

FIGGETING

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TALK



{ An African National Congress Demonstration Against the Pass Laws. (see page 13.) }

The Republic and the Congresses

by Joe Matthews

Basutoland

by Brian Bunting

THE BOOK BURNERS

Alex. Hepple

ON CENSORSHIP

BRITAIN'S BOYCOTT MOVEMENT

by Tennyson Makiwane

THE AFRICAN MINER

SOME FACTS AND FIGURES

FIGHTING TALK

A monthly journal for Democrats

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SPECIAL AFRICA ISSUE in April.

The next issue of **FIGHTING TALK** will carry an Africa map, a guide to the newly independent states and the political movements heading the independence struggle, and special articles on African countries and problems.

Agents' orders for extra copies should be placed before March 25.

PICTURE OF THE MONTH

IN MOSCOW MR. KRUSCHEV told France's Pierre Cot that the Soviet Government is planning the complete abolition of all taxation; and if its disarmament proposals were accepted by the West, half the country's workers would go over to a six hour day before 1965. Sixty-five British Labour M.P.'s signed a motion in the House of Commons demanding the ending of the Nyasaland State of Emergency, so that the people may have "the advice and guidance of their political leaders, detained for over ten months without any charge."

TWENTY AFRO-ASIAN NATIONS wrote U.N. Secretary Hammarskjold to protest at "torture and other inhuman treatment" of Algerians by French authorities, said the facts were not refuted or denied by the French Government, and added that U.N. has the duty to press France to end these measures. In Kerala (India) elections, the first since the suspension of the Communist government last year, Communist votes rose from 35% to 40% of the total; a united front against the Communists managed to win 94 seats against the Communist 26. Communists polled just under 3 million votes; their closest rival the Congress Party two hundred thousand less. Two sticks of dynamite hurled from a passing car wrecked the home of Carlotta Walls, one of five Negro children enrolled in the once all-white Central High School at Little Rock, Arkansas. Police refused reporters the right of entry to talk to the family.

THE U.N. COMMITTEE ON SOUTH WEST AFRICA went into secret session on the question of renewing negotiations with the Verwoerd government. Earlier it had decided that petitions from Chief Hosea Kutako, Sam Nujoma of the Ovamboland Peoples Organisation and Willie Kaukuetu of the SWA National Union should be submitted through the South African government; if the Union failed to forward them within two months, rules would be invoked to declare the petitions validly received.

THE DOWNWARD TREND ON THE WALL STREET stock exchange continued, industrial stocks falling steadily in just over a month by ten percent. The fall runs counter to the trend of production, which rose during December and January to above its level of the pre-steel strike period. Minister of External Affairs, Eric Louw, stated in Parliament that the Union Government would like all nuclear tests banned, but was not prepared to condemn the decision of the French authorities to test an A-bomb in the Sahara.

A CHILLY BREEZE swept over stock exchange circles in Johannesburg, as atomic energy experts from U.S. and Britain met South Africa's Atomic Energy Board to discuss the world problem of uranium overproduction. The first Union contracts to supply uranium ore to Britain and America expire in 1963, and by 1966 all will have expired, and are not likely to be renewed at any price. Uranium production accounted for almost £38 million working profit out of a total of £99 million in 1958. In Cape Town, Minister of Justice Erasmus congratulated his predecessor, C. R. Swart, for his success in appointing Afrikaans speaking judges in sufficient numbers to balance those speaking English. Mr. Eglin (Progressive Party) "Must I understand from the Minister's statement that judges are appointed according to the language group to which they belong, and not on merit?" The Minister: "No, that is not the case. All I said was that we should guard against giving the impression that judges are appointed because of the language group to which they belong. We should try as far as possible to keep the balance between the language groups."

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY announced the formation of a commission to draft their views on votes, under the chairmanship of Donald Molteno. Its terms of reference: "To enable suitably qualified citizens of a defined degree of civilisation belonging to any population group to participate in the government of the country." "To provide constitutional safeguards . . . to prevent the exercise of unchecked power by any group in order to dominate any other group, white or non-white." Members of the public have been asked to submit views. In Vereeniging, Hendrik Bernardus Jacobus Olivier was committed for trial on a charge of attempting to murder Shabanga Kleinboo, seventy-year old African. Kleinboo, it is alleged, refused to push Olivier's car, because his knee was too sore; Olivier then shot him in the stomach with an air gun.

The Republic and the Congresses

On January 20, in the House of Assembly, the South African Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, made a major statement on the question of the republic in the Union.

In his speech Dr. Verwoerd stated that legislation would be introduced providing for a referendum to decide the future constitutional position of the Union. An endeavour was made to emphasise that the issue would be a straightforward choice between monarchy and republic. Needless to say throughout the whole of a characteristically long speech the majority of our South African population (the Non-Whites) were not mentioned at all.

It is important that the national liberatory movement and in particular its vanguard — the Congress Movement — must make clear its attitude to the republican issue and the forthcoming referendum. There already appear to be two wrong views that are emerging on this question.

King or Republic?

Following the example of Dr. Verwoerd's speech to Parliament people of varying shades of political opinion are engaging in a furious debate on the relative merits of a republican as against a monarchical system of government. In the modern world this is no longer an issue. Ex-King Farouk of Egypt once remarked that in a few years time there would be only five kings left in the world — the King of England and the four kings in a pack of cards. In South Africa certain factors go to emphasise the fact that there is no "real" issue based on a choice between a republic and a monarchy.

It is no accident that the national organisations of the oppressed people have not devoted much time to this question. Indeed the Freedom Charter which is the most comprehensive programme adopted by the progressive majority in our country makes no mention of it.

The fact is that we in this country are faced with a reality that completely overshadows everything else. Here a minority has organised a state in which the majority of the people are completely without rights. Democratic rights even of an elementary nature are denied to the Africans, Indians and Coloureds in South Africa. A system of racial discrimination that has made our country an outcast in civilised circles exists on a foundation of cheap labour that benefits mining magnates, industrialists, far-

DR. VERWOERD MUST BE DEFEATED
says **JOE MATTHEWS**

mers and imperialists in Britain, America and France.

The maintenance of this set-up has been a major pre-occupation of the South African monarchy and it will be the major pre-occupation of the Verwoerdian republic.

In the conditions in which we live to place in the forefront the question of a republic versus monarchy is therefore a diversion. It is quite possible and indeed it is to be hoped that all progressives in South Africa are supporters of a republican system of government. But what sort of a republic? Is this the time to discuss what sort of a republic we want? The crushing reality of the Colour-bar is what we face. The issue is one of Rights.

This leads to the second wrong view which asserts that as we are engaged in a struggle for democratic rights the Non-Whites must not interest themselves in the forthcoming referendum at all. For different reasons Dr. Verwoerd and his cohorts also feel that the referendum is the White man's business. This is an extension in the political field of the idea that the place of the Black man is in the kitchen.

The Congress Movement which represents the interests of the majority in our country is positively concerned with everything that takes place in our country. It offers a challenge to all other parties in the leadership not merely of the oppressed national groups but of the Europeans as well. Not only is it interested in the forthcoming referendum but the Congress Movement is bound to throw its full weight decisively into the referendum battle as an uninvited but dominant guest.

In our struggle for fundamental rights for all in South Africa we should support and develop every tendency that strengthens the forces of freedom. Conversely we must encourage every tendency that weakens our enemy and isolates him further.

What would be the consequences of a defeat for Dr. Verwoerd and his party in the referendum? The Prime Minister himself in his speech to Parliament indicated that a defeat in the referendum would not lead to the downfall of the government which would still have a majority in parliament. This was an

advance attempt to minimise the effects of a defeat that is within the realms of possibility.

Defeat Apartheid via the Referendum

The fact is that if the Nationalists are defeated in the referendum it would not represent a set-back for the cause of republicanism. On the contrary it would be a clear indictment of the policies followed by the worst section of the ruling class in South Africa. It is APARTHEID which will have suffered a severe set-back. The Nationalists are aware of this. That is why their propaganda machine is working overtime to explain that it is only the Republic divorced from all other issues that will be adjudicated upon in the referendum. The truth is that a defeat for the Nationalists will be an important victory for the forces that have a vital interest in the destruction of Apartheid.

Does it require much intelligence to realise that a victory for Dr. Verwoerd and his party will be interpreted by them as the green light to go all out with their schemes for further oppression of the people — pass laws, bantustans, tribal colleges, groups areas, removals, banishments and all the pernicious measures associated with Apartheid?

Dr. Verwoerd must be defeated. All White progressives — the real supporters of a democratic republic, are obliged to cast their votes against the feudal autocracy which in true Nationalist style is mis-named a republic.

What about the voteless? Should they fold their arms whilst the campaign rages on about their heads?

The Stay-at-home campaign of April 1958, if it failed in some respects, succeeded brilliantly in making it abundantly clear that the liberatory movement would not stand aside but would gate crash into white election campaigns with an independent policy.

In this year of African freedom — 1960 — our organisations must engage in mass struggles that will leave no one in any doubt as to the real issues that confront the country. The referendum is one of the numerous battlefields on which the Congress Movement will be required to act in the fight for freedom and democracy. The economic boycott, the anti-pass struggle, the fight for a minimum wage of £1 a day, Bantu education, these are the issues which must be tackled with greater vigour and organisational efficiency if our intervention in the referendum is to be effective.

The Boycott: From Breeze to Gale

To Save from Tyranny

We are convinced that the desperate situation which has developed for the majority of the people of South Africa after 12 years of reckless rule by the Nationalist Government can no longer be resolved by South Africa left to itself, unaided by a powerful current of world opinion, compelling the attention of the average man and woman.

We are also convinced that if South Africa is to be saved, she must be saved now.

The call for a boycott of South African goods was made to bring home to the Nationalist Government and its supporters not only the justice and weight of the demands of the Non-White people, but also, by an unmistakable demonstration, the world's dislike of the policies of the South African government.

The boycott is not intended to be, nor can it be, a substitute for active campaigning within South Africa against Nationalist tyranny, but it will strengthen the hand of those who stand by democracy and should lead South Africa to a new and more realistic appraisal of the true problems before her.

OLIVER TAMBO,
Vice-President of the
African National Congress.

The Aching Tooth

Race relations are being strained to breaking point by the policies of the Nationalist Government.

When the African National Congress called upon the people of the world to demonstrate against these racial policies it did so in the name of the majority of the peoples of South Africa who do not share in the government of the country and because the question of racialism in South Africa is an international issue.

We believe that we share with the peoples of the world the desire of the overwhelming part of mankind to eradicate racialism and build racial harmony. We are entitled, in this world cause, to appeal for support and for demonstrations of solidarity from all those who share our views.

Africans will suffer because of the boycott, some say. Our people are suffering now.

The struggle for freedom is like extracting an aching tooth. The pain of the extraction passes over with the immense relief of the nagging ache.

DUMA NOKWE,
Secretary-General of the
African National Congress.

There is something of an electric atmosphere around 200 Gower Street, campaign office of the Movement for the Boycott of South African goods. The office is situated in a basement. Coming down the wooden staircase reminds one of a shady office once occupied by the Congress in West Street, Johannesburg. However, there are some consoling aspects. When you want to get away from the crowds of organisers and helpers scattered about the office you can nip upstairs and indulge in some 'big talk' on the problems of Africa in the office of Kanyama Chiume of the Nyasaland Congress or Southern Rhodesian Congress leader Joshua Nkomo or some other exile about. Just across the street, next to a coffee house, is a house where Italian revolutionary Giuseppe Mazzini once lived — which heightens the historic significance of the surroundings.

The Boycott should lift the glory of Gower Street still higher.

The other day I came into the office and found two organisers enthusiastically preparing a speech which was going to be delivered at an important meeting. They soon got bogged down, however, on the problem of how to proceed to address the people who would be gathered there. "How do you address the nobility?" A bright student quickly chipped in "I believe the proper thing is to say 'Madam Chairman, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen.'"

And so indeed the meeting was attended by what you might call 'Big Nobs' such as Lord and Lady Pakenham, Lord Altrincham, Sir Lewis Casson, Dame Sybil Thorndike and messages were sent by Lord Strabolgi and Lady Violet Bonham Carter. Lady Violet is the daughter of the former British Prime Minister (then a practising lawyer) who drafted the Statute of the Union of South Africa in 1910. A resolution supporting the Boycott was unanimously passed at the meeting.

This meeting symbolised the broadness of the support which the Boycott has rallied in Britain — ranging from the Communist Party to members of the House of Lords.

To date support for the boycott comprises an impressive list of organisations such as:

The Association of Supervisory, Salaried and Engineering Technicians; the National Union of Mineworkers; student organisations; Co-operative

Women's Guilds; Individual Co-operative Societies; Town Councils; the Committee of African Organisations; Christian Action; Communist Party; Labour Party; Liberal Party; National Council for Civil Liberties; Trades Union Congress; Movement for Colonial Freedom; Tobacco Workers' Union; Liverpool Council; London County Council, and others.

In addition, some 38 Boycott Committees have been set up throughout the country and at least 120 meetings have been held on the Boycott.

No one remembers any single colonial issue in recent years that has gained such wide support.

The growth and development of the movement has provided many valuable lessons. Starting from small beginnings, under the sponsorship of the Committee of African Organisations, the movement is now a national campaign. During its infancy one remembers the endless queries raised by a number of well-wishers, such as — "Do you think you will interest people in it?" or "The press will ignore us." Many people remembered the treatment the local press gave to such mass campaigns as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Aldermaston March where press reporters concentrated on reporting the number of dogs which were taken along during the march, or the gimmick photographs showing "A Ban the Bomb" slogan impressed on the rim of an old black hat, with the real object of the march being ignored of course.

The most dubious role however, was that played by South African official circles here. They followed behind addressing meetings in places which had been visited by the Boycott Movement, selling the Big Story that the Boycott would harm the Africans themselves. At some places angry Africans would retort: "We are willing to suffer for our freedom, look at what is happening, for instance, in Algeria, where people are actually dying in the struggle!" The South African officials would reply "The Boycott will entail starvation and therefore slow death which is worse than the Algerian situation."

However, the lies were nailed and a breakthrough was made resulting in the broadening of the campaign. Once that stage was reached ideas about spreading the campaign streamed in. "Fight Apartheid with your shopping bag," said a slogan coined for the housewives.

by TENNYSON
MAKIWANE

The African Mineworker

Somebody composed a calypso for the Boycott. The Boycott Movement was inundated with designs for badges to publicise the boycott. Whereas at the beginning of the campaign the task of making up banners and slogans was undertaken by a few dutiful South African students, now the Movement has professionals to do the work. And still one or two undergraduate art students barge in criticising these claiming that they are not professional enough!

Why has the Boycott been able to gain ground so rapidly? Firstly, the revulsion of world opinion against Apartheid and the call for the Boycott has answered the questions of those who have been wanting to know what they can do about the situation. Secondly, the general interest in people's struggles in Africa has focussed a picture that has been taking shape of progress and advance, on the one hand, and a move backwards, in the case of South Africa, on the other hand.

The choice of a limited period for the Boycott also proved good policy because in this way the largest possible number of supporters have been rallied behind the Boycott Movement.

Already, in an atmosphere of growing enthusiasm, people are asking what the next step will be.

The achievements of the Boycott point the answer to this question. Wide publicity has been given in the press, on television and radio, on the Apartheid situation in South Africa. Even the people who are still sceptical about the use of this weapon have been compelled to preface their statements by pointing out that they should not be mistaken to be in agreement with Apartheid. The period following Boycott Month is going to open new avenues of activities against Apartheid and already suggestions are pouring in.

Meanwhile the campaign is fast gaining an international character given new impetus by the decision of the All-African Peoples Conference, in Tunis, to intensify the Boycott, and by decisions of trade unions backing the boycott in such countries as far apart as the United States, Ireland, Cyprus, Malaya, etc.

The draughty international breeze that is blowing up might soon develop into a raging gale. Can South Africa continue to ignore it?

When the roof of the Coalbrook mine collapsed trapping 430 odd men, except for the six Europeans amongst them there were only two Union citizens. Half the

SOME FACTS AND FIGURES

men trapped and killed came from Portuguese East Africa, the others from Basutoland. Overnight South Africans — and perhaps people throughout Africa too — came to the sudden realisation that the South African mining industry no longer rests on the broad backs of South African workers. Coalbrook is, perhaps exceptional. But the pattern is typical of the whole mining industry.¹ Over the years the South African mines have come to rely ever more heavily on the labour they import from outside our borders, till today the overwhelming majority of the mine-workers are "foreigners."

Let us take 1957 as a year for analysis. In that year, only one-third of all African miners came from the Union of South Africa. All the rest were imported from abroad, and shipped back out of the country as soon as their terms of contract labour had been completed. At the end of the year, only 108,000 of the 325,000 Africans employed on the mines were South Africans. Portuguese East Africa supplied almost as many, 99,000 men, 30% of the total African labour force. The Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland supplied 57,000, 18%; and what are referred to in mining circles as "Tropicals", i.e. Africans recruited in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland numbered 61,000 or 19%.

From Far and Near

The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, (WNLA) has a monopoly of recruiting rights in Portuguese East Africa and territories further north. In its annual report it gives a breakdown, province by province or protectorate by protectorate, of the areas from which the African miners are drawn. On the subject of the "Tropicals" however it is discreetly silent. So too are all the glossy handouts prepared by the Chamber of

¹ In this article, the phrase "mining industry" refers to those mines which are members of the Transvaal and Orange Free State Chamber of Mines, constituting the overwhelming majority of the gold, coal and precious mineral producers of South Africa, but not including a number of small independent producers.

Mines. It appears that these 61,000 men are recruited through stations and depots in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but probably come from further afield than that, from Tanganyika, also Angola, possibly even Kenya.

Of the Union citizens, 74,000 come from the Cape Province — largely the Transkei and Ciskei areas; 18,500 come from the Transvaal, 12,000 from Natal and a mere 3,500 from the Orange Free State. Of the men from the Protectorates, 40,000 come from Basutoland, 11,500 from Bechuanaland and 3,500 from Swaziland. Almost all these men are recruited by the Native Recruiting Corporation (NRC) from the tribal areas and reserves. Only a tiny fraction of the South African workers employed come from the towns. In 1957, for example, only 7,500 workers in this whole labour force are classified by official figures as "Locals, i.e. Natives transferred from other employment to that of the mines." This figure represents the measure of the South African urbanised workers' regard for mining employment. Even under the heavy pressure of pass laws and influx control regulations, even with duress brought on every unemployed African to transfer to farm work or mining — only 7,500 men a year from the whole urban working class take up jobs on the mines.

The Life They Face

The reasons for this dislike and distrust of mining are many and various. The low rate of wages is one; the compound system, with its restrictions on off-hours freedom is another. But these are not the whole story; the annual statistics of the WNLA tell the rest of the story of what it means to be a miner in South Africa.

Let us look at a group of 1000 miners on the South African mines. Within a year, five will be dead, slightly more than half from accidents,² slightly less than half from disease. Of those who survive, seventeen will be sufficiently seriously injured in mining accidents to be examined by a Medical Board for assessment of possible compensation. Of the rest, eleven will be admitted to hospital in a single year for treatment of lung afflictions arising out of underground work,

² For the year 1957, accidental deaths per 1000 African workers numbered 2.51; Deaths from disease per 1000 African workers: 2.21. Based on an average number of 351,600 workers, this would represent 882 dead from accidents, 777 dead from disease. Figures given in Parliament by the Minister of Mines for the year 1959 show that 733 African workers were killed on duty in that year.

pneumoconiosis, tuberculosis and other pulmonary diseases. Only in a very lucky year will even one of these eleven recover sufficiently to return to work. All the others will be discharged and repatriated. Other diseases and illnesses of all kinds will bring seventy more men out of the 1000 into hospitals during the year. Only half of them will be fit enough after treatment to return to work; the other half will be discharged and repatriated.²

Run Away — Live Another Day

And of those who come through the hazards of accidents and disease, fifty in every thousand will "desert", that is, they will leave the mines before their contracts expire; those who are caught will be brought back and imprisoned. Consider that last figure well. In the single year of 1957, 18,670 men deserted their jobs on South Africa's mines; 18,670 men who had signed on for contracts up to 180 shifts took their chance with the whole closely-knit South African network of pass laws, permit regulations and influx control regulations and made a break for the world outside.

The figures for desertions show, generally, that those who live closest to the mining areas and who can most easily desert and get away with it have the highest rate of desertion.

While, on average, 50 workers per 1000 desert each year, 110 of every 1000 Orange Free State workers desert, 103 of every 1000 Basutoland workers and 78 of every 1000 Natal workers. By contrast, less than 40 of every 1000 Portuguese East or "Tropical" workers desert. Here, no doubt, is one reason for the growing South African reliance on these workers. To deal with this high desertion rate, the mines have instituted a scheme for South African and Protectorate workers only known as the "Assisted voluntary" scheme. This scheme differs from the usual recruiting scheme in this, that "assisted volunteers" have their rail fares from their homes to the mines advanced to them; the money is

² During 1957, 4,002 Africans were admitted to hospital for Pneumoconiosis examination. (6215 in 1956.) Of these, 12 died, 23 deserted and 62 were returned to work. The remainder were repatriated and discharged. In the same year, 6975 men were examined by Central Medical Boards to determine the extent of their incapacitation through accidents. A further 27,500 men were admitted to hospital for non-pulmonary diseases during the year.

Compensation payments made to men killed and wounded were as follows: In 1957, of 6975 men examined by the Central Medical Board after accidental injury, 3,270 received compensation totalling £129,500, an average of just less than £40 each.

It was stated in Parliament this year that for the year 1959, an average amount of £248 was paid to the dependants of Africans killed in mine accidents. No compensation is payable if the man killed has no dependants.

then recovered from their pay, but is refunded to them only when they have completed 180 shifts. How high the desertion rate would be without this additional deterrent — there are over 60,000 assisted volunteers — can only be guessed at.

Who Gains?

What benefits accrue in Africa from all this? For the Union of South Africa the benefits are considerable. Those who own the gold mines, both the multi-millionaire magnates here and abroad and the thousands of smaller shareholders scattered amongst the White population of the Union, there are dividend payments of over £43½ million for the year 1958. And those Europeans who themselves work in the gold mines draw their share of the profits, paid to them in the form of increased wages, benefits and privileges in return for their overseeing and 'bossing-up' of the Non-White workers. Thus the average White miner, the underground miner, earns not less than 65/- per shift for supervising from ten to (as in Coalbrook) one hundred Africans who earn about 3/4d. per shift each.

But for the rest of Africa, especially those territories from which the African miners come to the industry, the benefits are less tangible. All recruits from outside the Union have a portion of their pay 'deferred'; this deferred pay is not drawn when earned, but is only paid out in the worker's homeland after he has completed his contract and been repatriated. This deferred pay, together with the money spent by the WNLA and NRC in administrative expenses, amounts in a single year to just over £1½ million for Portuguese East Africa, just over £½ million pounds each for Bechuanaland and Basutoland, less than £½ million for Nyasaland and less than £½ million for Northern Rhodesia.

Against the vast profits which are made from the toil of the African workers these are paltry sums indeed. But even these paltry sums have to be bought by these countries at considerable cost. Not the least of this cost is the drag on the health standards and health services of these countries which results from the repatriation of incurably diseased and slowly dying men from the South African mines. But the greatest cost is the draining away from their own production of a large part of their able-bodied men at the age when they are at the peak of their physical prowess. Looked at this way, the balance sheet is far heavier in losses than in gains.

Not long ago, at the Accra Conference, the representatives of independent African states recognised their duty to their

This article on the Censorship of Books and Periodicals is one of the chapters in "Censorship and Press Control in South Africa" by Alex. Hepple, here re-printed by kind permission of the writer. The booklet, an invaluable guide to the threats to the freedom of the Press in South Africa, is available at 5/- a copy from P.O. Box 2864, Johannesburg.

"The whole civilised world was shocked when on the evening of May 10, 1933, the books of authors displeasing the Nazis, were solemnly burned on the immense Franz Josef Platz between the University of Berlin and the State Opera on Unter den Linden. I was a witness to the scene. All afternoon Nazi raiding parties had gone into public and private libraries, throwing into the streets such books as Dr. Goebbels in his supreme wisdom had decided were unfit for Nazi Germany . . ."

LOUIS F. LOCHNER—Introduction to "The Goebbels Diaries."

"In every democratic country where there is talk of a campaign against undesirable publications, the question of the freedom of publication is also raised . . . The preposterous misconception of the freedom of publication . . . must be regarded as one of the principal reasons, and perhaps the most important reason of all, for the aggravation of the problem under discussion because it frequently obstructs or thwarts effective and drastic action."

(Report of the Committee of Enquiry in Regard to Undesirable Publications, October 1956.)

own people to put a stop to the traffic in working men between these Northern Territories and South Africa. They resolved to build up their own economies as rapidly as possible to provide alternative fields of employment for their menfolk. That plan is at present at varying rates being put into operation. As the dawning of independence spreads through Africa, as the flow of "foreign" labour to the mines here gets cut off at its source as soon it must, the mining industry will have to find its labour from within the boundaries of South Africa itself. And that it cannot do — save at the bayonet point — while conditions for the working miners remain what they are. This is one of the eddies which is beginning to let loose in our own country the much talked of "winds of change."

L. BERNSTEIN.

THE BOOK BURNERS

by ALEX. HEPPLÉ

At the present time, censorship is applied only to imported books, periodicals and other printed matter.

There is no control of domestic publications through the Board of Censors. Several of the Union's laws can be used to prosecute those who deal in obscene or indecent literature, but in practice the censorship of publications is applied mainly through the Customs Act, and therefore only to imported material.

This anomaly has caused some uncertainty in the enforcement of book bans. In 1956 a bookseller and a law student were convicted of being in possession of banned literature, the former being fined £15 (or 10 days) and the latter £20 (or two months). They successfully appealed against the convictions, the judges finding that there was no proof that the books had been imported. Some bore inscriptions "published in Britain", and others "published in Germany". The Court held that this evidence in itself was not sufficient proof, as the books may have been reprinted in South Africa, and it was not uncommon for overseas publications to be printed locally.

If this is done the censors are powerless. After Bertrand Russell's essay "WHY I AM NOT A CHRISTIAN" was banned last year under the Customs Act, the Rationalist Association published and printed it in English and Afrikaans in South Africa and were legally entitled to distribute it.

Customs Control

Censorship begins at the ports of entry into South Africa, where Customs officials are required to keep watch for consignments of books and other printed matter. Any matter which they consider may be undesirable, is held up, and sample copies forwarded to the Board of Censors. The Board examines such publications and if of the opinion that they should not be allowed into the country, make a recommendation to the Minister of the Interior to the effect that the publications in question be placed on the banned list. If the Minister accepts the Board's recommendations, he publishes a notice in the Government Gazette under the heading "Customs Act 1955 — Objectionable Literature", naming the publications and describing them to be "indecent, objectionable or obscene" — with the warning that

"any person who knowingly has in his possession or deals in any such publications shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine of one thousand pounds, or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding five years, or to both such fine and imprisonment."

The penalty for distributing any banned publication is a fine of £200 or 12 months' imprisonment.

Permanent Bans

Some of the notices state that the ban applies not only to the publication specified, but to all future issues. A notice in two consecutive issues of the Government Gazette imposes a permanent ban on any imported periodical, and thereafter it is not necessary for the Minister to issue notices in respect of later issues nor to give the public any subsequent advice of banning. For example, "AFRICA DIGEST", a monthly summary of events on the Continent of Africa (mainly excerpts from newspaper reports) published by the Africa Bureau, London, was put on the banned list four years ago. The Minister of the Interior gave as the reason for banning —

"The general nature and tenor of reading matter in the publication over a number of issues were such that the entry thereof was considered to be prejudicial to the peace and security of the State."

The public is expected to know that all issues of this magazine (and many others) are prohibited.

An enthusiastic young social reformer or politician, who was a schoolboy at the time when these bans were imposed, may find himself in dire trouble if his thirst for facts about developing Africa tempts him to subscribe to "AFRICA DIGEST" years after notification of the ban appeared in the Government Gazette.

The Board of Censors

The Board of Censors comprises fifteen members, eight of whom are ex-teachers. The Board employs thirty-three readers, about half of whom are housewives, to scrutinise imported publications. The duty of the readers is to report to the Board on the books and periodicals given them for examination. These reports and the publications to which they refer are thereafter scrutinised by one or more members of the Board, before the Board's opinion and recommendations are submitted to the Minister of the Interior.

Bans Are Arbitrary

South African booksellers have complained continually of the difficulties in importing books from overseas because

of the delays at the Customs and offices of the Board of Censors. A chief difficulty is the uncertainty; it is impossible to ascertain in advance whether a book will be passed by the Censors or not. Dealers usually like to order new books in advance of publication date, so as to have them available when the books are advertised by the publishers.

Because of the uncertainty, South African booksellers now delay ordering many kinds of books, especially those dealing with colour and political problems for fear of falling foul of the Censors and having the books confiscated.

The test of whether a publication is indecent, obscene or objectionable lies in the arbitrary judgement of the Minister of the Interior. Once he has banned a book, there is no recourse to law to dispute his judgement. The standards to be applied by the Minister and the Board of Censors are nowhere defined.

Like censors the world over, South African book banners sometimes surprise the public by an odd folly in suppressing a book of note. There follows a short-lived outcry, some sarcastic editorial comment, a question in Parliament and perhaps a protest. Then all is quiet again and the censors carry on in the same old way, with the public unaware and unconcerned at the many other books which are suppressed. For the books of modern writers there is rarely an outcry, for age has not purified them.

What Gets Banned

The fact that some 4,000 books are on South Africa's banned list should trouble the minds of everyone. More disturbing is the fact that a large percentage of the banned books are political and sociological works.

Censorship to the ordinary mind is related only to obscene, pornographic books. Most people think that our censors suppress only smut. They do not know that South Africa's censors are just as much occupied with political censorship as with the suppression of pornography.

It is essential to keep this fact in mind when considering the question of censorship. Political censorship is a lethal weapon in the hands of executive bodies having arbitrary powers.

To get a proper perspective of book banning in South Africa, it is advisable to separate the prohibited publications

into three broad categories — pornography and horror, politics, and sociology.

The first category, pornography and horror includes all publications which deal in sex, smut, crime, terror and similar matters. Political books need no further definition, excepting that most of those banned are communist, socialist, left wing or trade union publications. The sociological books cover those which deal with racial and social problems or uphold equality between the races, or show social intermingling of people of different colour.

"Communitistic" Literature

In recent years, the Board and the Minister have followed a policy of banning outright all publications from communist countries, as well as those which appear to them to be pro-communist.

As a result there is a formidable list of books banned as "communitistic."

To give some idea of what falls in this category, here are the names of publications with titles commencing with the letter "A" of the alphabet, taken from the Government's Revised List dated 17th August 1956 —

- Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.
- Academy of Medical Sciences of the U.S.S.R. Scientific Session on the Physiological Teachings of Academician J. P. Pavlov, etc.
- Achievements in the Protection of Mother and Child in the Rumanian People's Republic.
- Agrarian Reform Law of the People's Republic of China.
- Anti-Duhring, by Frederick Engels.
- Architectural Student, issued by the International Union of Students.
- Achievements in the Sphere of Public Health Protection in Rumanian People's Republic, issued by the Ministry of Health, Bucharest, 1953.
- Aa3apabctbyet Imar.
- Arts in the Rumanian People's Republic.

This selection has been confined to works with titles beginning with the first letter of the alphabet. It does not include many others in later lists. It is not necessary to quote further examples as this is a fair sample of the banned books listed from B to Z. In passing, it is interesting to observe that the Board has a Russian Prince reading "communitistic" books.

Keeping Literature White

When one looks at the list of banned publications which deal with race relations and events in Africa, one is immediately struck by the force of the explanation of the Minister of the Interior, when he said that "AFRICA DIGEST" was banned because it was considered to be prejudicial to the peace and security of the State.

Such bannings expose the fear which torments the Government of South Africa and commits it to strange policies. They reveal that baasskap apartheid cannot tolerate rival attitudes and must hope to survive by silencing the voice of dissent.

Here is a sample of the hundreds of books on apartheid, Africa and racial questions which are on the banned list:

- Africa, Africa! by Derek Kartun.
- The African Standard.
- Africa Bulletin.
- Africa Digest.
- The Afro-American.
- Apartheid (as seen through the eyes of a Bantu) — George Ernest Spencer.
- Darkening Shadow over Africa, by Basil Davidson.
- Memorandum on South West Africa, by Michael Scott.
- New Africa, published by African Affairs, New York.
- Peekskill U.S.A., by Howard Fast.
- Native Son, by Richard Wright.
- Second Class Taxi by Sylvester Stein.
- The Tribe that lost its Head by Nicholas Monsarratt.
- The Roots of Prejudice — Arnold Rose (UNESCO pamphlet).
- Caste and Class in a Southern Town — John Dollard.
- Passive Resistance in South Africa — Leo Kuper.
- The Skin is Deep by Hans Hofmeyr.
- Tell Freedom — Peter Abrahams.
- Dwell Together in Unity by John Hatch.

Trade Unionism

Trade Union publications also come under close scrutiny and many of them fail to pierce the fine mesh screen of arbitrary censorship.

Pornography and Horror

It is impossible to give a detailed list of the books banned by the South African Censors. Those who wish to examine the official list of about four thousand banned publications will find them in various Government Gazettes, beginning with the Revised List in Government Gazette Extraordinary No. 5370 of the 17th August, 1956.

In these lists are a number of publications which are plain filth — smut for smut's sake, or smut for profit's sake. The traffic in pornography is as active nowadays as it ever was.

The mass export of horror comics from America, which induced some Governments to introduce special censorship laws, was met by the South African Censors through the Customs Act. The suppression of these frightening publications presented no problem to our censors.

They did have problems, obviously, with other publications which the Customs officers thought were indecent. Not perhaps with the works of Erskine Cald-

well and James T. Farrell, for nearly all these are on the banned list. So is "STREETCAR NAMED DESIRE" by Tennessee Williams, "THE WAYWARD BUS" by John Steinbeck, "ACROSS THE RIVER AND INTO THE TREES", by Ernest Hemingway, "MILDRED PIERCE", by James M. Cain, "AARON'S ROD", by D. H. Lawrence, "DISHONOUR" by Gerald Kersh and "I, CLAUDIUS" by Robert Graves.

These titles have been extracted at random and are quoted merely to show what type of book is repugnant to our censors. Some of the books have been banned because of their provocatively illustrated covers, and not because of their contents.

This has been mentioned only in a general way by the Minister of the Interior, for reasons are never given for bannings, and it is left to the imagination to guess what prompted the censors to prohibit a publication.

Courts have no say

Those who are aggrieved at the decisions of the censors can do nothing about it, for there is no recourse to law. The decisions of the censors, applied through the arbitrary powers of the Minister of the Interior, cannot be tested in the Courts.

There is nothing to prevent the Government extending its political censorship through these powers.

If the recommendations of the Cronje Commission are adopted by the Government, the arbitrary suppression of books, pamphlets, periodicals, and other printed matter, which now applies to imported publications will be extended to cover all locally produced literature.

The Nationalist Party leaders are strongly in favour of action of this kind. Their attitude is that the State should have the right to lay down standards and decide what reading matter should be allowed to the public.

Their point of view was expressed by Mr. H. E. Martins, M.P., who said in Parliament on the 21st May, 1957:—

"I should just like to make it quite clear that these liberal books, which in some cases reveal communitistic trends are so avidly read in secret that they not only disturb the relations between Whites and Non-Whites but they also create among the Non-Whites certain aspirations, certain expectations which cannot possibly be realised in South Africa, and the result is that these people are stirred up into a state of frustration and this will undermine the peace in South Africa. That is why it is necessary to ban such books."

Taking the long lists of banned foreign books as a guide, we may well shudder at the fate awaiting us.

Nationalist Empire in the Reserves

by G. MBEKI

In the first article in this series the writer showed that Nationalist plans for Bantustan Reserves are aimed at reducing the number of people dependant for their livelihood on farming and placing the landless in settlements, or labour centres.

Afrikaner capitalism built itself up by exploiting the racial sentiments of the Afrikaner worker, but now it needs areas for further expansion. Competition from the longer established industrial enterprises under English and Jewish control is too fierce so Nationalist capital seeks to trek away to new pastures. In the Reserves the machinery of the state, such as the pass laws, can be used to control large African populations as cheap labour and as a market for the products of the new near-Reserve industries.

But first the Nationalists must clear the record with White South Africa. Here the politicians play skilfully on white prejudice against and fears of the African. The Nationalists guarantee, they shout from the meeting platform, to ensure the survival of the white man as a racial group. There is only one way to remove the cause of the white man's fears: the African must be sent packing to his "natural home" — the Reserves.

There are those who ask: what will they live on there?

The reserves have vast agricultural and industrial possibilities, answer the Nationalists.

Possibilities, yes, for those who will supervise and control this 'development'.

If the Africans have not the resources to establish industries in the reserves, the White manager, with his skills, his capital and managerial experience, will establish them on behalf of the Africans. And to that section of the African people whose co-operation is needed for carrying out this scheme, there goes the promise that when Africans are ready to take over the industrial enterprises, white control will be withdrawn.

Now the decks are cleared for Nationalist capitalist ambitions. Collaborators have been sought out among the Africans and White South Africa thinks the Nationalist entrepreneurs are ensuring not their bank balances but the future of the 'race'.

Business enterprises can now be set up in various ways.

Private White Industry

The Tomlinson survey showed that some reserves cannot be organised to serve the labour requirements of border industries but there are suitable industrial sites within the Reserves. The Transkei is one such place where no border industries can be established but where there are industrial possibilities on the Umtata River. Already a few small industries run as White private enterprises are in existence in Umtata. These include a garment factory and a sweet factory already in production.

The recent taking over of the Ornatto Furniture factory at Umtata and the establishment of a sawmill near one of the forests is the practical application of the Nationalist policy to seize and exploit for themselves all available opportunities in the Reserves.

But the greenest pastures to which Nationalist enterprises will trek will be on the European border-side of the Reserves. Here fit in the mass removal plans for putting people dispossessed of their land in reserve locations near enough to the border to enable this labour force daily to cross to work in the white-owned factories situated on the other side.

Cut Throat Competition

These enterprises will have incalculable advantages compared with those in the established industrial centres.

They will operate in areas outside those affected by industrial legislation agreements and can therefore pay very low wages.

These industries will be under no obligation to provide amenities for their labour in their locations because the workers are in 'their own areas', and their local authorities will have to provide amenities. This will mean throwing on the shoulders of the residents themselves the entire burden of transport and public health services, housing and welfare.

A number of these border industries have already been established at Kingwilliamstown in the Cape, near Durban,

Talk of 'developing' these areas is hollow. Without far-reaching industrial projects and extensive urbanisation the Reserves will remain rooted in poverty.

The real aim of setting up the Bantustans is to find areas where Afrikaner industrial capitalism can expand and thrive.

at Newcastle and Ladysmith in Natal, and others are proposed for the Western areas of the Transvaal. Owing to lower production costs, chiefly wages which are often as low as 15/- a week for women and 25/- for men, factories in the established industrial areas have been savagely undercut. This has been seen strikingly in the garment industry.

When the border industries are in full swing it is quite on the cards that the Nationalist Government will find many ways to win preferential treatment for the capital that backs these industries. They could find ways to coerce the traders in the reserves to give preference to products of Nationalist concerns. And if, as a result of this competition, factories in the towns close down the Nationalists will invoke job reservation to keep White workers in jobs but will also call on the Whites, as part of the sacrifices they agreed to make for Nationalist apartheid, to provide the money to help unproductive workers to maintain white standards.

The Nationalist planners want the Africans to pay the costs of building the new Nationalist Capitalist Empire, and the Whites, in their turn, are expected to do likewise.

This scheme, then, to surround the reserves with their industries and to site some even inside the reserves is part of a wider economic and financial plan to divert the purchasing power of the Africans into Nationalist controlled business concerns.

Bantu Investment Corporation

The Bantu Investment and Development Corporation fits into this wider scheme.

It will provide small financial aid to the African middle class to 'bribe' it to remain quiescent, and also to enable the government, through the officials of the Bantu Affairs Department, to keep a constant eye on those who obtain loans and generally on the trader group.

In keeping with the contention that African businessmen require guidance the B.A.D. is sending out field workers to show Africans how to run their busi-

(Continued on page 16)

AFRICA ROUND-UP

by
A. SACHS

We have got the answer, said the **BRITISH**. A strong, firm but just administration ruling through the existing chiefs. Indirect rule, with the Union Jack flying high as a symbol of law and order. Even better, if there is a large settler community, then shove the chiefs, tribes and all into reserves, and rule through the Whites.

We have got the answer, said the **FRENCH**. Liberty, equality, and a stay in Paris. Marianne is mother to us all. Destroy the chieftainships, and let those in authority be Frenchmen — black, brown or white. Thus will the Blacks of Africa, or at least the elite amongst them, come to love their new mother France.

We have got the answer, said the **BELGIANS**. The "natives" are not interested in politics. Give them a job, and a chance of increasing their skills, and they will come to

bless you. A chief or two is useful, but the main thing is to rule through a firm Belgian administration.

We have got the answer, said the **PORTUGUESE**. The "natives" should be honoured, and if they are not, then they must be punished. Those who are sensible enough to adopt our faith and to get some schooling can even enjoy all the rights of citizenship of our country.

And just in case the Africans do not believe us, said the **British**, the **French**, the **Belgians** and the **Portuguese**, we have got soldiers, paratroops and gunboats to prove that we are right.

Unfortunately for these Europeans, **THE AFRICANS** have been too unsophisticated to appreciate the subtleties of all these different systems. Africa has summed them all up in one word — colonialism. And Africa has given its answer in one word — **INDEPENDENCE**.

Britain — East Africa in Melting Pot

As long ago as 1948 the British Colonial Office realised that the system of indirect rule was breaking down. The chiefs were too corrupt and inefficient to be a secure source of power, and the African nationalist leaders too popular to be ignored. Thus plans were made for the transition of British West Africa to independence.

But as far as the territories which had a large settler community were concerned, the resident Whites there were still to be relied upon to police the Africans and to crush any demands for independence and democracy.

In the past few months the Colonial Office has had to do some agonising reappraisal, the result of which has been a complete change in policy.

In **Tanganyika** last year the British felt it wise to concede the right to the Africans there to elect the majority of members to the Tanganyika Legislative Assembly, which will have extensive powers of internal self-government.

The leader of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), Mr. Julius Nyerere, by the way, has said that the example of negotiated and bloodless changes in his country can well serve as an example to the rest of Africa. But, he insists, the lesson is not one which the Mboya's and the Banda's must learn, for he supports their struggles in entirety, but one for the Whites of Africa, who must learn to concede power graciously.

Now as a result of his visit to Kenya last year and as a sequel to the recently ended Kenya constitutional conference in London, Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod has outlined a plan for the colony which provides for an immediate African

majority in the Legislature and eventual African Government.

The British have come to realise that it is too costly in money and prestige to use armed force to try to stem the tide of African liberation. But trouble in Kenya is far from over. The settlers in the White Highlands are rallying to the racist call of United Party leader, Group Captain Briggs. Unless the British Government takes a firm line with them, they could well start the White equivalent of the Mau Mau, after the style of the Algerian colons.

The Africans, too, are far from satisfied with the present arrangement. Their call is for one man one vote, and eventual independence. Moreover, they are determined to be led by Jomo Kenyatta, who has been jailed and exiled since his Kenya African Union was banned at the beginning of the "Emergency" in 1952.

The thousands of Africans who were hanged and shot during the Emergency can never be restored to life. But Kenyatta can still be released. If the vote which the Africans are to receive is to mean anything, then they must have the right to choose whom they please.

Kenyatta's lawyer, Mr. D. N. Pritt, Q.C., has recently declared his continued faith in the innocence of Kenyatta, and his belief has been greatly strengthened by the conviction for perjury last year of Kenyatta's chief accuser, who declared that this evidence which he gave against the African leader was false.

France — The Community Disintegrates

When only Guinea went it alone in de Gaulle's referendum in September 1958, the French colonists were understandably pleased. The smile is now rapidly disappearing from their face, however.

Guinea's example has done much to make the people and leaders of the French Community (African section) decide to cut loose from France. They are tired of being Frenchmen. They want to be Africans once more.

The first major grouping to break away from France will be the **Federation of Mali**, which is made up of the territories of Senegal and French Sudan. The leader of the Federation, Sudanese Prime Minister Dr. Keita, declared towards the end of last year that Mali was considering breaking away from France and joining up with Guinea. The Senegalese leader, poet-politician Leopold Senghor, supported him in his move to break with France.

The French reacted with a compromise, which the Mali leaders, still in a shilly-shallying mood, accepted. The Federation of Mali is to break away from the French Community, but in return for continued French aid, it will align its defence policy to that of the West and grant France military bases on its territory.

Also to achieve independence from France this year are **Madagascar** and **Dahomey**, whose representatives will swell the growing African bloc in UNO.

Belgium — The Congo Tears Away

Gusts of change have been blowing in the Congo. As if to make up for their late start, the Africans of the Congo have mounted an unprecedentedly massive and rapid campaign for independence. The first large fruits of this campaign were gathered at the recent Brussels conference between African leaders and the Belgian Government — the Congo is to receive political independence on June 30th.

A big start has been made, but the Congo still has a long way to go. Even though the people of the Congo will have their own Government, with a voice in UNO etc., the country will still in fact be completely under the thumb of the five giant Belgian monopolies who completely dominate its economic life. The Congo has long been the treasury of Belgium, whose economy has become increasingly reliant on the profits, particularly in the form of dollars, extracted from the African territory.

A conference to define the economic relations between Belgium and the Congo is due to take place in Brussels next month. This may well prove to be of greater significance than the one on political matters recently held.

A major problem facing the Africans of the Congo is the lack of political unity. There are now nearly sixty political parties in the country, and even within the parties there are major divisions. The large numbers of parties is partly a reflection of tribal rivalries, which pose a serious threat to the unity and viability of the new state.

The liberation movement has been massive, but has not had time to consolidate itself. The Belgians have been astute at taking advantage of these divisions. The growth of a Congo national consciousness, has not, however, been entirely lacking. The Congo National Movement, under the leadership of M. Patrice Lumumba, recently released from jail, is emerging as the main spokesman of the African people.

There are large, compact masses of African workers in the industrial towns of the Congo. Given a correct lead, these people could well form the social and political base of the complete liberation, social and economic as well as political, for the people of the Congo.

Portugal — Stirrings at Home and Abroad

The Portuguese have the distinction of having created the worst of all the hell-spots of colonialism in our continent. The social and economic misery of the Africans of Angola and Mozambique is equalled only by the ruthlessness with which the Portuguese secret police have tried to stamp out any signs of political protest.

In a recent article in Peace News, one of the leaders of the British Movement for Colonial Freedom, Mr. Fenner Brockway, refers to recent contact he established with Africans who had escaped from Angola to New York.

They told him that the Africans of Angola are organising in secret, a fact which is borne out by the sending last

year of Portuguese paratroops to the colony.

The population figures for the territory as given to Brockway show a surprisingly large ratio of Europeans to Africans — 300,000 to 2 million (compared to 4 million at the beginning of the century!).

An independent Congo on her borders is bound to exercise a great influence on Angola. Another factor which will speed on the independence of Portuguese Africa is the impending collapse of the fascist Salazar regime in Portugal itself.

The support given to General Delgado, Salazar's opponent in the Portuguese Presidential elections last year, shows that despite the terror of the secret police, the people of Portugal are prepared to come out against their rulers. A wide unity of action against Salazar, ranging from the Communists on the left to Delgado on the right, has been built up over recent months.

As Salazar's apparatus of control collapses, so will the people of Angola and

Terror in Angola

Since the beginning of the current year brutal repression has been unleashed against the people of Angola under the direction of the P.I.D.E. agent, Jose Lopes. Among the scores of people arrested are 26 Africans and several "mulatos", and "mestizos" and many whites. Three African priests Franklin da Costa, Manuel de Neeves and Pinto de Andrade are specially under the vigilance of the Salazarist Gestapo for their fearless defence of their brothers.

— Free Goa News.

Mozambique find themselves in a position to obtain their independence. We may yet find that these two territories, long regarded as bastions of backwardness and reaction, will become the first independent states on the borders of South Africa.

S. RHODESIA'S A.N.C. PRESIDENT IN THE UNITED STATES

Joshua Nkomo, President of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress made an extended tour of the United States under the auspices of the American Committee on Africa and on one occasion addressed himself directly to his American audience:

"Do not finance our oppressors! (referring to France and Algeria.) The American tax-payers have financed the Algerian war. You have a moral duty to help freedom in Africa. You fought two world wars for freedom and justice. Do you remember the war against Hitler? The whole world was told that justice and liberty were at stake, if Hitler won the war. He wanted to dominate the world; the world was told that domination of other nations was evil.

Freedom then was to be for "all people" — not just for 'civilised and qualified people', as it is in Southern Rhodesia. The American people should not stand and see freedom and justice denied to any people in the world. If you help to maintain the puppet minority governments in Africa with American money, we will say that you are co-plotters against us, the African people!"

Other Nkomo quotations:

Speaking of "constitutional safeguards", that have proved quite useless: "The only safeguard for our people is the people themselves."

"We are not prepared for concessions, now. The day of concessions is past. The African Continent has decided to be free and it will be free: the question is only when and how."

Kanjedza Prison Camp

(Continued from page 14)

centre of which runs a wire grating. They may shake hands through a hole in the bottom of the wire and pass their little presents of food through. Any parcel is opened and checked. If a gift is in the form of clothing or books it is taken by the supervising guard for checking and thereafter it will be given to the detainee in the compound.

A disturbing feature of the organisation at Kanjedza is that people may come and wait for hours, only to be told that the person they wish to see is on punishment. This means no visitors, no gifts, no letters. Why should the visitor not be told, when he applies for his pass at Blantyre or even when he hands it in at Kanjedza, that the person he wishes to see is on punishment?

One compound in the camp appears to have been on permanent punishment for weeks on end. It does not seem that this can be a useful form of punishment, since depriving men of visits from their wives and children and denying them gifts and letters for a considerable period can only result in forming a body of embittered men. Nor should it ever be forgotten that the men at Kanjedza are held without trial and are innocent before the law.

Can Political Independence be maintained without Economic Independence, asks the writer?

BASUTOLAND

The Basutoland elections have come and gone. The 162 seats on the District Councils have been filled, the National (Legislative) Council has been duly constituted. All the long-sought changes under the new constitution have been introduced. The problem of the Paramount Chieftainship has been settled with the accession of Bereng to power with the backing of the entire Basuto nation. Now life is getting back to normal and the people are taking stock of themselves, perhaps wondering whether all the excitement has been worthwhile.

For the record, here are the final figures of the elections:

| | |
|---------------------------|----------|
| Basutoland Congress Party | 73 seats |
| National Party | 22 seats |
| Marema Tlou | 16 seats |
| Independents | 51 seats |

The total electorate numbered 191,663 voters of all races on a common roll. The main qualification to become a voter is payment of tax, and the bulk of voters were therefore African men, but other elements were also on the roll, including about 1,000 Europeans, 100 Indians, 56 women and perhaps a handful of Coloureds. The figures must be approximate, because no racial register is kept.

At the time of the elections, it was estimated that 43 per cent of the voters were absent, working in the Union. They could vote by proxy, but only about 10 per cent did so. The result is there was a very low poll, only 35,302 votes being cast in all the constituencies. Of this total, the Congress Party received 12,787 and the National Party 7,002.

Low Poll, But No Apathy

From the figures it might appear as though the Basuto nation was apathetic about the elections, but in fact this was not so. The elections aroused the most tremendous interest. Meetings were held in all parts of the territory, including the villages in the mountains, and one of the features of the campaign was the participation of the women, who came to meetings in large numbers, asked questions and sometimes even accompanied their menfolk to the polls on election day.

No, it was not apathy which kept voters away from the Poll. It must be remembered this was the first time elections by secret ballot had ever taken place in Basutoland. (Previously popular decisions were taken at the pitso.) Procedures which are familiar to voters in other countries were here being introduced for the first time, and there is no

ELECTIONS, ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND THE FUTURE

doubt there was a lot of uncertainty and misunderstanding among the electorate. I was given the explanation at one voting station about 35 miles from Maseru that the low poll there was due to the fact that the local chief had not informed his people that voting was to take place on that day. Of course the parties should not have left it to the chief, but should have communicated with the voters themselves, and no doubt next time they will do so.

Then there is the sheer difficulty of getting to the polls. While polling in the urban areas was estimated to be about 50 per cent, in the country areas the figure dropped to between 15 and 20 per cent. It was not a question, as in a Union platteland election, of a voter climbing into his Cadillac and driving to the polls, or of a candidate operating a fleet of cars to bring voters to the polls. In Basutoland candidates were forbidden to try to influence voters on election day — they could not fetch and carry them, argue or bark at them or organise displays to impress them at the polling booths. Even the letters B.C.P. had to be obliterated on the Congress vans, and John Motloheloa was nearly arrested at Maseru for selling copies of *New Age* which contained a picture of B.C.P. leader Ntsu Mokhehle on the front page. So it was left to the voter to make his own way to the polls. True, election day was a public holiday, but what if a voter had work to do in his fields which could not be left to the morrow, or had no horse and could not afford to take a bus, or just could not physically make it because there was no means of transport at all?

First Elections Ever

So the figures are no real guide to the enthusiasm of the people about the elections, which was terrific. And with good reason. Here for the first time in Southern Africa the common people with black skins were able to take part in the constitution of the law-making body for the territory. True, their vote is indirect; true, the powers of the legislative council are still restricted; true, the British High Commissioner still has the last say. But nothing like this ever happened in the Transkei, and never will under Bantu Authorities. The British

Government may be prepared to see the B.C.P. sweep the board in Basutoland, as it did, and become the most powerful political group in the territory. Who can see Verwoerd ever allowing the A.N.C. such an opportunity in South Africa?

What a pleasure it was to see White and Black standing together, quite relaxed, in the same election queue on election day.

The visitor to Basutoland is immediately struck by the absence of racial tension in the high mountain air. Sure, there is still discrimination, but there are no pass laws or police raids in Basutoland, no pick-up vans cruising around looking for victims, no curfew, no terror. No man has ever been deported or banished, no family broken up like that of Elizabeth Mafekeng or Ben Baartman. Ask our Union exiles how they are getting on in Basutoland and they reply, with a sweep of the arm: "Well, man, I'm free here. But", and here comes the rub, "there's no work".

Freedom . . . But No Work

No work? How can there be no work? one wonders. There are houses and people, roads and fields, surely there must be work? Yet, when you get down to it, you find that this is the real terror of the Basuto people, this is their discipline, their pass, their policeman — this, the terrible burden of their poverty.

There is no industry of any sort in Basutoland, not a single factory. If you want to live, you must have a piece of land to live from (and the land is already heavily overpopulated) go into domestic service for the Europeans (who pay you as little as £1 or £1.10s. a month), get a job in the civil service (and you have to have the education to qualify), work for a white firm (that will pay you £7.10s. a month for doing the same work as a white woman who gets £30), or open up a business (where you immediately run into competition from the highly organised and long-established white monopolies which dominate the trading life of the territory). Not surprisingly, almost 50 per cent of Basuto manhood must go out to earn a living in the Union, as migratory labourers on the mines, farms and in the towns.

Moreover, the poverty of the nation seems to be getting deeper every year. For the first time the country is unable to balance its budget, and will have to receive financial help in future from London. Figures quoted by Patrick Duncan in a recent issue of *Contact*, based on a survey conducted by the World Health Organisation, show that the birthrate, which was 30.6 per thousand in 1951, had dropped to 22 per thousand in 1957. Infantile mortality was 116 per thousand in 1957, double what it was in 1951.

This is a desperate situation, and must be a source of great concern to all Basuto leaders. On the one hand they are waging a determined and increasingly successful fight for self-government and independence from the Union, whose apartheid policies they naturally abhor. For the moment no party is demanding outright independence, because all feel the need for British support in the struggle against incorporation. I have no doubt whatsoever that any attempt by Verwoerd to take over Basutoland would lead to a state of war, and that the Basuto people would fight with their bare hands rather than submit to domination by the apartheiders.

Economic Dependence on the Union

On the other hand, Basutoland, entirely surrounded by Union territory, at the moment cannot exist without the Union and is unlikely even to be able to do so in the future. The British have no programme for economic development, and it is difficult to see what can be done in this sphere because the country appears to be deficient in natural resources. There are great possibilities for the development of hydro-electric power based on the construction of strategically situated dams in the mountains. But power projects are unlikely to be developed in the absence of the industries which will pay for and feed from them — unless, again, they are linked with industrial projects in the Union. For the rest there is a licensed prospector, backed by De Beers, scratching for diamonds in the north of Basutoland, but it is not known how far this development will lead.

The likelihood is that Basutoland will win a great measure of internal self-government in the near future, for the Congress Party is now well placed to pursue its demand for the establishment of a fully democratic Parliament based on universal suffrage. But can political independence be maintained without economic independence?

Basuto leaders of all parties speak of the need for industrial development, and many are looking hopefully towards the economic agencies of the United Nations Organisation. But the development of

Basutoland as an economic unit completely independent of the Union would presuppose the investment of fantastic amounts of capital which are not warranted by the economic potential, and one can hardly see U.N.O., the Russians or anybody else underwriting such development merely to satisfy unrealistic national ambitions.

There can be no question, of course, but that Basutoland has the right to self-determination, and all South African democrats will support without any hesitation the fight of the Basuto people against incorporation. But just as Basutoland now is economically bound to the Union, so will she be at all times in the foreseeable future, and it seems to me that this factor must be viewed realistically by the Basuto people. Under present conditions, with a Nationalist Government in power in South Africa and capitalism as the prevailing economic system, the relationship of South Africa to Basutoland is one of gross exploitation of cheap labour — an exploitation which was tragically underlined by the recent disaster at Coalbrook.

The Future

One envisages, however, that at some time in the future a Congress government will come into power in South Africa, basing its policies on the Freedom Charter. Such a government, honouring the right of Basutoland to independence, would be under an obligation to put an end to the exploitation of the Basuto people, and to render fraternal assistance to them to enable them to live together in peace and friendship with their South Africa brothers. The development of the two countries and peoples side by side without friction is surely possible and desirable. The extent to which their economies would be interrelated would be determined by the free wish of their respective peoples, but if the element of exploitation is eliminated, there is no reason why any such co-operation should not be used to the mutual advantage of both parties.

This, however, is a matter for the future, and we are living in the here and now. Nevertheless, should we not, on both sides of the border, be thinking about these things, and perhaps making plans for the future? Good relations after freedom has been won can be cemented by good relations during the freedom struggle itself. In fact, there could be no better guarantee of enduring friendship between our peoples than the fact that each had helped the other to win their freedom.

This is a task for the Congress movement of both countries, and they should get down to it without any further delay.

BRIAN BUNTING.

Freedom Not Pass Slavery

Our Cover Picture shows African National Congress demonstrators against the Pass Laws. Below are extracts from the Congress memorandum presented to the Johannesburg City Council.

The pass laws have been bitterly resented by the Africans because the passes have retained a form of slavery for them. They have ruined the Africans economically, and restricted his freedom of movement.

It is through the pass system that the African is forced to take up employment and remain in employment despite low wages and bad working conditions. The freedom to sell his labour where he pleases and at the price he chooses does not exist for the African because of the pass system.

The whole right to exist of the African has been made dependent upon this document.

Is it surprising that the passes have corrupted the whole life of our people both Black and White and the officials; bribery and corruption are rife and the Africans are bribed by organised gangs of racketeers who hold out the hope of life by promising salvation through the passes?

Cases of injustice and insecurity, of broken homes, loss of livelihood and untold hardships and suffering at the hands of the influx control system are too numerous to mention—men whose permits are cancelled through some minor technicality, men sent home to the reserves because they are physically ill, widowed women who are forced to leave the area to live with their legal guardians in the reserves — often complete strangers. The bitterness and resentment and frustration thereby endangered will not remain dormant forever and when it does erupt, the responsibility for what follows will rest with the Government and those who have cooperated in the implementation of these inhuman policies.

THE MONCKTON COMMISSION ON FEDERATION

The Monckton Commission to advise on the constitutional future of the Central African Federation started its work at the end of February with African opinion in the three territories of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland dead set against it.

Federal Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky declared that the Commission "in my opinion is a representative one." Said TSOPANO (outspoken Nyasaland journal) sharply: "The overall composition of the Commission is weighted in favour of . . . the middle ages — elderly people with elderly attitudes."

Of the Commission's 26 members only six are Africans, and for the greater part discredited in the eyes of their people.

Though only half the Commission's members are drawn from Central Africa, more than half are members, friends, sympathisers, servants or former servants of the ruling United Federal Party government, said TSOPANO. ("We say categorically that as far as Nyasaland is concerned, the membership is totally unrepresentative of majority opinion.")

British newspaper columnists, chiefly in the *Sunday Observer*, did a neat job with a hatchet on the composition of the Commission members, who are

Lord Monckton, Chairman of the Commission, a former Tory Party Cabinet Minister.

Sir Donald MacGillivray, vice-chairman, a former High Commissioner in Malaya, now retired as a White settler in Kenya.

Dr. R. H. W. Shepherd, Moderator of the Church of Scotland but a critic of the majority line of the Church as insensitive to white minority problems, spent forty years in South Africa ruling Lovedale with an iron hand.

Elsbeth Huxley, born and brought up in Kenya, and ardent defender of settler problems and supporter of Federation in 1953.

Professor Daniel Jack, professional colonial commissioner, regarded in Central Africa as a settler's choice.

Southern Rhodesia's nominees are:

Geoffrey Ellman Brown, the man who organised the revolt against Garfield Todd.

Mr. Justice Beadle who said the day after his appointment that "Africans need Bread, not Votes."

Simon Segola, who has spent most of his life as a messenger in the Native Affairs Department.

Six Europeans nominated by the Governments of the Federation, Northern Rho-

desia and Nyasaland are all close to Welensky's United Federal Party:

Sir Victor Robinson, a former attorney-general.

Bob Taylor, expected to become Welensky's Finance Minister.

A. E. P. Robinson, former U.P. politician in the Union, now chairman of Central African Airways.

Woodcrow Cross, also born in South Africa, the biggest milk producer in Northern Rhodesia.

Wilfred McClelland, Kitwe businessman, also ex-South Africa.

G. G. S. Hadlow, Nyasaland tea-planter.

Other members are:

Professor Creighton of Toronto University, an expert in several fields, but not Africa.

Frank Menzies, brother of Australia's Prime Minister.

Sir Charles Arden Clarke, former Governor of the Gold Coast, then Ghana.

Mr. Aiden Crawley, an Under-Secretary for Air in the Labour Government of 1950.

Lord Shawcross, counsel some years ago for the Northern Rhodesian Copper companies against the African miners' claim for 2s.8d. a shift.

The African members include two civil servants, apart from Segola:

Hezekiah Habanyama, a candidate for the Central African Party.

E. K. Gondwe, Education Officer in Northern Rhodesia and long regarded as a showpiece by his government.

Lawrence Katilungu, tamed Copper-belt Mineworkers' leader.

Wellington M. Chirwa, former African representative in the Federal Parliament, disowned by the politi-

cal movement in Nyasaland.

On the Commission's terms of reference and powers, complicated egg-dances have been performed and the more statements, official and unofficial, the more scattered pieces of egg shell turn up. The Commission could hear evidence on secession from Federation, it was said, but could not recommend recession to the Review Conference. This ambiguity in the terms of reference led to the Labour Party boycott of the Commission.

Even on his arrival in Salisbury Lord Monckton was still dodging the question whether the terms of reference permitted a minority report recommending the break-up of Federation. He would have to discuss his terms of reference with his colleagues on the commission, he said at this late stage.

African spokesmen have been emphatic:

Mr. Joshua Nkomo for the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress: "While the people who represent the majority in S. Rhodesia are locked up, there can be no talking." (Giving evidence to the Commission.)

Mr. Kanyama Chiume for Nyasaland. "The twin objects of Nyasaland are independence and secession and toward that goal we shall direct all our energies whatever the circumstances." The Malawi Congress Party will boycott the Commission.

Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, president-general of the United Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia has accused the British colonial authorities of intimidating tribal chiefs to recognise the Monckton Commission by giving testimony.

Mr. Kaunda points out that the great majority of Africans are against giving evidence because of the farcical character of the Commission.

KANJEDZA PRISON CAMP

About 220 Nyasas are still detained at Kanjedza Camp. Here is a description of visiting day at the detention centre, taken from TSOPANO, Nyasaland journal.

For the person who wishes to visit friends or relations in Kanjedza camp the day starts at 8 a.m. outside the Assistant District Commissioner's office at Blantyre. There, if he is amongst the first 30 people in the queue he will be given a pass to visit Kanjedza. If he is not amongst the first thirty he must return the following day as passes are not issued in advance.

If he is in the lucky 30 and obtains his pass he then travels (usually on foot) from the A.D.C.'s office to Kanjedza camp, a distance of five miles. Some visitors may be able to take a bus to Kanjedza from Blantyre, but most of them are dependants of detainees and Government allowances do not cover such luxuries. The bearer of a pass has to be at Kanjedza before midday. After that there is a long wait till the detainee can be seen. Visiting starts at 1.30 p.m. but no indication is given to the visitor whether he will be called at 1.30 or at 3.30 and this can result in a three-or four-hour wait outside the camp gates.

When the visitor's name is called he is escorted inside the barbed wire. Visitors and detainees sit opposite each other, in two lines, separated by a table along the

(Continued on page 11, column 3.)

The Colour Bar and the Theatre

by MICHAEL PICARDIE

In 1954 a well-known Johannesburg theatre producer tried to put on a dramatisation of "Cry, the Beloved Country". The first task was to find a theatre. Managements were interested at first. What with the success of the novel and the urgent topicality of its theme, the play was certain to be a success. When it was explained, however, that not only Africans would be used in the cast but that Black and White would act together, then the problem became involved. Black and White on the same stage? Impossible! As for the Library Theatre and the City Hall, it was prohibited by municipal by-law. The University authorities, although not prohibited by law from having mixed casts, found it difficult to countenance the idea of Africans and Europeans using the same dressing rooms at the Great Hall. Only two dressing rooms were available — for the separation of the sexes. At least four would be needed — for the separation of the actors according to race as well as sex.

The Repts Theatre, when it was built, had the choice of applying for a licence from the Municipality which would have allowed the presence of Non-Whites on the premises (including the stage itself) under certain conditions. The committee applied for an All-White licence. For theatres licenced in this way a municipal by-law applies which forbids Non-Whites entrance to the building.* This is taken to include the stage itself. The same set-up applies to the Brooke Theatre.

Not one theatre, not even a hall, could be found for the production of the play. The very city which was the scene of Alan Paton's tragedy had no place to show its rendering in flesh and blood. The scheme had to be dropped.

How then is it possible to produce plays which require mixed casting? The answer is that it is practically impossible. Producers have had to make do with White actors made up as Non-Whites. Naturally verisimilitude is bound to suffer. And more than that playwriting is inhibited. Why write plays reflecting large aspects of the South African scene, when proper casting will prove to be impossible? Not that there is a lack of African acting talent. Men like Ngakane, who played so well in the film version of "Cry the Beloved Country" have left the country for lack of

opportunity. Surely some part of this lack must be due to the ban on mixed casting. Under these circumstances the growth of an indigenous theatre, already embryonic in as young a society as ours, suffers additional restrictions.

Colour Bar in the Auditorium

The question of mixed casts is only one facet of the problem. What about the other side of the footlights? Are Non-Whites entitled, legally speaking, to attend performances at the theatre and the cinema? No. The reason for this is not that any statute forbids it. The Group Areas Act and the Urban Areas Act do not apply, or have not yet been applied to prevent mixed gatherings at the theatre. There is no need for this. Theatre and cinema managements themselves have closed their doors to Non-Whites by applying for All-White licences, although multi-racial licences are available as long as segregated facilities are provided.

The main argument used by managements is usually this: White patrons would be frightened off by the presence of Non-Europeans in the audience. Whilst this might be true of the wider cinema-going public, one wonders whether this is true of the theatre-goers, a smaller and more enlightened group. In any event a loss of White patrons might very well be balanced, more than balanced by the increasing numbers of Non-Whites, who could afford, and certainly have the desire to go to the theatre. To judge both by attendances and response at special Non-European performances of plays at the Gandhi Hall, Bantu Men's Social Centre and the Donaldson Hall in Orlando, a Non-White theatre public is ready and waiting. Even from a business point of view therefore, opening the doors of the Repts and the Brooke might very well prove to be a sound proposition.

Special Non-White performances are the lesser of two evils, the alternative being no theatre at all for Africans, Indians and Coloureds. As it is, the halls used for such performances are entirely inadequate. Above all the whole idea of segregated art compromises the artist's responsibility to mankind as a whole, and his desire to reflect in his work the universality of the human condition. Playing, writing, painting for and about a racially limited public, and a race obsessed public — this narrowness is bound to interfere with the great ideal

of art: to make us feel what it is like to be human: in suffering and in laughter; human — not Black or White. To have the suffering and laughter of a Black man properly portrayed, we must have a Black man portraying. And with us in the audience must be Black people with whom we can join in the common experience of emotional understanding. Only then do we rise above our race or class into a realm where we become essentially human, and where we see what it is that makes us one species.

Overseas Boycotts by Artists

Just as South African goods are being boycotted overseas, so overseas artistes are many of them unwilling to come to a country where art is compromised at every turn by race prejudice. Britain's Actor's Equity has forbidden its members to sign contracts with S.A. theatre groups who play to Whites only. The International Musicians Union has passed a similar resolution. Antonio, who, as he says, is darker than many of the people he danced for, will never return to this country until he is allowed to perform for all races. Eugene O'Neill and Arnold Wesker (the latter a brilliant new English playwright) have refused to release the rights of their plays to South African managements.

Is this the end to the progress of events? As overseas hostility to a South African racial policy increases, so the cultural boycott is likely to be stepped up and South Africa will become even more isolated from Western culture — which it so fervently claims to uphold.

What Can We Do About It?

Pressure should be brought to bear on theatre managements. By means of demonstrations outside their theatres and memoranda giving the facts they must be persuaded of the wrong-headedness of closing their doors to Non-Whites. South African Actor's Equity could do a great deal in this respect. The legal possibility of getting their licences changed to allow multi-racial performances and casts should encourage the management to take steps in the right direction.

Until such steps are taken, South African theatre is bound to suffer the same narrowness of outlook which limits the rest of our society, and in the end will bring its destruction through its own blindness.

* Administrator's Notice 394; 27th May 1953.

NATIONALIST EMPIRE IN THE RESERVES

(Continued from page 9)

ness. Those who get loans will have no choice but to allow themselves to be closely supervised and controlled by these officials.

Africans rarely have security when they apply for loans and traders and artisans without landed property are an 'unsafe risk' so that loans will be advanced to them only under strict supervision.

The regulations for holders of trading licences in urban and rural locations are already a pointer to this supervision. For instance, no trader can employ a salesman until he has the approval of the Location superintendent.

Savings and Purchasing Power

The second and more important purpose of the Investment and Development Corporation is to provide the Nationalist-controlled industrial concerns and finance institutions with a pretext for complete control over the purchasing power and the savings of Africans. The Nationalists will use a small percentage of the Corporation funds, these contributed by Africans, to implement the Bantu Authorities and Bantustan frauds, but the lion's share of the Corporation's funds will finance the establishment of Border industries, and will find their way into Nationalist controlled finance institutions to expand them to produce for export.

According to the Report of the Tomlinson Commission the Investment and Development Corporation "will be the central body for promoting Capital formation through commercial institutions, and for making long and short term capital available to its own and other undertakings."

The Nationalist Government hopes to achieve this object by the establishment of:

"A Bantu Commercial Bank, with branches in the Bantu areas and in Bantu locations.

"A Bantu savings and Credit Bank which, in addition to providing savings facilities, and personal loans, would mainly undertake industrial banking, in respect of Bantu sole traders, partnerships and other small undertakings, and would provide them with capital on longer terms than can be obtained from the Commercial banks."

"A Bantu Insurance Company which will . . . grant loans on mortgage to Bantu landowners." The Report envisages "small insurance companies already established by the Bantu" participating in the Company or that the Corporation "might also consider establishing the Company as a joint subsidiary in which other insurance companies in the Union could participate."

A Bantu Building Society on terms similar to those referred to above.

The golden thread that links these projected institutions with others that are not 'Bantu' glitters through the scheme. Middle group Africans, traders and independent artisans and farmers with land will be held to ransom by the conditions they have to satisfy to get loans. Their savings and the peoples' purchasing power will be swallowed up by the Investment Corporation which, in turn, will re-invest these funds in Nationalist controlled finance institutions acting as joint subsidiaries with the 'Bantu' companies.

The purchasing power of the mass of the people is confined to their own areas where it can be spent at only controlled and approved business places.

In the course of time Nationalist economic and finance experts hope to be able to collar the biggest slices of the African's purchasing power—£400,000,000 per year—and to place it, by all manner of intrigue, at the disposal of the small clique of Nationalist capitalists who have seized hold of the state machinery. Here is a reason to hang on to apartheid. They have cast the bread upon the waters, but have been careful that it is not their own piece, in case it is never recovered. But, the hope, if they should recover the swollen bread further down the stream of time, they can cling on to it.

If experience is a teacher the Non-Nationalist people of South Africa should have learnt a lesson from what has happened wherever the majority of any Town Council has slipped into the hands of the Nationalists. Banking accounts have been transferred from non-Nationalist banks to one under their control.

A few days after the Under-Secretary had announced the willingness of the B.A.D. to help African traders in the Transkei establish a wholesale firm, the Authority passed a resolution demanding the withdrawal of the investments, which under the Transkei Council had been invested in non-nationalist town councils. The Territorial Authority wanted the money to be re-invested in the Bantu Investment and Development Corporation. It will not be surprising if African controlled insurance companies are advised to re-insure with one of the Nationalist controlled insurance companies. In their desperate bid to build an empire the Nationalist generals claim everything for themselves.

NEXT ARTICLE: Law and the Law Courts in the Bantustans.

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