and children who search the city's rubbish dumps every day for scraps of discarded food. It also reminded Grahamstown that many of the city's inhabitants have less than five cents a day on which to live, that there are people living on less than 2 cents a day. The poverty in the town has been revealed by sociological surveys conducted there in recent years.

When Kupugani, a non-profit-making company was formed among businessmen "to combat malnutrition by distributing agricultural products wherever there are needed in South Africa," they were resented by the Government who denied the need for it.

Now at last temporary and limited Government aid is being given, so niggardly compared with the millions poured into the pockets of the maize farmers and Control Boards all through the years, as to be little more than tacit recognition of the need for aid. The main solution is to encourage men from the Reserves to sign up for mines or farms, thereby aggravating the terrible conditions in the Reserves by draining them of their last able-bodied men.

The terrible paradox is obvious to all. The big farmers (more heavily represented in Parliament than any other single group) got themselves Control Boards to keep up prices of their produce. The Boards became permanent institutions regulating prices so that even when there are great surpluses, prices stay too high for more than three-quarters of the people in this country. Low wages, high prices . . . if the people earned more, they could buy more.

Perhaps the drought will pass, the word 'famine' will disappear from the press. But more than hunger and famine, malnutrition permanently plagues the majority of people of our land. Aid must be given. But more than aid, a living wage, and the fair distribution and justice that will only come when the people themselves are masters.

Needless hunger in the midst of plenty. Food that rots and children that die. This is the challenge to all South Africans. Have we not the ability to meet it?

MORE FRONTS THAN ONE

Dr. Banda's criticism of South African political leaders abroad as run-away politicians, spinelessly trying to fight Verwoerd from far-off world capitals, sounds curious, coming from a man who himself lived in voluntary exile, not even as a politician, but as a prospering family doctor, for close on thirty years. It is an ungenerous attitude to the freedom struggle that, now that Algeria is over the worst, faces the most bitter battles in all Africa. South Africa's isolation from independent, friendly states is one of its main difficulties; the Banda approach hardly squares with the spirit of all-African solidarity.

Granted that the main effort for freedom must come from South Africans at home, who but the freedom organisations here should decide how many of its political leaders should work abroad, at their command, to enlist aid and allies against a government that is not only oppressive in South Africa, but a threat to free, independent African government in all states from the Congo and Nyasaland southwards? As long as the men who pass through Nyasaland are not self-styled leaders or self-made exiles, there should be no complaint about their number. They are abroad in the service of the freedom struggle here and the busier they are, the more hopeful the signs that the unity of all Africa for freedom is not only talk but energetic, united action.

If Dr. Banda is worried about people leaving their home country he — and we — should give some thought to the desperate plight of the thousands of Nyasas living a life of hell in South Africa as 'foreign natives', beaten in the jails and on the potato farms, harried like rabbits under the pass laws. These are citizens of Malawi forced to work in exile who should not be abandoned to apartheid. The freedom movements of Malawi and South Africa have here a common battlefront, and perhaps next time Tambo, Makiwané, Resha or Piliso pass through Limbe or Blantyre, they might put their heads together with Dr. Banda on this problem.

● Prime Minister Kawawa of Tanganyika has the right idea. Asked at a Press Conference if he was prepared to offer political asylum to members of Southern Rhodesia's just-banned ZAPU he said: "We do not call them political refugees. We call them freedom fighters."

CHARITY HELD TO RANSOM

South African farmers (White) are only slightly less pampered than

those in the United States (where to prevent surpluses they can be paid a subsidy for NOT planting). The Control Boards were set up to guarantee not rational distribution of food to the hungry, but high prices and profits for the farmers. Now the Boards have come full circle. They have kept prices so high that people can't afford to buy the farmers' produce and the surplus stocks lie in warehouses.

The Nationalist, largely farmers' government, can't bring itself to overhaul the strangling control mechanism; and individual businessmen have been provoked to try to unravel, or cut through the red tape, and doctors and public-spirited citizens geared to marshal quick aid to children whose survival is at stake in this drought and famine, when South Africa's endemic malnutrition has flared into starvation in the wretched reserves.

At the outset the committees rushing food to the stricken areas developed a strong inhibition about publicity of the conditions they find there. They were told explicitly that the government would object to overseas money coming in to back the scheme; and would be on the look-out 'for the intrusion of politics.'

Stating the facts, plain and simple is construed as politics by the Nationalists. For they know full well that these Control Boards are responsible for the mess. The country's land policy is the basis for stark, rural poverty, and the Bantu Commissioners could long ago have anticipated, and recommended relief for the looming tragedy. Those who act to bring famine relief are not introducing politics.

It is Nationalist White supremacy rule that has brought on famine and stunted the growth of the children. If anyone is looking for politics, look here!

THE YELLOW LIGHT OF CAUTION

The Institute of Race Relations rattled Dr. Verwoerd badly (what a puny government this is) but then panicked itself into a shameful retreat.

From the sledgehammer attack of the Nationalists on the 'human relations' conference you would have thought revolutions, not resolutions, were in the offing.

From the start of this conference planning the Institute was ruffled by the Prime Minister breathing down the back of its neck. Take the list of world authorities invited. Of the 16 overseas speakers, four only were not Whites. They included Profes-

sor K. A. Busia, a Ghanaian professor living in exile at The Hague where, financed by anti-Nkrumah forces abroad, he is the centre of a group trying to bring down the Ghana Government; Miss Santha Rama Rau, daughter of a former Indian High Commissioner in South Africa who was herself educated in the United States and lives and writes from abroad from her native land; Miss Noni Jabavu South Africa's own elegant but transplanted-to-London-salons writer in glossy snob magazines. Only Alioune Diop, the director of the *Présence Africaine* group in Paris has close touch with African thinking and aspirations.

The company looked too withdrawn from the turmoil of race relations to be really expert, too well-mannered to commit itself, too unrepresentative to be important. But a professor of art history, the dean of a law faculty, a company of scholars, writers, academics all, scared the Nationalists stiff.

As for South African participation, patrons and committee men seemed to have been selected for their conservatism, and barely anyone (except perhaps Professor Matthews) was included whose views lie two inches to left of centre. The patrons were dominated by mining magnates. B. L. Bernstein and Harry Oppenheimer ("colonialism brought stable, efficient, incorruptible government to Africa"—the Davie Memorial lecture); H. J. van Eck, Nationalist Government appointee on the South West African Commission; press lords and Foundation prominents like Clive Corder and G. H. R. Edmunds; Leif Egeland and Adrian Berrill.

The blah about the conference aims was meaningless: "To help the world outside to understand more fully the diversity of South Africa's creativeness and originality."

But at the first hint of an obstacle the Institute hacked down. The Conference, as timid as it was, is off. Visa difficulty, said the organisers. But some of the overseas visitors do not need visas. Others could have had their papers read for them. South Africans, scores of them, would have carried the conference through if asked. A variety of plans could have ensured that the Conference went on.

Have even conferences that don't say the things the Nationalists would say about themselves become un-South African? One can't escape the feeling that the patrons would rather do nothing than earn official disapproval. And if you withdraw from even an argument when your adversary simply moves his lips, you can never expect to win.

Two Faces of the Nationalist Government

The Nationalist government is a creature with two faces — a public face and a private face. The public face is presented to the world constantly and repetitively in a flood of pictures from the party office, the State Information Service and the daily press. It is the face of Dr. Verwoerd looking tolerant, fatherly and benevolent, and as inevitably smiling as the models in the Macleans tooth-paste ads.

The private face is less photogenic. It is the face of the party when its guard is down and it is no longer primping and prettying itself for the public, but is getting down to the grim business of its life — which is to hang on to power and office. This is the real face, the unposed and un-retouched face. It is the face revealed by the annual Party conferences, after the leader has made his 'keynote' speech from the platform, and the photographers and radio-recorders have packed up their apparatus and gone.

Tooth and Claw

The glaring contradiction between these two faces reveals itself most clearly when the one follows immediately behind the other. As it did at the recent Transvaal Congress of the Nationalist Party in Pretoria. Dr. Verwoerd in his opening address said that the most important requirement of apartheid was that it should be the basis for good human relations. No sooner had he stepped down from the rostrum the delegates got down to the tooth-claw reality of apartheid's 'human relations'. The Risik Divisional Council and four branches called for deliberate action to "remove foreign bantus." The same council with the support of nine branches called on the government ". . . to place a prohibition on the housing of non-whites in white areas in towns." The Kruithoring Branch followed on the agenda paper with a demand for regulations which ". . . will prevent any Bantu being housed on a permanent basis" in any areas developed as part of the Orange River Development scheme. The Palmietfontein branch called for increased police protection for farmers whose properties border on 'bantu locations' in order to guard against "rapidly increasing theft of stock and farm produce," including "nightly police patrols round the locations and the building of strong fences around locations," and went on to demand that ". . . such bantu locations be completely isolated from our main roads, and that special roads be developed for the exclusive use of inhabitants of these locations to and from their work."

In these resolutions repeated in character if not in precise wording at all the recent Nationalist Party provincial congresses, is to be seen the private face of the party. It receives little publicity in the press, and even less in the Nationalists' own publications.

Here — as at the party Congresses — the Verwoerd leadership maintains a stranglehold. The views of the rank and file, though they figure on the order paper, do not break through either to the platform addresses or to the Verwoerd-controlled press; they do not either — if it can be avoided — figure

in the debates of the Congresses themselves.

How this is managed is best seen in the way of stage management of the Transvaal Congress. The agenda paper is divided into subject heads. Under the heading 'Bantu Affairs' appear all the resolutions quoted above, together with the hardy annual 'We thank the government for its courageous, (or bold or determined) policy in regard to . . . ' which figures at the head of every section of every Congress agenda. Not one of the Bantu Affairs resolutions was discussed or placed before the Congress. Instead, Congress was faced with a new resolution, sponsored by the leadership — a resolution which did not appear on the agenda paper; it called for a special tax to be levied on householders who have more than one servant.

Every officially sponsored Nationalist policy these days has three main requirements — that it safeguards the interests of the farmers; that it serves the interests of the white population and white supremacy generally; that it can be portrayed abroad as an act of philanthropy in the interests of the Africans.

The delegate from Vereeniging, moving the resolution, underlined all three; the resolution did not refer to agricultural or industrial labourers in any way; it would stiffen the backbone of the whites since 'too many servants are bad for the morale'; it would provide a fund of money for Bantu welfare and 'the remaining domestic servants would have higher earnings.' (On this last it is impossible to comment. It is clearly a thought fit for inclusion at the Mad Hatter's Tea Party.)

In essence the resolution coincides with the image of apartheid which Dr. Verwoerd and his cabinet have been trying to sell. And yet it requires little sacrifice from the white population as a whole, and none at all from the farming and business-man delegates who make up the bulk of the Congress. If any resolution along the lines of the platform image of apartheid should have succeeded, this one should. But it did not. It came in for strong attack. Delegates, clearly, were not prepared to sacrifice anything; their kind of 'human relations' are master-and-servant

relations, and they intend to keep them just that way. The resolution — a kite flown by the leadership to test the opinions of the rank-and-file — was referred back. During the course of its discussion, neither Dr. Verwoerd, the prophet of the 'new-image apartheid', nor Mr. De Wet Nel, its chief administrator, intervened in the debate, which took place cunningly under the heading 'Financial Matters' and thus left Dr. Donges to face the music.

The information sought by the leadership had been obtained; the delegates would not support any radical policy on Bantu Affairs which required sacrifice of any sort from whites, or which offered a real advance of any sort at any time for non-whites. Accordingly, Bantu Affairs resolutions were carefully stage-managed out of the way; they were not discussed; they were merely passed on to the executive for further consideration. Thus far at least the Verwoerd image had been maintained for consumption abroad, without in any way converting the party membership to support or believe in it.

A Second Religion

There were moments when, despite the careful stage management, the private face of the party showed itself. As, for example, in the debate on the Group Areas Act. The Morgenson delegate said 'he got a hollow feeling when talking about the Indians. Indians had no love for the whites, and he had no love for the Indians'. The Alberton delegate asked congress to ". . . have no consideration for coolies. In South Africa they lived better than Nehru and traded with the poor whites. That was the real evil." Mr. Du Plessis of Brits said it should be ". . . 'a second religion not to trade with coolies.' The Ermelo delegate said the time had come to 'take the Indians by the neck' and evict them from their shops and homes in white areas. A woman delegate called for an Afrikaner boycott of Indian shops.

Against this flood of open racial barbarism and hate, Mr. Botha, Minister in charge of Group Areas could muster only the stock phrases of the Verwoerd propagandists — "We are a Christian nation. We must act in accordance with principle. Group Areas . . . must develop to full communities which will provide every race with a full community life and all the comforts and industries of existing communities . . ." But here again the phrases were not enough for the delegates in full cry against the hated Indians. So Mr. Botha had to turn from the fine public phrases to the private reality: "Group Areas will, as far as possible, not be used to deprive the present generation of Indian traders

(Continued on page 14)

READING BETWEEN THE LINES

Why was the banning of the Congress of Democrats virtually ignored by the English Press? Why did not English newspapers challenge the Government's new right to suppress one of its most outspoken critical political opponents?

Most of the led by Mr. Vorster's banning of open air meetings on Johannesburg's City Hall steps, announced at the same time as the ban on the Congress of Democrats.

This is not the critical English Press of two years ago — or even a year ago. Why the change?

The short answer is that it is becoming scared — afraid of suppression by the Government.

But this is only half the story. The main reason is that it fighting powers have been steadily eroded by the B.A. Foundation.

This so-called "non-political" body was ostensibly formed to counteract the overseas economic boycott in 1963.

One of the Trustees, ex-Ambassador H. Andrews claims that its aim is to reply to "the arbitrary, sheer economic and distortion spread by blocs hostile to our country."

Mr. Andrews snuffed, however, to mention that this is merely the camouflage for the Foundation's real work: to conscript the English Press into working for unity behind Dr. Verwoerd's foreign and internal policies.

And whatever the Foundation may say, this is the effect of its standpoint. For its overriding aim — to promote an image of a "harmonious" South Africa, can only succeed if the English Press co-operates.

Over cocktail glasses at the Rand Club or on the golf course, Foundation leaders have told newspaper owners that they should follow a "more patriotic" line.

A few subtle hints about big advertising contracts in the offing . . . and the point is driven home.

Naturally the Foundation's work has been made much easier by the fact that the owners of South Africa's big English Press monopolies—the Argus Group and B.A. Associated newspapers — are on its executive.

It plucked its first fruits when the English Press proprietors — in the teeth of strong opposition from their journalistic employees — accepted a disciplinary board of control earlier this year.

This board could be said to represent a gentlemen's agreement between Opposition Press owners and Dr. Verwoerd.

In terms of the bargain, the former agreed to be "more pro-South African"; if Dr. Verwoerd abandoned his plans for outright censorship.

Dr. Verwoerd has done so — temporarily.

But the Code has only been in force for a few months, and the Nationalist's "truth" about South Africa is

are now asking for more stringent measures against the opposition press.

It's the old, old story — that appointment begets demands for more appointment.

A hint of new controls was given in the Transvaal recently when it suggested that the Board should be given "more teeth".

Since the Transvaal would not make such a threat without the approval of its chairman, Dr. Verwoerd, it is clear that the writing is on the wall for the English Press.

It has not helped the English Press to take the lead in attacking Carpio, backing Mr. Louw, playing down colour bar scandals, and plugging the idea of a "booming" economy.

It will not help them that they remained silent over the banning of the Congress of Democrats.

It will not help them that they have virtually closed their columns to radicals — except, of course, the Nationalist right-wingers and ex-Nats.

While the lights are going out in the English Press, a new publishing venture has been launched giving an idea of what is to come.

The journal is called "News Check" — a glossy fortnightly modelled on "Time".

This "non-political" paper claims to give the news behind the news and, above all, to give the "truth".

As its name implies, it arrogantly sets itself up as the organ to correct the lies and misrepresentations of the English Press.

Its "News Check's" hands are not that clean.

Its editor is Otto Krause, former political correspondent of the *Vaderland*.

And its shareholders? They include a heavy shareholding of B.A. Foundation millionaires, like Nationalist fellow traveller Aston Rupert and John Rehmberg.

In five issues, the journal has so far contrived not to utter a single criticism of the Government — but to take more than a few sly digs at anti-Nationalist critics.

Its bias is revealed not only in what it says, but in the news it selects for reporting.

Reading "News Check" you would get the impression that South Africa has solved all its problems, the whole population is behind Rustenburg, and that peace and harmony prevails.

It reports troubles in U.P. ranks, but sees in Nationalist ranks; it reports developments in the D.R.C., but ignores the Geyser affair; it depicts the economy as booming.

It is worth buying "News Check" — if only to see how tainted the B.A. Foundation is.

The

Has government policy on the Indian question changed, as the Nats say? Nationalist Government policy towards the Indian people of South Africa goes back some time and it is well to remember what Cabinet ministers have said.

In June, 1963, the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd in Parliament:—

"In my opinion the Indians are not our problems in the first place but the problem of those who are so anxious to take the care of the Indians on their shoulders. If other people are worried about the Indians, let them take the Indians back there, where they would have better opportunities of employment."

The present Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr. W. A. Maro, said at a Nationalist meeting in Newcastle in June, 1964:—

"The Indians would only be too pleased to get out of South Africa after the effects of the Group Areas Act had been felt."

The New, Old Way

In February, 1962 the Nationalist Government, through its newly-appointed Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr. Maro, made known its so-called change of policy on the Indian question. This consisted in the main of the following:—

● The Nationalists have realized that "repatriation, voluntary or compulsory repatriation, failed . . ." and it was decided that the Indians were to be regarded as "permanent inhabitants of the Republic." The Nationalists had "to be realistic and approach this problem in another way . . ."

● An Indian Affairs Department was set up "to create a channel by means of which the true requirements of the Indian community can be brought to the attention of the Government."

● Eventually an Indian Affairs Council will be set up which will be expected to be the mouthpiece of the Indian community on all matters.

Space need not be wasted on the question of repatriation. The new policy proclaimed is not basically different from the policy of repatriation. True, its aim is not to send Indians back to India and Pakistan but its aim is still, as repatriation aimed, to hound us out, to make life intolerable for us, to squeeze us, chase us, control us, move us from place to place at the whim of the Government, until in our desperation we will be prepared to quit. It is not the policy which is new, it is only a new method. Mr. Maro made no secret of it in his 1956 speech.

This is really the crux of the matter. While the scheme may no longer be shouted from the rooftops it is there, for the oppressive legislation and the conditions which were meant to force us to quit are still there. Indeed, our conditions are getting progressively worse. So it fact that the Nationalists have done is to approach the problem of repatriation "in another way."

Indian Affairs Department

They will now regard the Indians as "permanent inhabitants". Very significant! Not permanent citizens with all the rights that go with citizenship, but permanent inhabitants. The Indians are still outside the citizen body. They are 'a problem', to be dealt with like water pollution or slum removal; by a special department of Government experts on the problem, staffed by civil servants who are not subject to public pressure and are immune from the testing of elections — a special panel exclusively for Indians.

This is the Indian Affairs Department.

The Ugly Sister

The idea of a Department is not new — not in South Africa. Many years ago there was formed a Native Affairs Department. The same explanations were given, the same justifications found. The N.A.D. was, we told, would be a link between the Africans and the Government; it would be composed of experts who know and understand African needs.

So it was said. But experience taught otherwise. The Native Affairs Department has become a government of its own, a government of petty civil service bureaucrats running their own empire, making their own laws, imposing their own chiefs, commissioners and indunas on the people, and now swelling out to appoint their own 'commissioners general' and 'ambassadors'. Not even Parliament in fact any longer controls the N.A.D. It overrides the authority of town councils in matters affecting Africans. It has veto rights over town councils.

The N.A.D. has 'served' the Africans as it was meant to serve them. It has prepared the plan for the removal of an unknown number of Africans from their homes to new, rigidly controlled municipal locations. It has supervised the laws which raised the number of African arrests yearly, until it now stands at 1,800,000 — 1 in every 8 of the population; it has devised schemes for driving men from the towns back to the countryside and driving them from the countryside back to the mines and plantations, where the white authority decides they are needed. It has obstructed and tried to smash political organisations. It has extended the hated pass laws to African women. But why go on? Every worst feature of Government policy towards Africans has been designed, implemented and made more intolerable by the N.A.D.

And so with the Indian Affairs Department. It is a logical development. First the N.A.D. for the Africans. Then the C.A.D. for the Coloureds.

Is A Strait-Jacket

Speaking of the tasks of the Indian Affairs Department, Mr. Maro said:—

"In the first place the activities of the Department consist of applying

all the existing legislation which deals with Indians."

There we have it. What is aimed at is nothing new in the way of policy. There is no intention to depart one inch from former government policy. There is no intention to abandon any single aspect of government policy or to alter any aspect of past legislation, or to pave the way for Indian citizenship.

On the most important question of the Group Areas Act which has already caused hardship and ruin to countless families, the Minister says:—

" . . . the application of the Group Areas Act and the provision of housing is not the responsibility of my Department . . ."

So the application of this vicious Act, and therefore any prospect of change either in the terms or the administration of the Act is placed outside the control of the Department. No amount of contact or consultation between the Indian Affairs Department and the Indian community is to be allowed to affect the provisions of the Group Areas Act.

The existence in Natal of the small Indian farmer who makes his living by cultivating fruit and vegetables on a small scale for the Indian market, and thus maintains his independence, has disturbed the Minister.

These farmers, says the Minister, "live in very poor slum conditions, some of the worst that one can imagine and the result is that as a result of these circumstances, a custom of habit has developed on their part not to do any work. They dig a little in the small gardens which they have and they sell their few bananas and fruit and they are not used to doing any more work. In other words one will have to gradually create another pattern for them . . ."

Another pattern of life will be created for these farmers who are not available for labour in the white-owned industries or on the white-owned farms, or in the white hotels, restaurants and domestic service. The new pattern will turn independent, self-sufficient, self-supporting people into wage labourers.

For the Indian worker, instead of opening up new and better avenues of employment the Minister threatens a system of job reservation. He says:—

"There are of course certain established patterns and it is not possible to summarily give the housing for the Indian areas to the Indians only without at the same time preventing their doing the building work in for example, the European area . . ."

Indian building workers will be excluded from building in all European areas in order to "permit" them to do building work in segregated Indian areas only. There is an old job about people who live by taking in each other's washing. This is the prospect held out for Indian building workers who will be restricted to building work in Indian areas only.

The inter-provincial immigration restrictions will remain as stringent as ever. The Orange Free State will of course remain out of bounds for the Indian people.

"In the same way, as far as the Transvaal and the Cape Provinces are concerned . . . there is no desire either that these provincial boundaries should be raised. Therefore it is not something which will be in the interest of good relationship if at this stage we meddle with this matter of principle and I think it would be advisable if the Indian population of the Republic realised it. If they wished to encourage good relationship at all they must realise that good relationships cannot be obtained by the making of claims which make it impossible for a person to comply with their demands and therefore I think that it will perhaps be a good thing for them as far as this is concerned, if they will abide by this practice which has existed over the years and permit us to concentrate on following a policy in this connection which is a helpful one as far as possible . . ."

Talk, But Who Hears?

What — apart from implementing existing legislation, spreading job reservation, maintaining the Group Areas Act and upholding the provincial barriers — what in fact will the Indian Affairs Department do?

According to the Minister, it will consult; and for that purpose there will be set up a number of consultative committees at various levels, headed eventually by an Indian Affairs Council. Nowhere in the Minister's statement to Parliament, nowhere in the debates; nowhere is there the slightest indication that it will be any more than purely consultative machinery with the aim of smoothing the implementation of anti-Indian legislation.

It will consult! But it will not necessarily heed. It will seek advice. But it will not necessarily accept the advice! This, when all the fancy words and wrappings are removed, this is the 'new deal' offered by the Government, the new deal on which it asks leaders and prominent members of our community to co-operate in implementing.

It is a new deal consisting entirely in the setting up of powerless, useless Boards whose voice will only be heard when it agrees with the voice of the Government. The personnel of these useless Boards will be hand-picked for their agreement with the Government. The subjects for discussion will be selected by Government officials. Finally when all precautions have been taken to ensure that the Board is nothing but a rubber stamp for the present intolerable Government policy, when all these precautions have been taken and the Board nevertheless gets out of hand and de-

(Continued on page 8)

(Continued from previous page)

mands things that the Nationalists are not prepared to grant, then it will follow logically the course which the Native Representative Council followed years before — it will be abolished.

The Council will prove itself to be a 'toy telephone', a false means of communication between the people and the Government — false because the sound does not travel and is not heard on the other side.

There is also a suggestion in the Minister's statement that acceptance of the 'new deal' would open up vast fields of capital investment for Indian businessmen and open up business opportunities to them which are not open at present. He says:—

"I think it is necessary for serious attention to be given to the possibility and the desirability of creating places and circumstances where the Indian capital can be mobilised for the greater development of the Indian community, for the creation of greater opportunities for the Indians to provide their own people with employment and at the same time in the interest of the economic progress of the Republic . . ."

It should be apparent even to the most simple that the obstacle to the investment of capital by these Indians fortunate enough to possess it, does not lie in the absence of an Indian Affairs Department, but in the presence of the Group Areas Act and similar laws prohibiting the ownership of land and property by Indians except in extremely limited circumstances.

There is, no legislation to prevent us from opening up factories, save that the Group Areas Act prevents those factories from being built in anything but Indian Group Areas. There is nothing to prevent us from dabbling on the stock exchange, placing money in banking societies to draw interest or generally speculating on the market. The barrier is the barrier to the ownership and occupation of land and property. And this barrier is not going to be removed.

That is why the Minister's promises are hollow and have a sinister ring.

Only simpletons would believe that the restrictions on the ownership of landed property are to be removed or eased by the development of the Asiatic Affairs Department. The intention is not to encourage or facilitate Indian investment in the general field of capitalist enterprise in South Africa but rather to invest in the so-called "Indian sphere".

"In respect of the Coloured and Indian the situation is different; it differs considerably because you do not have separate geographical areas. For that reason you can enable him, within his own circle, within his own area, within his own sphere — and I do not use the word 'area' in the sense of a geographical area but in the sense of the sphere of interest — to develop to the highest degree. However if restrictions are imposed in this regard

6: NATIONALIST CAPITAL

In previous articles several influential groupings of capital in South Africa have been discussed. These included Oppenheimer's Anglo-American group and foreign capital which resembled their counterparts in other capitalist countries. Monopolistic, state-supported agricultural capital and state capital, however, are typical and basic white-supremacist South African institutions. The last of the great power centres, Nationalist Capital, is even more blatantly the creature of political reaction than agricultural or state capital.

Nat writers distinguish three successive "economic movements" in the "Afrikaner's economic struggle". (S. Patterson, *The Last Trek*, pp. 242-272). In the first, prior to 1919 little occurred except appeals to oust the "English" from business. Only in 1918 were K.V.V. (Kooperatiewe Wynbouwers Vereniging — which has already been dealt with in a previous article on state-supported farmers) and Baslam and Santam founded. The latter insurance companies were founded as a result of appeals by the Dutch Reformed Church to open new avenues of employment for Afrikaners in the towns and so rescue the "poor whites" from poverty (and the possibility that they might lose their franchises and become militant).

The period from 1918 to 1939 is described as the "second economic movement". During this period numbers of individual Afrikaners went into business and in 1934 Volkskas was founded by the Broederbond. The first chairman of Volkskas was Professor L. J. de Plessis, the notorious Broeder who has recently fallen out with his Broeders and been expelled and ostracized by them. The entire original board of the bank appear to have been Broeders.

Broederbond Drive

This period is also the period of the spread of fascist ideas in the ranks of the new "purified" Nats and of the drive by the Broederbond to organize all aspects of Afrikaners life under their control. In 1938 the Centenary of the Great Trek was the occasion for a great outburst of nationalistic emotion. It was suggested that an important way of honouring the Trekkees was to rescue their descendants from poor whites. A good deal of money was raised and a

— and I want to admit that there are restrictions — it means that you have to give the asset that it is possible to give under the circumstances, or else the European in South Africa will have to abdicate."

The intention is quite clear. There is to be no separate geographical area for the Indian community. There is to be a "sphere of interest" in which Indian development, to the utmost that it is possible under the circumstances" will be permitted . . . preserving White supremacy all along the line.

K. AHMED.

welfare organisation called the Reddingsdaadbond was set up.

All this spelt opportunity to the new Nat ideologists and capitalists. An Economic Volkskongres was organized in Bloemfontein in 1939. The big names of the drive to build Nat capital and to capture the trade unions appeared: Prof. C. G. W. Schumann from Stellenbosch, the Nat academic business expert, Dr. A. Hertzog, Dr. N. Diederichs and Dr. H. F. Verwoerd who are all cabinet ministers today. They all said that "Afrikaner" businesses must be built up in order to create jobs, wealth and power. "What weapons are available to the Afrikaner in this struggle? State power . . . Purchasing power . . . Capital power . . ." Dr. Verwoerd summed up the views of the Broeders.

Business Wing of the Nats

It was decided that money be collected from Afrikaners for a financial company to finance Afrikaner businesses. Baslam and Santam in the person of Dr. M. S. Low came forward to organize this company named Federale Volksbeliggings. The Reddingsdaadbond was transformed from a welfare organization into the economic front organisation of the Nat drive to totalitarian power.

Previously we have been dealing with capital owned and managed by Afrikaners and little different from other capital but now there emerges Nat capital. Volkskas founded by the Broederbond, and Federale Volksbeliggings which was intended to gain economic power for the fascist new Nats as part of the building of the totalitarian social movement, are not ordinary businesses. They call to mind Volkswagen, the firm established by the Nazi Labour Front and the Hermann Goering Works. These firms and their associates of the Baslam group have acted as the business wing of the Nat movement ever since.

During the war Volkskas and the Baslam group grew slowly compared with what was to come. Their golden age dawned in 1948 when the Nats finally got control of state capital, and of the state with its vast funds. Before that only two of Verwoerd's three "weapons" were available. Purchasing power was mobilised by means of nationalistic campaigns to buy, bank and create Afrikaners and of course not to trade with Indians, Jews or Japses. The fat wartime incomes of the farmers made this an important source of economic power. Capital power in the shape of the pro-

fits of the Nat capitalist' existing investments was also available.

Contracts for Pals

But this was greatly augmented when the resources of the state fell into Nat hands. They give themselves contracts. For example Verwoerd's publishing houses (Dagbreekpers and Haynes and Gibson) have been given government contracts worth R2m since 1960 (*Star* Times, June 24, 1962). One of Eskom's biggest power stations is built next to a Federale Mysbos coal mine, and a second even bigger power station near Ermelo is to be built next to another Federale Mysbos colliery (*The Star*, September 12, 1962). This of course gives Federale Mysbos, which is a Baslam firm, a monopoly market for its coal for the next 30 years or so while these power stations continue to function. An earlier case concerned the Bremmer bread swindle. Baslam, through a subsidiary, got control of Marine Products, a fishing firm which was awarded a contract for fish meal to "enrich" bread. Many years later it was announced that the fish meal enrichment had no value and the contract was terminated. Meanwhile Marine Products and Baslam grew fat on public money.

Federale Volksbeliggings is to finance a synthetic rubber plant using raw materials from the state firm Basal and the rubber factory has full government backing to guarantee it a market. (*The Star*, March 14, 1962). This Broedery assistance from public funds is made easier by the system of interlocking directorates which has been built up between Nat capital and state capital. For example, Dr. H. J. van Eck of the state firm L.D.C. is a director of Baslam. Dr. M. S. Low of Baslam has been appointed head of the government's new Coloured Development Corporation (*The Star*, April 11, 1962). Mr. C. H. J. van Aarwegen general manager of Baslam has been appointed a director of the state-owned National Finance Corporation (*Rand Daily Mail*, August 29, 1962). Mr. J. G. van der Merwe is a director of Voortrekkers and of Massey Ferguson the big agricultural machinery firm in which Federale Volksbeliggings has a large investment, and of the state firms Inco and Koppstein Organic Products (KOP). In addition the state capitalist firms and state departments are used as a training ground for Nat business managers. An indication of how greatly this state aid assists Nat capital is provided by Baslam which had assets of R7m in 1939 and R26m in 1960 which rocketed to R130m by 1962.

An idea of the size of Nat capital can be gained from Tegriek, July 1962, which lists the ten biggest Afrikaners

financial institutions and their assets today as being:

Volkas	R196,961,118
Baslam	180,000,000
Trust Bank	82,100,462
Santam	65,167,218
Baslam	25,300,000
Centrale Finansi-Korporasie	20,100,000
Bonsaker	18,454,300
African Hoese Trust	15,878,693
Federale Volksbeliggings	14,618,524
Federale Mysbos	8,182,620

and having total assets of over R677m. All the firms listed except Volkas are in the Baslam group. Co-operation between Baslam and Volkas is extremely close and Volkas and Bonsaker, a member of the Baslam group have a joint subsidiary, the Northern Investment and Development Corporation.

All the firms listed therefore are to be regarded as forming a single group: Nat capital. The total assets of the group are far greater than R677m since some of the industrial or commercial subsidiaries of the group are listed but are the smaller financial undertakings in the group.

The actual size of the group is unknown but it is clearly still a good deal less than the Oppenheimer group with about R2,000m. British capital in S.A. with a bit less than R2,000m and state capital with more than R2,000m. On the other hand Nat capital is growing very rapidly and it is strengthened by its close links with the other two economic bases of Nat power, namely state capital and state-supported, organised farmers' capital.

Finance and Farming

The structure of Nat capital has evolved on the basis of its traditional fields of experience: finance and farming, plus those fields in which the aid of the state plays a decisive role. Its financial institutions are listed above and it has invested heavily in fishing (Marine Fishing — where the aid of the state-owned Fisheries Development Corporation may also have been important), farm machinery (Safim and Massey Ferguson which is likely to set up a tractor factory in S.A. with the encouragement of the government Board of Trade) and fertilisers (Fisons whose S.A. factory is based on raw materials produced by the state-owned Basal plant). Nat capital is to finance a synthetic rubber works using Basal raw materials and produced by the government as part of their drive to make S.A. economically self-sufficient. They are breaking into mining through coal mining with the help of big contracts with Eskom.

Take-Over Bid

Two important incidents in the history of Nat capital show how strong and how politically important they are

becoming. In 1957 acting through the Glaser brothers they tried to take over Central Mining and Investments (Corner House), the second largest mining house in South Africa. The combined efforts of Oppenheimer, Engelhardt (backed by Wajl Stross's Dillon, Read and Co.) and several of London's banks were required to defeat this takeover bid. Its defeat was followed by loud complaints both by Baslam's Dr. M. S. Low and a number of prominent Nat politicians against foreign capital, and even talk of nationalisation by M. S. Low. Apparently as an appeasement gesture Federale Mysbos was admitted as an investor in Anglo-American's Zandpan Gold Mine. (Liberalism, December, 1959).

After Sharpsville many foreign investors withdrew their capital from S.A. Prices fell heavily on the Stock Exchange and an economic crisis threatened the government and led to considerable dissatisfaction among businessmen. Baslam (and the Old Mutual, which has Paul Sauer as a director but is not a Nat institution) then began buying shares, putting a huge portion of their new funds into the stock market, and this was a major factor in stopping the fall in share prices. (Optima, December, 1960). Baslam put 62% of its funds for the year ending September 30, 1960 into shares and doubled its holdings of equities. (*The Star*, March 25, 1961).

Azlon Rupert has built up a cigarette (Rembrandt, American Tobacco, Peter Steynman, Rothman, etc.) and booze (Villa Rosa, Oude Meester, etc.) empire worth R110m. (*The Star*, November 25, 1960). He was a protégé of the Ekoponise Komitee set up after the Ekoponise Volkskongres, and has Dr. N. Diederichs on his board of directors. He appears to be relatively independent and unopposed by Nat standards (probably because the bulk of his business is overseas). However, his line is merely a modernised and more rational version of the Nat viewpoint which might have more appeal to non-Nat whites. This viewpoint is now being spread by the Rupert and Schloinger-backed magazine News Check.

At the opposite, imbecile end of the Nat scale is the prospectus for Sabkor, a firm which intends to produce one or more newspapers "to educate the Bantu in the light of existing conditions in the political field" and to establish border industries and industries in Bantu areas. This prospectus stated "We believe in our God, we believe in our Nation and in the future of S.A. . . . with the Bantu's eagerness to read, Sabkor shares can pay off great dividends in the future" and it ended by quoting a verse of Die Stem. (*Rand Daily Mail*, April 24, 1961). God, reactionary politics and big profits all for the price of one!

Clearly the Nats are continuing to attempt to create Nat capital on the basis of nationalism and co-operation with the state. However the only important groups that have resulted thus far are the Volkas-Baslam group and Rupert's Volkas. The Volkas-Baslam group is the important one inside South Africa and it constitutes an important support for Nat rule.

EXPLOSION IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Like a temperamental volcano Africa erupts, first in one country and then in another. Trouble-centre at the moment is Southern Rhodesia, the 150,333 square miles of country that British empire-builder Cecil Rhodes wrenched from the Matabele people, using trickery followed by force.

Force is the weapon the Whitehead Government is trying again today: the outlawing of the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Party (ZAPU); restriction orders against hundreds of its leaders, including former ZAPU president Joshua Nkomo as soon as he returned to his country from a visit to Tanganyika; the arrests of thousands. 30,000 troops were called up for this operation and every African township patrolled; a countrywide net was spread for all known ZAPU men; an unsubtle government propaganda campaign to discredit Nkomo and other ZAPU leaders was tried — all these measures of the tremendous influence ZAPU was gaining in the country.

Not the First Ban

It isn't the first banning of the premier African political movement of Southern Rhodesia. In February 1959 Southern Rhodesia's African National Congress was banned at the time of the declaration of the state of emergency in Nyasaland, and the British government attempt to implicate the organisation in a phoney 'plot' for the overthrow of the Central African Federation government. The National Democratic Party sprang out of the banning of the ANC. It, in turn, was banned in December 1961 during a state of general African unrest and a wave of strikes and riots. Eight days after this banning Nkomo publicly launched ZAPU, now outlawed after less than one year of life.

Each of these organisations has proved more militant and influential than its banned predecessor.

ZAPU has gone, but Prime Minister Whitehead's inability to block the African freedom surge remains.

Federation Cracks

Big business interests and Southern Rhodesia's entrenched ruling White community (225,000 strong), determined to stay on top, pressed for the ill-fated Central African Federation. Federation was thrust upon the two Rhodesias, Southern and Northern, and Nyasaland in 1953, in the face of total opposition of the African majorities of all three countries. Nine years later the Federation is on the point of disintegration. Nyasaland already enjoys African majority government and is straining away from the white-controlled Federal Assembly in Salisbury (26 out of 35 members represent Whites). Fevered last efforts are being made to keep Northern Rhodesia inside Federation, for her copper mines are a

precious treasure trove but the north hovers constantly between states of rebellion and repression, and her break-away from hated Federation cannot be long now.

In Southern Rhodesia the ruling White minority must, in its sober moments, read the writing on the wall. It tells the tale of a last ditch stand but this entrenched minority has no intention of handing over without a struggle.

Too Little, Too Late

Premier Whitehead's policy for Southern Rhodesia, introduced against the background of dire wails of disaster from white supremacists, was too little, too late for Africans. The Sandys-Whitehead constitution, supposed to be a blueprint for gradualism could, theoretically speaking, put 50,000 Africans on the lower voting roll and let a possible 20 African M.P.s into a Southern Rhodesian Parliament of 65 members. Whites, it is said, cannot be pushed to accept harder than this. But Africans see this lower roll arrangement as "a political trick to show African faces in Parliament at no cost at all to Whites." (John Worrall in the Rand Daily Mail.) The policy of the gradual reduction of the colour bar, the admission of some Africans into Parliament does not break White-supremacy political power. Decades too late, it is seen by Africans not as a concession but as a delaying action to thwart their demands.

When ZAPU would not take Whitehead's terms and the African meetings denouncing the constitution grew bigger each weekend, grim 'security' measures were rushed through. These laws and those on South Africa's own statute book could be copied from the same master-plan for White supremacy states. Bannings and restriction of African politicals, prison sentences and shows of force are to become the order of the day, it seems, and alongside them, sabotage acts by an African population driven to more desperate measures because the road to the free use of the ballot box is barricaded by armed police.

Before his arrest Joshua Nkomo warned "any future decisions made without us and without our consent will not be considered binding upon the African people of my country. We knew", he also said "that if nothing was done about the constitution, an explosion was going to take place."

The explosion has been muffled — temporarily. How long can this phase last?

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NEW CRISIS LOOMS IN KENYA

by I. COX

Before Maudling gave up his position as Colonial Secretary in the recent British Cabinet changes to become the new Chancellor, he delivered two parting shots which are bound to create a new crisis in Kenya. The first was to announce that new elections would not be held until 1963. There would then be a long period of internal self-government, with real power in the hands of the British Governor. No date has yet been fixed for Kenya independence, and unless the British Government is forced to concede it earlier, it is now not likely until the early months of 1964.

The second parting shot was to announce a free hand-out of R36 million to purchase one-third of the three million acres of European mixed-farming land in the White Highlands during the four years 1963-67. The Government case is that this scheme will provide farms for 70,000 African landless families during this period, namely one half of the existing 150,000 landless families.

These two declarations are part of a single strategy, the first to buy more time to enable the British rulers to put their land scheme into operation, and the second an attempt to commit in advance the new independent Kenya to continue paying out millions to the European settlers. Both of them are certain to create new serious tension in Kenya and to aggravate the present critical economic situation.

Sabotage of Independence

It was expected that Kenya would have new elections in September this year, with the prospect of independence before the end of 1962. Maudling's visit to Kenya in July (only four months after the London constitutional talks) was designed to prevent this. In the elections of March 1961, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) won 550,000 votes on a restricted franchise, in contrast to the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) which polled only 150,000 votes.

Though both parties prior to the elections were pledged not to form a government until Jomo Kenyatta was released, KADU broke this pledge and joined hands with Sir Machael Blundell (Britain's chief mouthpiece) and other Europeans and formed a minority government. From that moment KADU has been the chief instrument of British strategy to create and widen the divisions in Kenya. At the end of the London talks in March 1961, Maudling presented an ultimatum that the leaders of KANU and KADU must form a coalition government and come to an agreement on the future constitution before any date could be fixed for Kenya's independence.

Maudling's experience in Kenya convinced him that KANU was bound to sweep the poll if elections took place this year. Even Lord Colyton (one of the Tory backwoodsmen) had to admit

in the House of Lords in May this year:

"It seems to be widely taken for granted that Kenyatta is the undisputed leader of the majority of the electorate".

To safeguard against this Lord Salisbury (close friend of Welensky and Tshombe) emphasised that:

"It should be made clear to the African political leaders, and to the European population and everyone else, that there will be no general election in Kenya until the details of a new constitution have been agreed . . ."

Maudling's strategy is in line with that of these noble lords. KADU knows it has no chance in any new elections, and that its vote will be smaller even than in March 1961. So its leaders are doing everything possible to prevent an agreement with KANU on a new constitution and to hold up new elections as long as possible. During Maudling's visit in July it voiced a demand for a permanent coalition, and that this should be entrenched in the new Kenya constitution. This was too blatant even for Maudling, who prefers to move one stage at a time to hold up Kenya's independence.

Millions for Settlers

Maudling's plan to hand over a free gift of R36 millions to European settlers in the next four years is not entirely new. For years the settlers themselves have put forward far more ambitious schemes, but to most of them this is a step in the right direction.

Lord Delamere (son of the original land grabber in 1903), the chairman of the Kenya National Farmers' Union (European) lost no time in declaring "I think this is an excellent practical start to the problem" (*Financial Times*, 11th July, 1962), though on the same day the *Guardian* expressed the view that "it is an expensive operation". At the same time, many Europeans are not satisfied and regard the Maudling plan as "inadequate and lacking in urgency", and urged the settlers to sell out now for the highest price and to get out of Kenya without delay.

Due to the serious economic situation in Kenya, land values are falling, and it's extremely doubtful whether most European settlers would get a bigger price from private sales than what is now offered by Maudling. The most urgent need in Kenya is to press ahead with substantial economic development but Maudling made it clear that this scheme to hand over R36 millions "will be the first charge on development funds made available to Kenya over the period when the scheme is operating."

This means that the interests of the European settlers are given priority over the urgent need to improve the economic situation in Kenya. Moreover, Maudling's aim is to commit any future government in Kenya

to continue this scheme, but most Europeans realise that it won't be worth the paper it is written on after Kenya becomes independent.

African Landless

Nor is there any evidence that the scheme will provide any real solution for the problem of the 150,000 African landless families. Similar schemes (on a smaller scale) have already been in operation during 1961-2. Up to the end of this year the plan is to take over 250,000 acres, which are expected by that time to provide smallholdings for 5,000 African landless families, but with an expected annual cash income of only R80! The declared aim of the new scheme is to provide for 17,000 families in each of the next four years.

Even if this is achieved, there will still be more African landless families at the end of four years than there are now. On July 17 Mr. Tom Mboya (now Minister of Labour) pointed out that 31,500 Africans were thrown out of work during the year ending June 1961, and among these were 20,000 in the White Highlands. At this rate there will be 80,000 extra African landless families in four years — more than the total provided for in Maudling's scheme. There are now at least 300,000 Africans unemployed in Kenya, and the number is increasing each year. From this it is clear that the Maudling scheme is no solution for Kenya's problem, and that British policy has no solution at all. Indeed, it is most likely that British ruling circles welcome the worsening economic situation in Kenya in an attempt to justify the maintenance of British rule.

European land robbery is the most shameful record of British rule in Kenya. Now it is proposed to reward the robbers for what they have stolen from the Africans.

Soon after the British annexed Kenya in 1892 the European land-grabbers started operations. In 1901 there were only 13 European settlers. By 1905 there were 886. They grew to over 5,000 in 1914, dropped rapidly during the First World War, rose again to 2,000 before the Second World War, and are now over 2,000.

Land reserved for Europeans in the White Highlands covers an area of seven million acres, most of it ranches and plantations (owned by big private companies) which are untouched by Maudling's scheme. The new plan applies only to mixed-farming land, which is about three million acres — one-third of which is to be purchased in the next four years.

Under the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902, nearly 6,000 square miles was taken from the Africans and given to Europeans between 1902 and 1915. After 1915 more than 10,000 square miles were taken, most of it on leases of 999 years

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Ghana: ON THE CULTURE FRONT

by ZEKE MPHAHLELE

She is tall, slender and dark. Her style of Ghanaian dress expresses her and no-one else. I have never seen her in Western dress, and it becomes her elegantly. Her eyes have an intense light in them, so that her face has a perpetual gravity which is broken only by her expressive laughter. For she has a loud and strong laugh which makes her rock on her seat, just as if she were on a trotting horse. And yet she is as feminine as you would wish.

This woman is Efua Sutherland, the Ghanaian poetess. For a long while she has not been writing poetry for adults, because she has been preoccupied with a theatre project in Accra. At first, it was to be a children's theatre, but it burst at the seams and she decided to go the whole hog and produce something for adults. The result is a pretty open-air theatre in Accra, for the building of which she was able to obtain initial assistance from an American foundation, and the government of Ghana finished the project. The Drama Studio, as it is called, produces plays and stages traditional dancing. It also has a small room where writers meet and read their own work.

But once the project was set going, Efua Sutherland insisted that she should give it over to a full-time director so that she could resume her creative writing. Mr. J. de Graft is the director, paid by the government. He manages a group of players. "You need a man for this kind of work," she said to me modestly, "and I never intended to make it a personal venture. Now we need plays to act — we need them badly. I'm also writing plays now."

"Look World . . ."

I told her I would be deeply sorry if she didn't continue to write poetry. When she stopped writing, poetry died in Ghana, just as it was born when she began. There is intense individuality in this woman's poetry, and yet it is never unintelligible in the way modern English poetry has become these days.

She writes poignantly about man-woman relations. A White man and his African sweetheart ask each other upsetting but urgent questions about their love affair: where will they live? How can they face a world sick with racialism? Is there always going to be this "bitter thing" to reckon with? Look, world, one of them declaims defiantly, two of your kind have been united in love. But they cannot go through with it. They have a world of prejudice against them. She speaks of a man who wants to win a beautiful girl. He wants to take her, drag her down (are not they all of Eve's stock?) for all the sense of triumph the act will inflate him with. Face to face with her, he weakens, slinks back, and the image of a recoil-

ing man fuses with that of Eve's serpent (and unlike it) as it recoils, suffering from the pain of its own venom.

Dry Fodder

For the rest, Ghanaian poetry is all declamatory stuff breathing nationalism and Africanism through and through, but to little purpose. And its theme is not helping the reader to understand the inner life of the Ghanaian. Are we never going to know what a Ghanaian feels and thinks as he teeters on the brink of violent social change or crashes into contemporary ideas like socialism with all the confidence that we have come to associate with the Ghanaian? Are we never going to know what the peasant feels and thinks when he finds he has to change his whole mode of living because his subsistence economy is unproductive? Isn't there something to tell about that young man — pathetic and comic-tragic — who interprets the words of the politicians letter for letter so that he thinks that he is being told to strike an attitude of chauvinism, entangle himself in all its vocabulary in the process, never realising that he is on the lunatic fringe, out of touch with the aspirations of his own government?

We want to know, we want to see these and other themes acted out in individuals. For the artist and the writer, it is surely not only the consciousness of a nation's strength that makes literature or art, but also the awareness of its weakness.

And it seems to me that the themes that make Ghanaian poetry (in English) past hurts like slavery, the physical presence of colonialism and abstract concepts that tend to be seen only in terms of group attitudes and postures along a horizontal plane within a nation — all these make dry fodder for literature to grow on. Drama is only just beginning as a conscious literary medium in Ghana; prose fiction appears in the form of the short story which, like the West African short story in general, is undeveloped.

Gongs, Drums, Puppets

But I did not intend to branch out into a literary discussion, although there is such a thing as literary culture.

Ghana, to the best of my knowledge, is the only African country south of the Sahara where all cultural activity is centralised and is carried on under the direct control and material support of the government.

There is an Arts Council, which was set up in 1954, but has been active only in the last two years, i.e. two years after the country had achieved independence. The Arts Council was meant to take care of all cultural activity in the country. It has an organising secretary

who directs eight regional organisers placed at various parts of the country. Their job is to keep their communities occupied in musical and dancing entertainment, and to encourage wood carving. Then the Council has in Accra a theatre group (apart from that of the Drama Studio), a music division, a troupe of traditional dancers. Each division has a director. The Council's secretary, the regional organisers and the divisional directors are all civil servants. The Council has an arts centre which has offices, a showroom for wood carvings and figures in clay, and puppet theatre equipment. Those interested in puppet theatre come to the centre for a six-week course in managing puppets. There is at the centre an open-air theatre, where five plays have already been produced under the directorship of an exile from Haiti, Morisseau Leroy. Both traditional and European music are being performed.

My assistant and I were treated to exciting traditional dancing, a production of *Antigone* in the African idiom, originally adapted in Haitian/Creole by Leroy. We were also given a puppet show of African sketches that were really funny. Another interesting performance, at the Drama Studio, was by a Takoradi jazz band (Broadway Band) which for a month had been working in Accra on arrangements of contemporary jazz tunes to accommodate traditional Percussion instruments—gongs, drums, indigenous marakas and so on for the rhythm section.

The Arts Council is now to be absorbed by the newly-created Institute of Art and Culture, headed full-time by Nana Kobina Nketsia (Nana being equivalent to Chief), a Ph.D. graduate of Oxford. Nana Nketsia works in close collaboration with the new Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana, which in turn is chaired by Professor J. H. Nketia, an authority on Akan music and lore — another man of tough fibre, with an inexhaustible urge for work.

Not Yet Writers

Because the Arts Council was worried about the paucity of creative writing in Ghana, it launched a Writers' Society. It turned out that but for about four members who are practising writers, the society consisted of intending writers. They have been fumbling since and it is quite obvious that the formation of such a group was a frightful blunder: people don't begin to write simply because they are thrown into a society. A number of Ghanaians are aware that a literary journal is required which can be the rallying point for writers. One was started, but went dead after the first number, and attempts are being made to revive it.

Ghana's Culture Front

Sculpture and painting are the most neglected of activities in Ghana. This must of course exclude 39-year-old Vincent Aweti Kofi, an important sculptor in his own right, and Kofi Antubam, the painter. Akweti Kofi has a huge round body and a most human and engaging personality — a real artist at heart, not spoiled by public acclaim in his own country. He teaches art at a training college in Winneba. He conceives his subjects big and his wood figures average eight feet in height. Kofi also works in granite. He is trying to raise funds to ship his giant pieces to exhibit in Europe and the United States, if the people in the business in these parts will promote him.

Pitfalls and Platforms

The centralisation of cultural activity in this country that is visibly engaged in nation-building may have its own disadvantages or dangers, but the Ghanaians see it as part of socialist planning. Their government merits praise for its zeal and culture-consciousness. The dangers will be overcome as time goes on and as experiment yields disparate results.

The dangers, as I see them, are as follows: It is not easy for Accra to inspire coherence and high standards in the regions from that distance; the activities are deliberately meant for mass entertainment — not a bad thing in itself but likely to induce a mood of complacency and disinclination to acquire professional skill in one's field; the press in Ghana does not display any critical opinion at all, such as one has got used to seeing in say, Nigeria.

Not that Nigerian papers use skilled critics who know what they are talking about in the arts, literature and music, but the papers do open their columns for critical opinion, wild and untutored though it often is. I should like to think that it is simply because the papers in Ghana are not aware of the importance, of the arts, of candid press criticism. For I know that there are literary and music critics, but either they are looking for a platform or the platform is waiting for them to use it. The critics themselves, I suspect, have not even tried to make the press aware of their presence and interest in raising performance standards. Let's face it: one of the best ways of disarming external criticism is for one to forestall it by criticising oneself. And there is nothing as soothing to a performer or

writer or leader as when he reads something by an outside critic who says: "Mr. X is the first to admit that . . ."

Another danger, which flows from lack of critical opinion, is that would-be critics may be afraid to say anything that may be interpreted as an attack on state organisation as such, because the cultural workers are civil servants. The unsympathetic and doctrinaire criticism of Ghana that the British right-wing press indulged in not so long ago has, because of the consequences that overtook it, made Ghanaians over-wary and hypersensitive. But as well-meant and healthy criticism in the area of the arts has not yet been tried, the fears are baseless. The Ghana State is not so obtuse as to work against its own interest in fostering the culture of the nation.

I know that the new Institute of Arts and Culture is trying to counter the dangers I have mentioned, and they need all the encouragement they can get. It may even take time before much is achieved, preoccupied as the country is right now in purging the University of Ghana of the sticky pseudo-Oxbridge tradition in which it was born and which is still bedevilling the progress of an institution like Ibadan's university college.

Negritude, Literature and Nationalism

A WORD FROM SOUTH AFRICA

At the Mbari Writers' Conference at Ibadan recently — a milestone in the development of literature on our continent — no subject evoked livelier discussion than **Negritude** — the expression of a peculiar blackness or African-ness in literature which is related to matters like the development of an "African personality" and the cultivation of a recognisably African literature.

It is a subject on which the writers from the French-settled parts of Africa are most vocal and vehement — they have also supplied vital examples in both theory and practice.

But on this subject, South African writers are strangely silent. True, the trio of Lewis Nkosi, Zeke Mphahlele and Bloke Modisane, effectively punctured the mystical aura which surrounds the concept — and in his "African Image" Zeke drove a truck through it. Yet it seems hardly adequate to dismiss the subject by pungent criticism: if it can excite the lively interest of a sizable proportion of the writers on our continent it surely deserves a little more careful analysis.

The origins of **negritude** and its associated concepts are not hard to find: it might be easiest to sum them up in the typical Gallic tendency to ratiocination and the abstraction of theory from a

small number of observed facts. It can also be partly explained by a reaction against European-ness or whiteness, the assertion of the Black man's pride in his ancestry and blackness in defiance of the superiority and disdain which he encountered in many white circles — including the literati.

But certain aspects of the problem of expressing Africa in literature are genuinely problematical. They amount, among others, to these: how does one express the atmosphere and customs of the people of Africa?: how does one avoid slavish imitation of "European" models?: to what extent should one conform to the standards set by "European" writers?: and how does one achieve a literature which is genuinely and peculiarly expressive of thought, custom and ideals in Africa?

At the risk of sounding charlatan, I begin my answers with the assumption that the life of people on this continent is indeed different in certain respects from that of people on other continents, and that to express this life and the peculiar vitality of Africa is not only a feasible but laudable aim, and that it is possible for Africa to make its own contribution to world literature but offering a literature as great and universally human as that of any other continent.

Underlying the statement of the problem, and my partial reply is a further assumption: that we can think of concepts such as African nations and African nationalism.

This, it seems, to me, lies at the heart of the matter and it is the failure to recognise its existence which makes discussion of subjects like **negritude** and an **African literature** sterile and unfruitful.

But we had better have some clarity on what we mean by "nationalism" in relation to literature.

Two quotations will help. The first is from the late Lionel Forman, writing in *Liberation* in 1959:

... "the best way to achieve a fusion of national cultures in the future into one culture, is to favour the blossoming of many cultures first."

The second is from a recent publication by the African National Bureau of Political and Social Studies:

"African Nationalism is evolutionary, dynamic and progressive (because) we recognise that it is in itself restrictive and exclusive but as it evolves and progresses its dynamism makes it less restrictive and more inclusive and finally becomes all-embracing."

This, it seems to me, is a good point

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Negritude and Literature

to start from: that we must recognise and accept the existence of nationalism — and be prepared to use it and give expression to it — but that we must always be aware that it is evolving into something more all-embracing in which we can find the expression and ultimate fusion of many diverse cultures.

What does this mean in terms of literature?

I suggest that the writer make use of the material at hand — material he knows and understands and loves. It means that the West African, the Kenyan and the South African alike can depict in their writing the milieu they know — and make it available to the world. It means to write with understanding of the remnants of tribal culture where they exist, and the bustling life of the South African proletariat — a peculiar fusion of European culture and the vestiges of a tribal culture.

It means that we can speak freely and understandingly of what we know, and share our knowledge with the world. It means too that we must be sufficiently catholic to have a keen eye for and assimilate the diverse cultures which make up life on the African continent.

For the South African it means moving familiarly through the glassy exurbia of Nadine Gordimer with its surface glitter, as well as the missionary plights of Paton's "Cry the Beloved Country"; through Peter Abrahams' faded stores of over-simplified images as well as the garbage of Zeke Mphahlele's "Second Avenue". They are all part of our continent — our own special world.

Finally, it means that out of this rich and varied soil will come the literature which will be Africa's special contribution to world literature.

Little has been written or said on this subject: it is uncharted waters and one sets sail perilously; but it is time that we struck out and began to fix a course.

J. B. BOOTH.

They said in madhouse:
"Truth is incestuous:
Error's exogamy
Brings hybrid vigour."
They said in courthouse:
"Keep colour classified:
All shading's subtleties
Blur line to error."
They said in jailhouse:
"We cannot help it;
Separateness serves the
Good of society."
I said in my house:
"Thought is admixture.
Only from opposites
Flows resolution;
Only from difference,
Fertile conception.
Even in madhouse
This is remembered.
Tell it in a man's house
Lest man should perish."

Robin Farquharson.

The Two Faces of the Nationalist Government

(Continued from page 5)

of their livelihood . . . The policy is not to proclaim Indian areas next to African areas or to create trade for Indians among the poor whites or coloureds."

Lest it be thought that the strong racist and white-supremacist reaction of the Congress was something peculiarly Transvaal — that in the more liberal Cape or Natal things were different, read this opinion, given by H. Tyson of the *Natal Daily News* on the Natal Congress. Except on the question of co-operation with the English-speaking whites he writes:

"there was less tolerance on all other questions. The list of resolution was peppered with requests for heavier penalties and stricter police enforcement of half-a-dozen laws. One minute there were pleas for better relations. The next minute the Congress was becoming almost hysterical about the possibility of one or two non-white doctors dining with their white colleagues."

Face-Saving Formula

This glaring contradiction between the sounds of tolerance from the leadership and the snarls of reaction from the membership was repeated also at the Cape Congress. Here the rank and file hostility focussed itself on to the new plan for the removal of all Africans from the Western Cape. The hostility forced yet another retreat of the leadership, and yet another face-saving formula: 'In the times in which we live' said Dr. Donges, "we cannot create the impression that people are being bundled out of an area." The removal scheme would not be pushed through at the expense of economic dislocation for the Cape; there would be no expulsion of the Bantu, but a process of attracting them gradually to the Bantu and border areas.

Which is the true face of the party?

The public face — Verwoerd's "good human relations", Botha's "We cannot wish or talk one another out of the country", Verwoerd's "Constitutional partnership" with Bantustans? Or the private face of constantly greater repression of Africans by a constantly greater police force, of boycotts and hounding of Indians, of naked racialism and white supremacy?

Some newspapers and commentators have sought to find in this contradiction the beginnings of a split in the party ranks; they have seized on an ex-Senator Smit who claims that the government is only interested in the welfare of the blacks to the neglect of the whites, and tried to present him as the leader of a right wing revolt inside the party against the Verwoerd leadership. But they are wrong. This is not the real division.

The real division is between what the party says through the mouths and lips of the leadership, and what it does and strives for. What the leadership says, it says for outside consumption. The

new policies it proclaims so glibly — as, for example, Verwoerd's sudden reversal of all Nationalist policy by his statement at the Transvaal Congress that ' . . . incorporation of the protectorates is no longer feasible' — it proclaims also for foreign consumption.

But what it does is what the rank and file wants it to do. There is here no real division between leaders and followers. All are tied in the blinding blinkers of the same racialism; all are fettered to an unshakeable belief in the destiny of the white man to rule South Africa for all time. What the leaders do, the members support. But the trick is to present a good public face on it. That is the trick Verwoerd and his colleagues are using so successfully today that even one of their own supporters, Senator Smit, has been taken in.

But neither the liberation movement here nor the world dare let themselves be taken in. They must look behind the public mask to the private reality if they are to understand what they are up against in Verwoerd's South Africa.

Kenya

(Continued from page 11)

at rents of 2½d. an acre up to 1945. Between May 1903 and December 1904 there were 220,000 acres transferred to 342 European settlers, 100,000 acres to Lord Delamere, 350,000 acres to the East African Syndicate (a monopoly firm); and in 1920 the East African Lands and Development Co. acquired 310,000 acres. By 1951 this latter firm had sold all but 300 acres of its land. It paid a dividend of 100 per cent. during 1947-50, and 33 per cent. in 1951.

After the First World War returned British soldiers were encouraged to settle in the White Highlands of Kenya to take over farms ranging from 160 to 300 acres. Until 1945 the rent per acre was only 2½d., but in recent years has increased to over 40 cents. Since then speculation in the sale of land has become the greatest occupation of the richer European farmers, and the market value of land has jumped to between 10 and 20 times its real value.

After making huge fortunes, both as occupiers and sellers of land, the European settlers are now promised even bigger fortunes by the British Government. Their appetites are insatiable, and both Maudling and Sandys (the new Colonial Secretary) are anxious to satisfy and appease them before the Africans are in control of an independent Kenya.

Jomo Kenyatta has made it clear that an independent Kenya will accept no responsibility for handing over free gifts to European settlers, for "KANU does not believe in any land policy designed to persuade immigrant farmers to stay after self-government". But under the present coalition government in Kenya, the British grip is still strong. The Maudling scheme is a threat to the future of Kenya for it is designed to sabotage the advance to independence.

FIGHTING TALK, OCTOBER, 1962

Braam

Braam turned away undecided whether to return to his room or not. Going back to Bree Street seemed extremely uninviting. Alone, in his room above a bar. It was the loneliness that ate into him. He had to have people around him, lots of company, the hub-bub of conversation. But friends seldom came unless they were specially asked. And it had always been like that. He had grown up, an only child, in the Bethlehem district of the Free State. At school he had always been on his own. At University he had hardly met any students other than his political contacts. Women found him difficult. Initially they were attracted by his strange intensity, but they always dropped him soon afterwards. He realised only too well that people found his pseudo-bohemianism odd, and acute self-consciousness usually gave way to deliberate and aggressive rebellion. His political friends found him emotionally suspect and almost cynically regarded his attempts at identifying himself. Take Ruth Talbot for example. After their first meeting in the University library, Braam felt that he had at last solved his problem. They had gone out a few times until Ruth found his concentrated intensity too much for her. She had waled out of his life after only a week. Walked out of his life into Andrew's. Not that he begrudged the latter anything. No, not a damn. But why did so many women do that to him? After a week, or even one night? Why didn't anyone take permanently to him? Mere tolerated friendship which meant escaping more and more into the world of unreality and aggressive make-believe. Rebellious sublimation.

Braam decided against returning home, and walked aimlessly along Dock Road. The street was almost deserted; dark, dreary and unattractive. Sordid, menacing, dark lanes filled with garbage-cans, old newspapers and filth. Only one place was still open, a dimly-lit, fly-spotted cafe owned by a Greek. As Braam entered a juke-box was blaring,

You say that you love me
And swear that to be true,
You say that you love me
And swear that to be true . . .

He chose an inconspicuous table as far from the music as possible, and sat down moodily. It was the undescrivable loneliness that made a tight ball inside him. Nights of walking the streets, just walking the dark, seductive lanes off Signal Hill. Just walking, and maybe talking to himself. Himself and the dreary unattractive night.

But if you can come over here,
And make me know you do,
If only you come over here,
And make me know you do . . .

To walk along greying Darling Street just before the sun rose over Kloof Nek. The pale neon signs and the unnatural

quiet. Newspapers whisked about by predawn breezes, to return to his room and fall down exhausted on his sleeping bag. Friendless nights, hostile and womanless.

Come on baby make me know it,
Go ahead and really show it . . .
The Greek owner looked up from the till where he was counting his takings. "Yeah?" he enquired heavily. Braam ignored him. The only other occupants of the cafe were three heavily-rouged Coloured girls, sitting next to the juke. Obviously prostitutes. No conversation. Just sitting around their greasy table half-listening to the crooner.

"You want anything?" the owner asked. Braam did not reply.

"Coffee? Doughnuts? Cigarettes?" "Coffee", he replied although he did not really want any.

"One coffee!" the owner shouted through a hatch into the kitchen. Braam felt desperately like company, had to speak to someone, anyone, even the Coloured girls.

You say you've got kisses
And swear to me they're new . . .
Two of the prostitutes got up and started dancing with each other.

I bet that's fine if you aint lying,
So make me know they do . . .
Female bodies pressed close in a slow shuffle. A dreary and hopeless kind of dance, almost somnambulist with sad, expressionless faces. The remaining one stole surreptitious glances at Braam.

"Hallo?" he invited. She looked carefully at her fingernails. They were dirty under the bright red polish.

"Hallo?" he repeated. "Hallo again!" she said slowly looking at him.

"Care to dance?" he asked. "Sure."

She got up and stood waiting. Braam walked over and they started moving stiffly. At close quarters she looked far older than she had at first appeared. She was ugly. High cheekbones and a wide nose under a broad over-painted mouth. Her breath smelt stale.

You say you want to hold me,
And stick to me like glue . . .
Braam felt every muscle tingling. He could feel her warm flesh under her thin blouse.

Well hearing is deceiving
So make me know you do . . .
The two prostitutes continued dancing together ignoring the other couple.

"Hey you!" shouted the Greek owner. Braam looked at him.

"Cut that out."
"What?"
"It's not allowed here."
"What is not allowed?"
"You want me to lose my licence?"
"What the devil are you talking about!"

An Extract from RICHARD RIVE's novel 'EMERGENCY', recently accepted for publication.

"You can't dance with Coloured girls here."

"Go to hell."

"You want me to call the police?"

"Go and drown yourself."

They stopped dancing and sat down at the table. Braam was fuming.

"You angry?" the girl said.

"Just bloody crazy!"

"You not cross with me?"

"Not a damn."

"You know, I like you. Tell me your name."

"John. John Coetzee," he lied, "What's yours?"

"Call me Gladys."

"O.K. Gladys. Like some coffee?"

"No thanks."

"Then what would you like?"

"Just talk to me."

"What do I have to talk about?"

"Yourself."

"There's nothing to say really. I'm just a lonely guy who likes company like you."

"Jesus you're funny."

"Am I?" he asked hurt.

"Yes," she smiled.

"Would you like something stronger to drink?"

"Where do you stay?"

"Not far from here."

"Where?"

"Lower Bree Street. Above the Gloucester bar."

"Opposite the fruit shop?"

"Yes, right opposite the fruit shop."

"See you there later."

"Come along with me now."

"Don't be silly. There might be cops around."

Braam winced under the reprimand.

"Alright. See you later. But for goodness sake come alone."

"Sure Johnny-boy."

He walked out, giving the proprietor a dirty look.

"Hey," the Greek called after him. "here's your coffee."

"Shove it up your backside!" Braam replied. As he left the juke-box was finishing the blues

Make me know it, come on now

Go ahead and show it

I say seeing is believing

So make me know it's true

Braam was still angry he he mounted the steps to his room. He switched on the light. No that was far too bright. He lit the paraffin lantern, then cleared a space on the floor and spread out his ground-sheet and sleeping-bag. For twenty minutes he lay back staring at the patterns on the ceiling, waiting for the knock on the door. He wondered whether she would come. Hell if she didn't, the dirty, double-crossing whore. He was still smouldering over the cafe incident. No mixed dancing, no mixed drinking, eating, sleeping. What the devil could one do? He didn't hear the knock at first. Then it came softly again. He jumped up trembling with relief and lightly ran down the stairs.

LIBERIA: NEW STIRRINGS

by J. WODDIS

Formally speaking, Liberia has been an independent African state since 1847. But the independence was — and has largely remained — very limited. In the first case, this 'independent' state was settled by American Negroes, former slaves, who, despite the colour of their skin, rapidly became a new ruling caste over the indigenous inhabitants of the territory who naturally comprise the absolute majority of the population. For this majority there was no independence.

But secondly, and equally important, even this ruling group or "alien tyranny" in the words of the *Observer*, was itself not fully independent, but a puppet stratum, collaborating closely with the Western powers, especially the United States and Britain, who controlled it.

For many years Liberia's customs administration was largely run by British officials, and Britain had a key influence in the Liberian Navy whose officers and ratings were British-trained. Even the rubber concessions, for which Liberia has since become famous, were originally granted to an English company.

The Stars and Stripes

In 1910, however, the United States acquired virtually monopoly control over Liberia. The Americans took charge of finances, military organisation, agriculture and boundary questions; American officials were put in charge of the customs and other state departments; and American big business began to look for opportunities for profit making. An American-type constitution, and U.S. currency remain in use to this day.

In the 1920's the big American firm, Firestone, acquired the concessions for growing and exporting rubber from Liberia, and for some thirty years or more Liberia remained a "Firestone colony", just like one of the "banana republics" of Latin America.

The passing of the Firestone era is indicated in several ways. First, there has been a great increase in recent years in investments in Liberia by practically all the Western powers — Italy, Sweden, Holland, and especially Western Germany. Thus, the American monopoly hold is breaking down.

Secondly, by 1961 rubber was no longer the biggest earner amongst Liberia's exports. That place has now been taken over by iron ore, of which Liberia possesses vast quantities, and which is attracting most of the new capital which is pouring in.

Between 1943 and 1958, U.S. investments in Liberia soared from \$17m. to \$358m. The fact that the United States and NATO have bases here, and that Liberia has concluded a special "military assistance" agreement with the United States is not unconnected with these heavy U.S. investments.

Iron Ore

But is primarily the iron ore which is attracting American and other imperialist firms. Thus Republic Steel of the U.S. is the majority shareholder in the Liberian Mining Company which is exploiting the iron ore in the Bomi Hills.

Another major grouping, LAMCO, is "developing" (or rather, taking away) the iron ore deposits in the Nimba Mountains. This consortium includes Bethlehem Steel, as well as Swedish and German firms, including the Thyssen group. The United States Export-Import Bank is helping to finance this \$200 million project, with which Krupps are also associated.

A third key project is the Mano River mine, with which are associated the Export-Import Bank and Krupps, as well as Dutch interests.

The fourth mine, in the Bong Mountains, is dominated by a group of Ruhr steel companies who will, naturally, be buying the iron ore.

New-Look Imperialism

The imperialist exploitation of Liberia's rich iron ore resources will bring few benefits to Liberia. It is, in fact, sheer robbery.

Solid mountains of iron ore, which could be used to provide an iron and steel base for Liberia and thus pave the way to industrialisation and progress, are simply being hacked down, ton by ton, and carted away to Europe and the United States.

To this day Liberia does not possess a single mile of passenger railway, but, from each of the mines, railways are being built for the sole purpose of facilitating this immense robbery.

Describing the LAMCO project a couple of years ago in the *Daily Telegraph*, Peter Duval-Smith said "they will level a 4,000 foot mountain that is practically solid iron. They will build a 200-mile railway and harbour installations in order to carry the ore away".

Thus the mountains will disappear — and shareholders in the Ruhr, in New York and other western countries will be the main beneficiaries. And all this is called "aid."

If Liberia remains—as apparently is the policy of President Tubman — a rubber and iron ore exporter to the West, her economy will remain colonial and the people will continue to suffer.

People vs. Colonialism

Liberia's economy is completely lopsided. In the centre of Monrovia is the new luxury Ducor Palace Hotel. It is said that to build it all the building materials except stone had to be imported. Even nails!

But Liberia is not only without industry. She imports butter, cheese, milk, meat, ham, flour, rice, sugar and even some kinds of fruit.

So agriculture is neglected, in order that rubber can be grown. And indus-

try is stifled so that Liberian natural resources can be taken away.

But it is impossible to quarantine Liberia off from the great winds of liberation sweeping over Africa. A working class is growing, trade unions have been formed, and only last September a general strike of 30,000 workmen paralysed the capital for two days.

The *Observer* reports that leaflets are circulating in Liberia "urging 'the people' to follow the many examples already set for them elsewhere and to throw out their 'alien rulers'."

These new voices even exert their influence higher up, and sometimes compel the Liberian Government to take a stand more in line with the sentiments of the awakened millions of Africa.

Thus Liberia has officially introduced a total boycott of South African goods in protest against apartheid, and her spokesmen at the United Nations have spoken strongly and well on this question. Liberia even formed an association with Ghana and Guinea, though she later back-tracked and formed a bloc with Nigeria and the Brazzaville group.

Nevertheless, new assertions of sovereignty will be made, and the new voice of the working class will grow.

President Tubman is already having to take the new trends into account. Thus he is spreading education into the hinterland, and reported to be taking steps to give the indigenous people more representation and involve them more in government.

These are only small beginnings, mere adjustments to the new stirrings, to the new voices. But all does not depend on Tubman. It is inevitable that Liberia will take her place with the rest of Africa, and win her fight for economic liberation from domination by foreign monopolies.

FINEST VALUE IN PIPES

DR. MACNAB

FILTER

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