

FIGGETING

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SEPTEMBER, 1959

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TALK



WOMEN IN CONFERENCE

THE UNITED PARTY SPLIT AND THE PROGRESSIVES

* * *

NATAL WOMEN PROTEST

THE INSIDE STORY
by Joe Matthews

NYASALAND: The Devlin Commission

by L. Bernstein

* * *

Short Story:

'THE PASS AND THE HOME-GIRL'

* * *

SCIENCE ARTICLE
by Dr. Edward Roux



WOMEN IN ACTION

FIGHTING TALK

A monthly journal for Democrats

Vo 13. Number 7.
SEPTEMBER, 1959

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SCRAPBOOK

SNUFFED OUT

"The report (of the Devlin Commission) is fair and most of us in Central Africa have no taste for fairness any more." This, written by "Dissent" on White reaction in the Federation to the Devlin Report might well have been the epitaph composed for its own tombstone by the little cyclostyled journal, just banned, together with "Contact", in Nyasaland. "Dissent" was issued by Whitfield Foy, Terence Ranger and John Reed from Wesley House, Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia and though it lasted only eight issues for Nyasaland it spoke out fearlessly and more than fairly on the emergency and African opposition to Federation. It was this little journal which first raised the hue and cry about conditions of prisoners at Kenjedza, of which the Evening Standard wrote "It would seem . . . Belsen could not have been much worse . . ."

MUSIC STUDY

Someone tacked on a bulletin board in a New York newspaper office the following imaginary report of a work-study engineer on the efficiency of the N.Y. Philharmonic Orchestra: "For considerable periods the four oboe players have nothing to do. Number should be reduced, work spread more evenly over the whole concert, eliminating peaks of activity. All 12 violins playing identical notes; this seems unnecessary duplication. The staff in this section should be drastically cut. If more volume required, use electronic equipment . . . Too much repetition of some musical passages — scores should be drastically pruned. No useful purpose in repeating on horns passage already played by strings . . . Conductor agrees generally with these recommendations but says there might be some falling off of box office receipts. In that unlikely event, sections of auditorium could be closed off saving money on overhead, lighting, attendants, etc."

HORIZONS

The greatest obstacle to the effective teaching of environment studies is the ignorance of the teacher, according to an article in the government's Bantu Education Journal. How many teachers can pass the following test, asks the writer, an inspector of Bantu Education:

(1) Give the length and breadth of the school site, correct to the nearest yard.

(2) Give the depth of soil on the sports field. (3) Say who built the first building on the site. (4) Name four previous principals of the school. (5) Say how many families live within half a mile of the school. (6) Give the cost of a bus or train ticket from the nearest stop to the nearest town. (7) Say which is the nearest neighbouring school and how far away it is (to the nearest mile). (8) Name the ministers of four different denominations in the district. And so on.

Children are intensely interested in their environment, and "a teacher who through laziness or ignorance is unable to direct and satisfy their curiosity is not only doing a bad job in the classroom," writes this school inspector, "he is denying the children one of their prime intellectual rights."

DEATH OF A SENATOR?

The American Senate Judiciary Committee sent to the floor in August a proposed constitutional amendment which would allow state governors to fill vacancies in the House of Representatives by appointment if a nuclear explosion or other disaster killed more than half the elected members of the House.

IMMORALITY

The Afrikaans magazine "Brandwag" interview a number of leading Afrikaners on the Immorality Act and whether it should be retained after the spate of offences brought before the courts. Concensus of opinion: the Act must be retained and applied even more rigorously.

Prof. H. J. Venter, the Pretoria expert on criminology said the real aim of the Immorality Act was blood purity. Miscegenation created serious problems. "Intelligent readers realise that the South African, and the Afrikaner in particular, is concerned about his blood purity and he protects it with legislation."

There was no alternative to the Immorality Act. Offenders should be imprisoned for long periods, and if this failed they could be emasculated, because in any case they were "poor human material."

The Rev. F. J. L. Norval of the Gereformeerde Kerk said the Immorality Act should remain. Emasculation was not permissible "because the Lord said man must multiply." It would be better to imprison offenders for life or to hang them.

The Inside Story of the NATAL WOMEN'S PROTESTS

by JOE MATTHEWS

CHIEF LUTULI ON 'WOMEN IN THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE'

CHIEF A. J. LUTULI'S MESSAGE TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS WOMEN'S LEAGUE DEALT WITH THE PART AFRICAN WOMEN ARE PLAYING IN THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE.

Here I am, caged in, in the Lower Tugela District, by the oppressor's ban on me. The confinement resulting from this ban is a painful reminder to me and to you all also that Apartheid laws deny us freedom of movement.

Feudal days in Europe could not have been worse.

Fortunately, the oppressed people, here and elsewhere, in Africa, are becoming increasingly aware of their plight, and are making heroic efforts to free themselves. It is gratifying to record that African women are playing an admirable part and, in close co-operation with their sisters of other races, are showing a growing aggressive opposition to serfdom.

Ever since the mighty anti-pass protests to the Union Buildings African women have joined Congress in large numbers and have increasingly played their part in it.

Many successful local demonstrations have been organised against the issue of the 'Dom' Pass to African women.

In the attempts to boycott Bantu Education Schools, women were there. As managers in the home they have contributed significantly to the recent Potato Boycott.

To the admiring surprise of

"A remarkable people the Zulu." Benjamin Disraeli, the great imperialist prime minister of Great Britain said these words after one of the worst disasters suffered by British arms in the Zulu war of 1879. This was the famed battle of Isandhlwana. In this war the Prince Imperial of France was killed by the Zulu and the dynasty of Napoleon III brought an end.

It is tempting to try to explain events by reference to so-called inherent qualities possessed by a particular people. It makes good newspaper copy and lends itself to the concealment of realities inconvenient to admit. This is already happening with regard to the recent upsurge of the masses in Natal. Some overseas journalists are going so far as to look into the anthropological angle to find out why Zulu women appear so "aggressive" as compared with the "docility of women of other dark races."

The people's upsurge in Natal has now covered a period of over two months. It has been widespread and has assumed varied forms of demonstration and protest.

In some areas there have been boycotts of municipal beer halls and transport. In others there have been demonstrations to superintendents of locations and Native Commissioners at which demands have been presented; there have been meetings of unprecedented size; dipping tanks have been destroyed and attempts have been made by armed men to rescue arrested women from gaols. Thousands of people have been involved in one way or another with these events and a large part of the province has been affected.

It is essential to recognise the widespread and the mass character of the demonstrations, and to analyse them as a complex social movement.

In such a situation it is very wrong and misleading to attribute events to the African National Congress, to "activities of agitators" or to "exaggerated criticism of government measures." Similarly it does not carry us very far just to catalogue the peoples' grievances and give them as a reason for the upsurge in Natal.

The African National Congress has been growing very fast in Natal ever since the Stay-At-Home campaign of April last year. Its slogans and demands are becoming popular. But it has not, until recently, had roots in the rural areas of Natal. Certainly no campaign has been sponsored by the A.N.C. along the lines of recent demonstrations in the reserves.

As for criticism of government measures or grievances against various policies, these exist in every province of the Union. So why should

CHIEF LUTULI (continued)

many of us, including many outside Congress circles, African women in Natal for the last two months have engaged in spontaneous Natal-wide local demonstrations.

The demonstrations have high-lighted many important current issues affecting Africans in urban centres and in rural areas alike. What a challenge to our Congress! The only jarring note in these demonstrations has been the appearance of violence in some areas.

Violence does nobody any good, but does our cause much harm.

WE ARE INDEED IN THE WOMEN'S ERA IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN THE UNION.

The freedom road is likely to be long and weary. We shall need all the stoic fortitude and wisdom to face and surmount mountains of problems, troubles and miseries that are generally met with on the march to FREEDOM.

With the heroic contribution of our dauntless women we shall succeed, I have no doubt.

May South African women continue to play their noble and heroic part in our liberation struggle.

I charge them to use their womanly influence and tactics, to win increasingly into Congress and into the struggle, growing numbers of men. If gentle persuasion should prove unavailing, goading them to it by derisive words and actions may be used. Women are generally masters at this!

Women of other races and groups including our own, have used this tactic from time immemorial when a crisis demanded it from us.

May this Conference inspire all of you to present a dauntlessness that will enable you to defy all the fiery darts of the oppressor and even his Saracens.

these demonstrations have been confined to Natal? Why should women have taken the lead? Why did the demonstrations occur particularly at this time?

Natal's Reserves

Natal is a small province with a very high population density relative to the rest of the Union. Taking the Non-Europeans alone the density of population in Natal is about twice that of the Transvaal, five times that of the Cape and four times that of the Free State. Natal which covers 7.5% of the Union's area has one-fifth of its population.

Furthermore an overwhelming proportion of the people live in the rural areas surrounding the Durban-Pinetown industrial complex which is the natural outlet for persons seeking work in Natal. These reserves are very close to Durban and every week-end there is a mass exodus of workers going "home" to the reserves nearby.

One has only to look at the recently issued Bantustan maps of the government to see how the reserves inhabited by the Africans are virtually on top of the Durban-Pinetown area. One does not have to be sympathetic to Mr. Mitchell to realise that the pressure on Durban of this population, eager for work, is tremendous. Durban is the nearest most easily available outlet for workseekers.

Landlessness and poverty in the countryside drive men to leave their reserves for work in the towns but without the entry permit to the urban areas their way to work is barred and families face destitution. This has goaded women to desperation. The relaxation of influx control, free access to jobs and the right to be in the cities has become the great unifying demand between town and country.

Economic Crisis

Two-thirds of the world is said to be recovering from what is politely referred to as a "recession". The economic crisis has hit South Africa, and Natal particularly, very hard. In Durban it is estimated that 30,000 Indians alone are out of work as a result.

Into this situation has been introduced for the first time the ruthless application of influx control measures to women.

As part of the slum clearance at Cato Manor thousands of women were screened and many were deported from Durban to their "original homes" in the reserves. Into the reserves went women who had experience of urban conditions; who were victims of influx control; who were not prepared to knuckle under to chiefs or anybody else for that matter. Sending urbanised women with grievances back to the reserves was bound to have unsettling results.

Dipping Tanks

These were not the sort of women who were accustomed to working for nothing. Each household in the reserves is called upon to service the dipping tanks. This entails carrying water to fill the tanks. In some areas women have found themselves forced to carry twelve four-gallon tins of water from the

river to the dipping tank a long distance away. If the household concerned does not provide the required share of labour, its members are summonsed and fined, usually one beast or its equivalent of five pounds.

Recently there have been heavy stock losses in the reserves. Many of these have followed the dipping of cattle. The people feel it is either the dipping mixture which is at fault or the practice of forcing cattle to be dipped irrespective of their condition. Experience has shown that if sick cattle are not brought to the dipping tank a fine follows as night follows day. No explanations are accepted. And contrary to popular belief the days when cattle merely had a prestige value have long disappeared. The people need their cattle. The tractor service provided to do ploughing is costly. Therefore people must have cattle for that as well as for other purposes.

And there is such a lack of imagination and understanding in local and government circles today. Their reaction to every event or incident is the old outworn cry of "agitators", their only remedy is coercion and punishment.

In one newspaper photograph of a demonstration in the St. Faith's area there appeared a solitary African woman wielding a stick in defiance at a Saracen. The tragedy of that photograph was the disproportion revealed in the woman with the stick and an armoured vehicle of war to deal with her. When will the rulers of South Africa who are so fond of proclaiming this country their home start acting as South Africans? When will they stop regarding themselves as an Army of occupation looking upon every act of the people as a potential military threat to be put down with heavy armour?

The Natal People's Conference

The answer of the liberation movement was provided by the remarkable Natal People's Conference held on September 6 in Durban. Apart from delegates who came from practically every urban centre in Natal, fifty rural areas were represented.

The Conference was called to enable the Congress Movement to learn from the people, and then lead them.

The great mass upsurge had positive as well as negative features but the positive aspects were the dominant, the conference concluded. The duty of all, therefore, was to continue the struggle, bring to an end its spontaneous, unplanned character and advance the movement to new heights. From the people the Congress Movement learnt once more the vital importance of burning local issues which in a twinkling can transform a political situation. The Conference introduced the broad perspectives without which local issues can not be finally solved, namely, a *united front* against the main enemy — the Nationalist policy of Apartheid and the alternative — the *FREEDOM CHARTER*.

- Treason á la Mode de Pretoria

This is the title of a leader article which appeared in the London Times on the day the treason trial re-opened in Pretoria at the beginning of August.

We produce the leader almost in full.

From time to time members of the Nationalist Government in South Africa complain that their policies are misunderstood. Mr. Louw, the Minister of External Affairs, is especially emphatic in voicing this protest and he, unlike some of his colleagues, is well aware of how public opinion is, in fact, formed in the democratic, freedom-loving countries of Europe and America. He knows that any serious deviation from the accepted principles of equity and fair dealing for individuals can never be hidden by censorship or bluffed away by propaganda. A Government is judged by its neighbours on its actions. That is why Mr. Louw would be

doing a useful service to his Government and its supporters if he told them plainly how the treason trial, for which they are responsible, is affecting their reputation in the eyes of the world.

This trial enters today on yet a further stage of its meandering progress. It began in 1956 with the arrests of 156 persons. That number has gradually been reduced — without any proofs of guilt being established in the process. Charges were dropped against the majority of the accused, leaving two groups. The largest of these, 61 in number, had their indictments quashed last April. But now an attempt to put an end to the ordeal of the last thirty has failed. Another act has begun in this strange and, at points, farcical exercise. The scrupulous fairness of its day to day proceedings is its one bright spot. For the rest darkness and confusion prevail.

An unbridgeable gap cuts this trial off from what in Britain and the United States of America, to name only two countries out of many, is meant by the rule of law. If all or any of the thirty still on trial are guilty of any specific offence, then their fate should have been settled more promptly, more simply, and in a manner that showed that justice was being done. So long as citizens are proceeded against in droves and left indefinitely to suffer the penalties of being neither convicted nor acquitted, those responsible for their prosecution must expect to be condemned at the bar of world opinion. State trials on this scale and of this character are a common feature of dictatorial and tyrannical regimes. They should have no place in a nation that draws its main white elements from two such homelands of respect for law as Holland and Britain.

HOW FAR WILL THE NEW GROUP GO ?

The U.P. Split and the Progressives

The U.P. split was inevitable. The only element of surprise was that it came when it did.

To assess its significance, three questions must be answered.

- What were the immediate causes?
- What were the long-term causes?
- What role will the Progressives play?

Few people expected a break-up to occur at the Bloemfontein congress. True, there were threats that the right-wing intended to "settle the hash" of their progressives; but these are commonplace on the eve of U.P. congresses.

Moreover the progressives had long lost their independence as a group. To all intents and purposes they were effectively digested in the belly of their trojan horse.

Since their refusal to back Dr. Bernard Friedman when he resigned over the Coloured vote in 1955, they had steadily compromised away their position.

The last general election witnessed how far this had gone, when they served as the willing spearhead of the U.P.'s attack on the Labour M.P.'s.

There seemed no reason for them to leave the party — and they gave no indication that they were unhappy in it.

What then produced the parting of the ways?

by

S. FRANKLIN

Trigger Incident

The trigger incident was a resolution opposing the further purchase of land under the 1936 land settlement.

It was argued that the U.P. was no longer bound to this as the land was to be used for the creation of Bantustans — a purpose not contemplated in 1936.

In itself the issue was unimportant. The liberals had made far bigger compromises in the past.

But it symbolised a growing move to the right in the U.P. — reflected in the "Beware of the Bantustan Peril" line with which the U.P. hopes to win provincial election votes.

It also came as the climax to a series of failures at the conference by the Progressives to secure advances in U.P. colour policy — failures which showed that the U.P. was determined to continue in its fossilised racialistic strait-jacket.

Above all the ultra-reactionaries at the congress made it clear that the Progressives were an embarrassment to the party's efforts to return to power.

Challenge From Congress

What caused the issues to crystallize themselves at this particular conference?

The answer lies in the ever-growing strength of Congress and its allies — both here and overseas. This is making it increasingly difficult for S.A. politicians to ignore a straight choice between white supremacy and multi-racialism.

The economic boycotts and the anti-pass campaigns in recent months have put a sharp edge to the challenge.

This was the X factor — the unadmitted catalyst — of the split.

McCarthy in the U.P.

For the Conservatives saw in the sharpening struggle a glorious opportunity to play on white fears by raising the "Swart Gevaar" bogey; this was in line with their tradition of opportunism, expediency and racialism.

Panic-stricken at the thought of never being returned to power, they were prepared to use any weapon.

The Bantustan plan provided them with a tar brush to smear Verwoerd as a "liberal" and they grabbed it with both hands.

To effectively pose as the blue blood

The Umzimkulu is Washed 'White' by Flood

defenders of white supremacy, it was necessary to purge the liberal taint from the party.

Just as in 1958 the U.P. had eliminated the Labour Party to prove its reactionary bone fides on the platteland, it now turned on its left wing.

Having got rid of the Suzmans and the Copes, there is no reason why the U.P.'s McCarthy, Douglas Mitchell, should not turn his undoubted talents for witchhunting to "semi-progressives" and "disguised Progressives" inside the party.

If the U.P. fails in the provincial elections, new "liberal" scapegoats will have to be found. In its attempt to out-Nat the Nats, new sacrificial offerings — possibly one day even Sir de Villiers Graaff — will have to be made.

Good psychologist that he is, Dr. Verwoerd's immediate response to the split was to accuse the U.P. of having split into two "liberal" groups.

The Progressives for their part, responded to the challenges here and on the continent, with the most advanced demands they have ever made at a U.P. congress: common roll franchise in all provinces and the increase of African Representation to 20.

It was the pull of the Congresses as much as that of the Nats which tore the U.P. asunder.

There was perhaps more than just a germ of truth in Mr. de Wet Nel's jibe that the U.P. congress was a triumph for the A.N.C.

A big question mark now hangs over the Progressives: how far are they prepared to go on colour policy?

Next Steps

At present they are working out policy in regard to wages, passes and franchise.

In some quarters their policy is expected to herald a new Golden Age in parliamentary politics. It should be remembered however that the Progressives want to win seats — and will frame their policy accordingly.

The contribution they will make to political change will depend to what extent they are prepared to emerge as a new group, emancipated from the U.P. paternalism. If they persist in posing as the true, up-to-date, most modern version of the U.P., little real advance can be expected.

Whatever happens, however, there is no question that the break is a step towards crystallizing issues more effectively before the White electorate; it represents a crack in the ranks of the parliamentary defenders of White supremacy; and it is likely, in the long run, to strengthen the anti-Nat struggle.

The Umzimkulu river is the natural boundary between "the great Bantustan empire of the Transkeian Territories" and the Natal White area. It was early winter, May 16. It started raining at about 6 p.m. It poured the whole night and the whole of Sunday. There was water everywhere — road streams; garden pools; leaking houses. It was one of the heavy rains we sometimes get in winter but the weather forecasters had predicted nothing unusual so we did not worry.

On Sunday afternoon at about 2 p.m. somebody remarked to us "There is a big dam in the garden!" On close scrutiny this was no dammed water — it was the steadily rising torrent of the river. A tree was still visible, a marker of the level of the water. An hour later the tree had disappeared. It was still pouring! And there was no sign of the weather clearing.

Already at 4 p.m. there was talk of evacuation; particularly of the African and Coloured residential areas along the river. At the great bridge just completed last year the water had risen alarmingly, and still it rose as it rained. African women with babies on their backs and a few belongings on their heads were streaming up the national road away from the dark, dirty, rolling waters of the Umzimkulu river. Along the upper residential area by 5 p.m. we had passed the word to all residents to evacuate, and an hour later with some blankets and clothing we safely crossed the bridge into Natal.

The following day we could see how the river had risen. Indeed it was a flood! The small low-lying village, the main business centre had been completely covered with water and cut off from Natal. The bridge could not be crossed. Telephone wires and poles were floating on the angry, dark raging waters.

In the lower section of the village most heavily populated as 400 to 500 Africans and Coloureds lived there, some houses had collapsed and everything in them had been carried away or buried in sand.

By Tuesday the water had subsided but the village was still cut off from Natal. The approach to the bridge had been dug 10 to 15 ft. down. We used a ladder to get down to the bottom of the cut across to the village. What we had seen at a distance was nothing compared with the damage seen at close quarters. No description can give a true picture of the flood damage: houses uprooted or completely destroyed; roofs of

thatch and corrugated iron deposited all over along the trail; cars carried several yards from where they had been left; stoves, tables, chairs, suitcases, furniture of all sorts; bottles, drums deposited all over; paraffin and petrol drums carried as far as 20 miles downstream.

Toll of Life

What of the loss of human life? Only four victims this time. In the 1939 flood the toll was heavy — about 13 or more people lost their lives, yet the story has it that that flood was negligible in extent and duration. Even the old people do not remember seeing or being told of a flood of the magnitude of this year's. Had the village been flooded at night, more lives would have been lost.

Stories of the pathetic drama of the flood are told at Umzimkulu and some will become family folk lore.

An old man who refused to leave his house when told to do so, saying "There never was a flood in the history of the village which ever came here", found himself, to his greatest amazement, on a table which, as the water rose, became a small boat and started moving. He then climbed on to a sideboard which also moved, and eventually slept on top of a wardrobe.

One young man was swept off the road and, carried by the flood water, crashed through the window into the offices of a local attorney, where he found books and files afloat. He regained his sense and sat on a table, there to be found on Monday as one of the luckiest survivors of the flood with a story to tell.

Clearing the Mess

Communications with Natal were established by Tuesday afternoon when cars could cross the bridge. Shops spread blankets and clothing on their roofs; offices took books into the sun to dry but mealie meal, sugar, flour and salt had either dissolved or been reduced into a doughy, dirty smelling mass. In the residential areas it was an even more pitiful sight. Some families could not find their houses and on the flat sandy valley of Umzimkulu, people were trying to sort their belongings from the wreckage. The Umzimkulu Women's Guild set to work and organised relief work in conjunction with the Red Cross at Ixopo. Blankets, clothing, shoes and food started pouring in. Meanwhile the people, African and Coloured, were housed in two halls and some in the Angli-

One week after the heavy rains that washed hundreds of African families out of their homes along the banks of the river, and before the families could re-settle in their flooded homes, the village was declared "White."

This account is by Dr. W. Z. CONCO.

can church in the upper section of the village; and some families had moved to relations at Cyldesdale and other adjoining areas.

In the showgrounds tents were erected, and families were moved into them. There were about 52 tents for Africans, about 27 for Coloureds and about 17 for police and court officials. By Friday Tent Town was almost complete, with streets and improvised communal latrines. Blankets, clothing and food came until the Committee complained that there was too much, though the people grumbled that it was still too little. It was cold and damp in the tents. Most of the relief work came through the Red Cross while the Umzimkulu Women's Guild worked day and night to sort out materials for equitable distribution.

The Helicopter Lands

On Thursday morning rumours went about that the Minister of Bantu Education was landing in Umzimkulu in a helicopter that afternoon. It was on this day that tent-town was completed — rather hurriedly. At about 2.45 p.m. the helicopter was sighted and landed in the showgrounds near emerging Tent Township. Within a few moments cars and inhabitants streamed to the scene. Out of the 'copter came three gentlemen: Mr. Maree, wearing a hat that concealed his face, immediately surrounding him, the Native Commissioner and the Chairman of the Village Management Board, together with a group of civil servants, police and traders.

Theirs was a 30 minute visit, no inspection of Tent Town or destroyed houses; no address at all and off went the Honourable Minister.

Rumours circulated that he had promised more help; and the Road Department had been called in to assist shape tent town; which it did. On Friday the Native Commissioner called a meeting of all victims in tent town and elsewhere. Here the rules and regulations of tent township were promulgated: no fires in tents and not a drop of alcohol to be brought in, and no visitors. Contravention of any of the rules would mean expulsion.

(Already before Tent Town had come into being, the Native Commissioner had gone to the people direct, informing them to leave the village and go and stay with relations in the reserves. This instruction, as it was by word of mouth and not in black and white, was not carried out at all.)

Officials Swarm In

Never before had this small village been graced by a visit of government

officials. Exactly a week after the deluge, a Bantu Administration and Development official came and had hush-hush discussions with the Village Management Board, the main problem being the resettlement of Africans. The following week three more officials came — one from Bantu Administration and Development, the other from the Coloured Affairs Department and the last from the Group Areas Board, all to have discussions with the Village Management Board and the Native Commissioner.

Rumour grew that the whole of the village area is an urban area — declared so in 1952 and that Africans were therefore "out of place." This was confirmed at a meeting of all non-European erf owners called by the Village Management Board, where a statement was issued by the Chairman of the Board.

Its effect was:

- * That Umzimkulu Village had been declared an urban area in 1952, and that in keeping with government policy, no African should own immovable property in an urban area;
- * That the Health authorities had condemned Rainbow Avenue (Non-European) and Skoonplaas (Non-European) — residential areas along the river, as unfit for human habitation and that nobody should go back and live there. (The Hotel, and Europeans settled in the same area were not affected.)
- * The Board advised or warned African erf-owners not to go to any expense in rebuilding substantial houses, as the Board believed "That the whole village is to be declared White."
- * The Bantu Administration Department had indicated that erven could be sold to Africans in the neighbouring reserves — "their traditional home", not in the now "white areas."
- * That in the meantime no African was to SELL or WILL any erven to any racial group other than members of the White groups.
- * That the removal of Africans would take time and that this could be done "with or without compensation."

For the Coloured community the position was a little different. Negotiations would be opened with the National Housing Commission to settle Coloureds near the "Rifle Range", below the National Road and erven would be surveyed and sold to the Coloured group. Arrangements could also be made to have present Coloured erven exchanged for those to be cut in the Coloured area.

This was the startling statement issued by the Board, and the Chairman made a point of stressing that he was not prepared to answer questions, so no questions were asked.

Perhaps it would be expedient at this juncture to give a rough picture of the village. The whole of the business area is owned by Whites, Coloureds, and the only two Asiatics. Africans own 28 freehold erven — Coloureds 19. (I have not the figure of erven owned by Europeans). The White residential area is on higher ground, safe from any flood, though the main business area was in the flood area. There is no location or African Township.

Campaign of Intimidation Opens

Following the Board's statement, a feverish campaign of intimidation opened, with notice served on some African and Coloured residents of Tent Town. Strangely enough these notices came from the Native Commissioner and not from the Village Management Board and in them the section of the law under which these people were being ejected was not quoted. The notices were withdrawn as fast as they were issued. The second batch of notices was issued by the Board to erf owners to clear the mass of sand, silt and destroyed houses Act. Failure to comply with the order within a month under the Public Health notice entailed prosecution.

A "White Spot" in Bantustan

The most significant thing the flood had done in Umzimkulu is to wash the village "white." The "Bantustan Empire of Bantu Self-Government" is shrinking, slices are being cut off to accommodate a few White settlers, and not only that, but Africans are being displaced and deprived of freehold properties which they have occupied since the 1880's.

While the praise-maker was dancing and praising Mr. de Wet Nel in Umtata, and while the President of Transkeian Territorial Authority was "thanking the father of Africans," while the whole "territorial Parliament" was giving the Royal salute of "Bayete", somewhere in the vast "Empire" a small village was being sliced off from the control of the newly inaugurated "Bantu Parliament."

The flood was on May 17th and 18th. The "Bantu Parliament" was inaugurated on the 26th May.

Rumour has it that bigger slices will be cut off this "empire" — e.g. Mata-tiele, Umzimkulu Village with its six surrounding White farms, and that the big district of Mount Currie will be annexed to Natal, and this Umzimkulu River will cease being a "Natural Eastern Boundary", of the Bantustan Empire.

Time will reveal the sincerity or hollowness of the Bantustan dummy!

NYASALAND: A HOUSE DIVIDED

Enough time and type has been devoted to the findings of the Devlin Commission about the so-called "murder plot" of the Nyasaland African Congress, which formed the Governor's justification for the State of Emergency decreed on 3rd March. The Commission found that there was neither talk amongst Congressmen of "cold-blooded assassination or massacre" nor "anything that could be called a plot nor, except in a very loose sense a plan." Pompous discourses on logic and elephantine broadsides of sarcasm have been used to erase this verdict, or to prove it contradictory — and therefore apparently false — in the face of the further verdict: that "violence was to be adopted as a policy" and "there was talk of beating and killing Europeans."

In fact there is nothing contradictory about it at all, as anyone who takes the trouble to read the report as a whole will appreciate. The report generally is far more judical than any of its critics, far more concerned for the facts and far less concerned to justify the government of Nyasaland than those who attack it so easily. It is not the intention here to analyse and dissect what the report has to say on this vital matter. To some extent that is churning over the ashes of the past. There are more important matters dealt with in the report, and ones which affect the present course of Nyasaland events and will also surely determine its future. Such, for instance, is the characterisation of the two great opposing forces in Nyasaland society — the government on the one hand, Congress on the other.

"Between the Government and Congress there was a profound difference of attitude" says the Commission, referring to the period before any disturbances whatsoever had taken place. "Congress behaved as if Nyasaland was capable of functioning as a democracy in the fullest sense and that the Government was holding things back. The Government on the other hand became increasingly intolerant of any opposition on western or democratic lines . . . This conflict . . . is no doubt a common feature of the emergence of democracy all over the world." Perhaps, in the long historical sense, this conflict is part of the emergence of Nyasaland towards democracy. But in its immediate result, from this conflict flowed the disturbances, the state of emergency, the banning of Congress and the arrest of Congress leaders and members. From this conflict has developed a Nyasaland which, in the words of the Commission ". . . is — no doubt only temporarily — a police state, where it is not safe for anyone to express approval of the policies of the Con-

gress party, to which before March 3rd, 1959 the vast majority of politically minded Africans belonged, and where it is unwise to express any but the most restrained criticism of government policy."

by
L. BERNSTEIN

Unity and Opposition

Throughout the report runs this theme of the profound opposition of Congress and government on every important matter, on agricultural policy and soil conservation, on the right of free speech and assembly, on the authority and powers of chiefs, on the composition of the legislature and the right to vote; but most importantly, on the issue of membership of the Central African Federation. In its opposition to Federation, Congress spoke for every section of the Nyasa people, for "the educated African . . . feeling that he is looked on as an inferior being, treated at best as a second class citizen. The partly educated, who have been to Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa as labourers . . . dislike the ways and attitudes they have seen there. The completely uneducated fears for his land . . . Federation means the domination of Southern Rhodesia; the domination of Southern Rhodesia means the domination of the settler; the domination of the settler means the perpetuation of racial inferiority and of the threat to the African's land: that is the argument." "Opposition to Federation" says the Commission, "was deeply rooted and almost universally held. Even amongst the chiefs, many of whom are loyal to the Government and dislike Congress methods, we have not heard a single one who is in favour of Federation." On one side, the whole people; on the other the Government, which "cannot and will not go back on Federation; it treats the question as one that is no longer open." The government — as it was before ever the State of Emergency — was described by the Commission as "a benevolent despotism." It consists of a majority of European officials, appointed by the Governor. "Every member of the Government" the Commission gravely records, "believes that at bottom in Nyasaland there is government by consent and would not be happy if he thought otherwise." This happy belief is not directly challenged by the Commission; but an insight into this govern-

ment "by consent" is given here and there throughout the report. The government view, for example, "is based on the assumption that, apart from a small minority of self-seeking trouble makers, the African wants what is best for him . . . and the Government knows what that is." "Freedom of speech is considered to be one of the essential conditions of democracy and therefore the right of assembly is jealously preserved: . . . This right has never been recognised among Africans . . ." "It is indeed, the government claim, because of the difficulty of making the African see for himself the advantages of soil conservation that it is necessary to enforce these rules by penalties and not simply to rely upon the education of the African up to higher agricultural standards." "The Government's view is that these nationalist aspirations are the thoughts of only a small minority of political Africans, mainly self-seekers . . . We have not found this to be so."

Iron Hand

Call it what you will, despotism, benevolent despotism or 'government by consent'. This was — and still is — the government. "We think" says the Commission, "that before there was any suggestion of a murder plot it had been contemplated that all branch officials of Congress should be arrested in the event of an emergency. The decision to suppress Congress, we think, owed more to its belief that its continued activities were making government impossible than to the feeling that it was, or might be, a terrorist organisation." Accordingly, on March 3rd, when the opposition of Congress and government had reached near bursting point, the government by emergency decree, suppressed Congress.

The suppression of Congress started with the before-dawn arrests of over two hundred selected Congress leaders, in a carefully prepared combined police and military operation known as "Operation Sunrise." "In Nyasaland" says the Commission, "it has been the practice at least since 1954 for the special branch to maintain a list of "suspects" whom it thinks might have to be arrested on the declaration of an emergency. In November 1958 a complete revision of the list was undertaken . . . to include all those persons who were believed to be members of the central executive committee, or of the three provincial committees or were known as the chairman or secretary of any branch." Some time later, when informers reported that a special conference had been held (with the knowledge and consent of the auth-

orities!) at which a "massacre plan" had been adopted, the list was "revised, to include any person known to have attended the emergency conference . . . with some others added whose names the special branch had submitted as likely to be a menace to public tranquility."

The Round-Up

The manner of the arrests varied. Dr. Banda's "front door was forced with an axe . . . Dr. Banda was refused permission to dress . . . the house was searched, all locks being broken open with an axe or bayonet." "Chifaka says that he was held down on the bed and beaten. We think that this is probably exaggerated, but the wounds on his head suggest that he was beaten even more severely than the police admit." "Nikodimo was arrested and handcuffed . . . He was struck three times with batons . . . Handcuffs were then put on his ankles." "Nanseta was still naked when taken outside. Nanseta's story is that four special constables came in and started beating him. We are not satisfied that he began shouting before he was struck." "A pane of glass was broken to effect entry and this roused Ziba who started yelling and shouting . . . The A.D.C. broke down the door . . . Owing to the noise it slipped the A.D.C.'s mind to say what he was there for. Ziba did not advance to attack . . .

the special constable joined in and struck Ziba on the head with his shotgun so that it shattered and both barrels were discharged in the air. The A.D.C. hit him on the head with a baton which broke; and then again with the butt of his rifle." "General instructions in the Mzimba district permitted arrested persons to be handcuffed, tied at elbows and at the ankles and gagged. The majority appear to have been treated this way."

The arrested men were to be removed from Nyasaland to Federal prisons by way of the motor vessel Mpasa. "Prisoners travelled in the hold . . . we think the hold must have been about 50 feet long, 20 feet wide and twelve feet high. It contained as well as the detainees 84 tons of cement in paper bags . . . At the top the hold is completely covered with planks . . . kept wedged down when the ship was in port or during the night time; but during the day while at sea, two of the corners were opened up to let light in . . . The ship left Nkata Bay with a total of 75 detainees aboard . . . The first few had been in the hold for just over three days and three nights" when she docked at Chipoka.

From Raids to Riots

As the news of these arrests spread in the towns and villages, crowds began to assemble, some angry, some merely wishing to interview the local officials

to discover the reasons for the arrests. All such gatherings were forcibly dispersed. Including in their figures two men shot and killed in disturbances of a similar sort before Operation Sunrise, the Commission records that "44 men and four women were killed by gunfire, and three were killed by the use of a baton or bayonet. 79 were wounded by bullets. All these persons killed or wounded were Africans . . . Probably there was a number suffering from minor bullet wounds and a much larger number suffering from baton injuries who did not go to hospital at all . . . As a result of force employed by rioters and other criminals, all of them Africans, during this period there were no deaths but about half a dozen Europeans and Africans were injured some of them quite seriously."

Of Operation Sunrise itself, the Commission finds: "That it is quite evident that unnecessary and therefore illegal force was used in making a number of these arrests; illegal measures of restraint were also employed. Apart from those instances which may not be defensible judged by any standards, you may think that the incidents show generally a freer use of the baton than would be tolerated in this country (Britain)." But the servants of the Nyasa-

Africa's Biggest Dam will be Soviet Built

A miniature Aswan Dam project is under way on a site on the outskirts of Moscow. Here on a site one-hundredth of the actual Aswan dam site a little river, the Skodnya, is being used to simulate the Nile and Professor Komzin, Soviet adviser on the construction of Egypt's Aswan dam which will be the largest hydro-engineering structure in Africa, is carrying out experimental designs to arrive at the most economical construction schedule on the Aswan dam itself.

The Soviet design for the High Aswan dam project was approved by the United Arab Republic after discussion by an international commission of hydro-engineering experts. British, French and West German firms also submitted projects for the dam but the Soviet proposals were found to be better, simpler and considerably cheaper.

A problem, which, for instance, the British draft solved by the construction of seven rock tunnels, some eight miles long, is solved in the Soviet draft by a simple canal little more than a mile in length.

Soviet engineers will supervise the carrying out of the work, and thousands of tons of Soviet machinery and equipment are being sent to Egypt for the purpose — ranging from metals and cables to 25-ton tip-lorries and giant excavators and electric suction dredgers.

A special training centre will be set up at Aswan, at which Soviet hydro engineers will train Egyptian workers.

Building work will start this year.

Egypt has at present probably less cultivated land per inhabitant than any other — fewer than six million acres, needed to feed 25,000,000 Egyptians and also grow cotton, rice, onions, and other crops, the bulk of which are exported to pay for industrial imports.

Nine in ten of these acres rely on irrigation from the Nile. There could be a vast increase in crop areas if only more water was regularly available.

The High Aswan Dam will solve this problem. It

will give Egyptian farmers billions of gallons more water every year, making it possible to add another two million acres to their arable farming areas right away.

The dam will end the floods in the Nile valley, and it will also end the drought.

This means an increase in Egypt's agricultural output of at least half.

On the dam will be a 20,080,000 kw. hydro-electric station, with an annual power output of 10,000 million kwh — far more electricity than Egypt will need for many years to come.

Cheap hydropower will speed the development of Egypt's young industries.

There will be power for the pumping stations along the irrigation canals.

Favourable conditions will be created for producing the nitrogen fertilisers the country needs, and for developing electric blast-furnace production and other branches of electro-metallurgy.

Regulation of the flow of the river will also considerably improve navigation conditions on the Nile, and promote the further development of shipping.

United Arab Republic economists estimate that all the investments for building the Aswan Dam will be recovered in one or two years.

The dam site is far from the coast — some 550 miles up the Nile from Cairo — and a great deal of preliminary work in the building of roads, power grids, railways, airfields and river wharves is already under way.

"We are certain," says the project's chief engineer, Nikolai Malyshev, "that in the nearest future, as a result of the efforts of Egyptian workers, engineers and scientists, and with the Soviet Union's technical assistance there will rise in the Nile valley the biggest hydro-engineering structure in Africa."

"It will harness one of the mightiest rivers of the world for the benefit and prosperity of the people of the United Arab Republic."

land government apparently do not think so. "Having seen all those who were responsible for the shootings . . . we are satisfied that each man did what he did because he honestly felt that he could not discharge his duty in any other way." They, too, no doubt, could not be happy if they thought otherwise.

Riots to Reprisals

From Operation Sunrise the government proceeded to "a vigorous policy of harassing and breaking up Congress organisers, supporters and hoodlums at a lower level . . . The objectives of the new operation were to arrest leaders still at large, to make propaganda, to give firm but friendly displays of force in quiescent areas and to take tough, punitive action in areas where lawlessness and acts of violence were being perpetrated or planned." The emphasis has clearly been on the "tough and punitive", not on the "firm and friendly." Large scale raids on Congress members houses have resulted in a "substantial number of persons" being sent to prison for continued membership of the now illegal Congress — from six months to two years sentences — or for managing or organising Congress after March 3rd — up to five years sentence. Evidence of continued membership of Congress is not hard to find. "In some cases a search of premises has shown a membership card or a receipt for a subscription dated after March 3rd; then the position is clear" says the Commission. "But in most cases, what has been found is . . . dated before 3rd March. A liberal construction of section 73(3) (Penal Code) would be that a document did not 'relate to an unlawful society' unless at the time of its issue the society was unlawful. This view has not so far been taken by the courts in Nyasaland. Indeed, the discovery of old documents has been held to be virtually conclusive proof, for it is said, that the failure to destroy the document after 3rd March shows that the holder intended to continue his membership."

"Where membership of Congress cannot be proved" says the Commission, "persons who are suspected of subversive tendency can be detained under emergency regulations . . . We understand that by the middle of May about 1,000 persons had been or were detained . . . In this context we think that 'subversive' behaviour is being given a very wide meaning . . . Two observations made to us by District Commissioners show that it has become difficult to distinguish between opposition to the Government and subversion."

Reprisals to War

Raids and searches have not all been individual. Villages have been cordoned off "at night or in the early hours of

the morning . . . Police or soldiers would then go to the village, banging on the doors of the huts, breaking in if necessary, bringing the men out into the centre of the village. The men might be questioned in the village or they might be put into a lorry and taken off to the police station . . . According to the way in which they answered their interrogators, they might either be released in a day or two or they might be subjected to a 28 day (detention) order. When the alarm was given at the beginning of the operation, men might try to run away . . . Cordoning troops had power to shoot such people if they failed to halt. Over a period of 12 days, 11 casualties were caused, six of them fatal during these operations." "We are inclined to think that the search for wanted men was hardly more than incidental to the main purpose of the operation, which was to impose a form of collective punishment . . . They were punitive expeditions intended to make it plain that siding with Congress led to very unpleasant consequences."

Not the least of these unpleasant consequences has been the burning of huts, often together with all the occupier's possessions. "The complaints we received said that houses were being burnt simply because they belonged to persons who were thought to be Congress sympathisers. We believe this to be the case." "We heard many complaints that implements — axes, choppers, pangas etc. — were taken wholesale from houses which were searched . . . It is admitted that a great deal of this was done and we find that it was a general practice to take all the implements from a house that was searched, which would frequently mean from all the houses in a village . . . No arrangement has been made for returning the implements or for paying compensation. We must note that no fire arms were ever confiscated . . . There is no provision in the law which gives a blanket authority for the seizure of implements in any circumstances . . ."

Generally, the Commission concludes, "An aggressive and bullying attitude was part of the treatment and lack of submission to it meant hitting and beating. All this was generally known and we sought opinions about it at every level in the administration. They varied from those who thought it proper and desirable to those who thought it regrettable but inevitable. The Government has not at any time, either before us or, so far as we are aware, to anyone else, expressed regret or disapproval of what has been done under these heads."

And Still Divided

This is a fitting note on which to end the report. The Government remains the Government. Congress is suppressed, hounded, imprisoned and beaten. But the conflict between people and Govern-

African Protests at French Bomb Test

The West African campaign against France's plan to carry out a nuclear bomb test in the Sahara has solid backing throughout Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Guinea and the Cameroons as well as in some of the French African territories.

The Prime Minister of Western Nigeria, Mr. A. O. Awolowo has warned France that Nigeria's foreign policy towards France when she becomes independent next year might well be defined by France's reaction to the protests.

Trade union leaders are calling for a campaign for a total boycott of French goods unless the French call off the Sahara bomb test.

ment which set the stage for the State of Emergency and for the disturbances remain as acute as ever. The gulf is as deep as it ever was, the bitterness more bitter. Neither Operation Sunrise nor Operation Break-up has erased any part of the Nyasa opposition to Federation. And already, as the new constitutional change scheduled for 1960 comes closer, there are signs that the British Government at any rate recognises that dreams of Central African Federation under Southern Rhodesian premier Welensky have been shattered on the shores of Lake Nyasa.

"As power was transferred from the British Government" in respect of the Northern Territories (Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesias) Lord Home told the House of Commons not long ago, "it would be transferred not to the Federal Government but to the governments of the Northern Territories, which would become more and more representative of Africans until they had an African majority." Not yet perhaps all that the Nyasaland Congress and people have been demanding. Not yet full independence and an African majority government outside the Federation. But a move in the same direction.

And as the history of Ghana shows, when the mass of the population are fired with the vision of independence, superior force and prisons cannot contain them for long. Dr. Banda and Mr. Chipembere will surely, like Dr. Nkrumah, yet move straight from the jails to the seats of Nyasaland government.

Why All of Latin America Sizzles with Revolt

Latin America is flaming with rebellion, strikes, acute discontent. "Democracy", concedes the *New York Times*, "is in the air and so is social revolution."

The constant factor underlying this unrest is the effort of Latin America to escape from the semi-feudal colonial 18th and 19th Centuries into the 20th. The Wars of Independence there merely shifted the power from enfeebled Spain to the local landlords and clergy. The immediate factor is the economic scissors in which nearly every country is caught — low prices for their export products, high prices for their imports.

While the rich get richer in the fat United States, the poor get poorer in lean Latin America. This fact is underlined in every economic report from these countries. Whether it is Mexico or Argentina, Bolivia or Brazil, the standard of living of the people is being pushed down relentlessly by the operation of the economic scissors, abetted by regimes which decree "austerity" for the masses and more profits for those on top. In nearly every country a conscienceless ruling class (backed by guns from the United States) sits precariously on the lid while the pot boils.

International Exploitation

The real rulers of Latin America are not to be found among the landlords and big importers holding the reins of power but among the financial powers-that-be of Manhattan. To name names, they are the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Export-Import Bank, which among them represent the financial greats of Wall Street and Western Europe. In this way Wall Street itself avoids being charged with sole responsibility for bankrupting Latin America: it's an international operation.

It works this way. The currencies of the countries below the Rio Grande are falling into the pit. The Argentine peso has just gone below one cent; the Brazilian cruzeiro is a dime a dozen, the Bolivian boliviano is no longer quoted on the money market and fetches around 12,000 to the dollar. The dizzy plunge of Latin American currencies reflects the financial exhaustion of the continent under the remorseless economic scissors which decrees low prices for coffee, bananas,

tin, copper, cotton, cocoa, meat, wool, or whatever it is that these countries have to sell. On the other hand the managed price system of the monopolies assures a steadily mounting cost of the manufactured goods which Latin America imports. So the balance of payments is always against Mexico, Guatemala, Chile or whatever country you pick.

Nearly all these countries belong to the International Monetary Fund, which was created to stabilise currencies. So in order to balance payments, these governments go hat in hand to the Monetary Fund for new loans to pay off old ones. But the gods of the Fund decree that there will be no new loans unless the countries affected balance their budgets. This means that appropriations for health, welfare and education must be slashed, even though military expenditures rise. This means there must be "austerity" which will cut back the already pitiful living standard of the masses. This is achieved by raising prices on food, rent and utilities in order to force people to consume less.

Force and violence

Argentina, under President Frondizi, is doing exactly this. The price of meat (Argentina used to be the biggest meat consumer per capita in the world) has doubled in the past year so that now Argentine beef is sold more cheaply in England than at home. Also, the International Monetary Fund looks around to see what natural wealth a country may have. Does it have oil, as does Argentina? Then it must be handed over to the U.S. and British cartel. Frondizi has handed it over while imprisoning the leaders of the union and ordering the Army to occupy their headquarters because the oil workers put up a fight to save Argentine oil for their own country.

The story is the same in Chile, Peru, Colombia and other countries where quasi-democratic regimes fronting for landlords, big importers and the Army use force and violence against their own people. In Brazil, so far the orders of the International Monetary Fund have been defied, because the government doubts if it can prevent revolt if it imposes more "austerity" on the ragged Brazilian people. Brazil is so big —

bigger than the U.S. minus Alaska — that it has proved the hardest nut for international finance to crack.

A leading newsletter on Latin America, published for U.S. business men, quite cynically reviews the situation. Referring to "the abdication of democratic processes under Frondizi," it points out that "the Brazilian people would not stand for such a surrender." "Lacking this capacity to wipe out democratic processes," the International Monetary Fund and its associates must look forward to "a military dictatorship" in Brazil.

Starvation by Decree

The *Hispanic Americana Report*, published by Stanford University, in its current issue refers to "the deliberate sacrifice of the working class to gain economic progress" in Mexico. It adds that while the lot of privileged workers in oil and on the railroads is worse now than in 1939, "the living standard of the poorly organised mass of labour has declined spectacularly."

The *Hispanic American Report* quotes a Venezuelan deputy, member of the Republican Democratic Union party, that the U.S. is "exerting each time stronger and more powerful pressures to invalidate any proposal initiated in Latin America to consolidate its economic recovery." What angered the deputy especially was the veto on the proposal to have the headquarters of the new Inter-American Development Bank in Caracas. On the first ballot, nine nations favoured Caracas to eight for Washington; after that the diplomatic steam roller began moving, the Caracas vote declined to six, and on the third ballot to none.

Or take Bolivia, where the International Monetary Fund has decreed outright starvation for the tin miners. The *New York Times* reported that all the tin miners now get at the mine commissaries is tea and coca leaves (cocaine against hunger and pain). They can buy milk for their children only occasionally and meat almost never. The Monetary Fund, acting on behalf of U.S. financiers, reported the *Times*, was charged with "deliberately provoking the strikes

(Continued on page 16)

SHORT STORY

by

RONALD WILLIAMS

The Pass and the Home-Girl

Masiza felt his shoulders ache as he turned over in his bed. It was always like that on Sunday mornings as a result of a week's hard work. He couldn't make any sense out of it. A man slaving through six days a week for a few pounds, a day's rest, and then to start it all over again — day after day, year after year.

These thoughts occupied his mind always, but this morning they were mixed with a gay thrill of expectancy. Things were going to change for the better, for on Thursday Masiza had met Rebecca.

Now Masiza had never bothered himself with women, not since his coming to the city, anyway. But Rebecca was different. She wasn't a city girl. She had come from up country, from a village not far from his. She hadn't picked up the ways of the city yet. He had seen that by the simple manner of her dress, her straight, unevasive talk, her direct look and the general shyness about her. Masiza felt that he was home when he had met her. It was a rare meeting, and she, thrilled at meeting a "home-boy", had invited him to her place of employment for Sunday when her employers would be out for the day.

Masiza had gladly accepted. Such luck for a man so far away from home. Three years in Cape Town without the companionship of a woman, and now to meet one from home, unspoilt. He raised his head and looked across the room. Fondie's bed was empty. It was still early in the morning and there was no reason for his room-mate being up at that time except that he had taken Maisie down to the bus stop, since she had to be at work by eight.

Poor chaps like Fondie, thought Masiza. They had to smuggle their womenfolk into the Bachelor's Hostel late at night and out again early in the morning while the caretakers were still asleep — if you didn't want to pay a "hush" fee, which Fondie swore never to do. He wouldn't let another man suck his blood like that.

Masiza was knotting up the brightest and broadest tie he had when Fondie entered. Fondie was surprised to see how dressed up Masiza was.

"What's up today?" he asked. "Don't tell me you are going to church, or have you been converted perhaps?" Masiza looked at his well polished shoes, then removed a speck from his shoulder before answering.

"I'm off to Sea Point."

Fondie looked up in surprise, then a smile broke in his face; "Which relative are you going to see? Or are you going to look for a job, house-boy, garden boy?" And he burst out laughing.

"Go ahead and mock, but you boys are in for a surprise," replied Masiza. "I am going to see a girl, not one of your chain smoking and drink swilling nice timers. I am talking of a real home girl. Another thing, she's got a servant's room all to herself. I may never have to pay rent again or buy food as long as she works—".

"In return for which you'll have to work the garden and wash master's car and all the lousy odd jobs," Fondie shook his head, "I'll never do a thing like that."

"It's better than what you are doing, and you and Maisie will be caught one day," warned Masiza.

Thus they talked, while Masiza put on his best suit and Fondie his ordinary clothes, for Fondie was wise. He never put on fine clothes when he knew that a lot of drinking would be done. He soon left.

Masiza couldn't believe that he had worn the filthy clothes that lay on the floor. The bright blue suit he wore gave him a feeling of elegance. He decided not to take anything from those dirty pockets to contaminate his suit. He wouldn't even need that third class monthly ticket. This day called for a second class.

Masiza stepped lively towards the station, head held high. He walked on the tarred road all the way, avoiding the sandy sidewalks. He greeted everyone he met, even those he did not know. Masiza was happy. Life, after all, had its compensations. A man must just wait his turn. He also looked forward to a sumptuous meal, having left home without breakfast. He really meant to gorge himself on that white man's food.

He walked hurriedly from Cape

Town station to the bus stop. In a few minutes he was in the upper deck of a Sea Point bus. The directions were simple. He would alight at bus stop twenty, walk up Mount Street, third gate on the right and he would find his home-girl waiting for him. Masiza fidgeted impatiently in his seat. The bus was running too slowly for him and it stopped often. He felt that he could easily out-run it.

By the time the conductor shouted "Bus stop twenty" Masiza had already jumped off.

Just after getting off the bus, he saw two Africans walking hurriedly in the opposite direction. They looked agitated. They kept on looking back and pointing at different directions as if they were not sure which way to go. Masiza stood, adjusted his tie while observing them curiously. As they passed him, one said: "You've chosen the wrong day brother, things are bad over here". They disappeared round a corner before he could ask what they meant.

Whatever they meant, nothing would spoil this day. For a change, he would also have something to say when his friends talked of their amorous adventures. They had always teased him, now this would shut them up.

He was just putting one foot forward when a police van swung into view. He started, but checked himself. I have nothing to fear. I have not done anything, he thought, trying to convince himself although he knew that the police do not wait for an African to do something before they stop and question him.

"Hey you, come here," called out one of the policemen as soon as the van had stopped. Masiza looked about innocently as if the policeman were talking to someone behind him.

"You." Impatiently. Masiza questioningly pointed a finger to himself.

"Yes, you!" Roared the now angry policeman, coming out of the van and muttering something in Afrikaans.

"Where are you going to?"

"Up here Baas, just there," Masiza pointed towards his destination, showing his anxiety to get there as soon as possible.

TWO NEW PLAYS

'The Long and the Short and the Tall'

"You natives are making a location out of Sea Point, who are you?"

"I'm —", the policeman held out his hand. Masiza didn't have to ask what he wanted. He reached for his pass in his pocket. It wasn't there. He searched all his pockets, but the little reference book was not there. Masiza panicked.

"No pass!" The policeman caught him by his upper arm and asked him to come along.

"Please Baas, I —"

"We've had enough of your stealing and fighting, come on!"

Then Masiza remembered. Those dirty clothes that he had despised. That is where his pass was, in those dirty pockets together with his third class ticket, and the dirty handkerchief with which he had wiped off his sweat for a whole week. Masiza soon realised the extent of the trouble in which he was. The possible loss of his job after an indefinite term in jail, followed by another long, uncertain and frustrating search for work, perhaps ending with a deportation . . .

At the thought of his home-girl he decided to try again. "Please Baas, I got it at home sir . . ." Within a few seconds he was propped up uncomfortably inside the packed van. He soon heard that there had been a police raid following the fatal stabbing of a man in a servant's room. The van was now racing to the police station, and all hopes of a pleasant day with the home-girl faded. Masiza pictured her waiting for him, then giving up with the conclusion that the city really does corrupt people and make them untrustworthy, even those from "home."

Masiza's stomach rumbled with hunger, and he remembered the fresh loaf of bread he left untouched at home.

BASIL DAVIDSON

will write on

AFRICA

in the next issue of

"FIGHTING TALK"

"The Long and the Short and the Tall," are of course the non-commissioned officers in that mocking, jeering song of World War Two, "Bless 'em All":

"Bless all the Sergeants and W.O. Ones,

Bless all the Corporals and bless all their sons . . ."

The central figure in the play, 877 Pte. Bamford, C., is obviously, from the point of view of Authority, a bad soldier, epitomising the spirit of that subversive song. Slum-bred, resentful, shrewd, tough — a sort of non-intellectual angry — he baits the N.C.O.'s to the limit of the rule-book, which (trust him!) he knows quite as well as they do. He undermines discipline and morale, talks quite openly of deserting (into the Malayan jungle!) if he gets half a chance.

Yet, as playwright Willis Hall skill-

fully develops a tense situation—a party of British soldiers scouting in the jungle, cut off from base, capturing a Japanese soldier, and then finding they are surrounded and doomed — Bamford gradually emerges as the real man of the piece. He is really tough — he is the only one ready to kill the prisoner in cold blood, at first — but he is also human. He develops a real affection for the prisoner who produces pictures of his family, behaves with dignity, shows himself a fellow-man.

The prisoner is, nevertheless, murdered. His murderers go out into the night to be shot down. War is an ugly stupid business. It is not easy to realise a play by reading it alone; yet the impact of this brief, poignant jungle drama thrusts itself through the lines of type on a page. I look forward eagerly to seeing Cecil Williams' presentation of the thing itself in Johannesburg soon.

'The Hostage'

The Common Man — with a chip on his shoulder — is a type thrusting himself more and more insistently into the foreground on the contemporary English stage, and in the contemporary novel too. Always an "outsider", with the wrong accent — a cockney, or a provincial — intelligent, resentful, done badly by; triumphing over the smug and the conventional: clearly it's the theme of the day.

He even crops up in the centre of Brendan Behan's new play, "The Hostage". Behan's play is in the great line of succession of the contemporary Irish drama, an integral part of the deeply rooted republican, anti-imperialist people's movement. It is profoundly significant that his play cannot be produced where it should belong, in the historic Abbey Theatre, Dublin, but like anything worth-while culturally emanating from present-day Ireland, dominated by the narrow despotism of the Catholic clergy, has to flee abroad to find a home.

Behan shows us an exhausted Ireland, living on heroic memories of a brave past. History lies heavy on its characters; the Easter Rising, the Black and Tans and the troubles of the 'twenties, the battles and loyalties of yesterday.

Into the middle of this scene comes a man without roots, without history, without loyalties: Leslie, a cockney soldier, captured as a hostage in reprisal

for the arrest of an Irish Republican Army man sentenced to death for killing an English policeman in Northern Ireland. If the I.R.A. man is killed, then Leslie will die too. A tensely suspenseful situation, the true stuff of drama, painted by Behan with an iridescent palette, ranging from broad burlesque to a beautifully tender love-story.

Sensational newspaper reports have given us a picture of Behan as a sort of comic stage-Irishman; always drunk, even on television, always in trouble, quoted as saying he writes to keep himself in liquor.

Reading this play shows a very different picture indeed; a brilliantly talented and clever writer, deeply sensitive, a suffering human soul. If the best the mutilated, bourgeois Irish republic can do with a man like this is to turn him into a chronic alcoholic, a clown to amuse the English across the channel, then it's high time for a second Irish revolution, to establish a people's republic and realise the aspirations for which generations of noble Irishmen, like Jonathan Swift, Wolfe Tone and James Connolly fought and died.

But, even more than "The Long, the Short and the Tall," Brendan Behan's fine play needs the real stage itself to bring it to life, laughter and music. What about it, Mr. Williams?

A.D.

CENSORED

'The Defiant Ones'

From Hollywood has come a film that meets head on THE crucial question for all South Africans: can Black and White live together? Not only must they live together, argues this film, but they are bound by a chain that makes progress for one dependent on equal advance for the other.

While over the border in Mozambique this film is currently showing to cinema audiences it is one our censors have not yet let through and are unlikely to.

The film is *The Defiant Ones*, produced and directed by Stanley Kramer. It offers the ingenious plot of the escape of two convicts from a work gang in the South of the United States, bound to each other by four feet of iron chain. One is White, the other Negro. The story follows their harrowing adventures in attempting to outrace a posse and its bloodhounds and shows how in the process their relationship changes.

The White convict, played by Tony Curtis, is Joker, jailed for armed robbery. He has worked on the line in a motor plant and parked cars in a fancy hotel, but neither job brought him the "status" he craved. He argues that his mistake was being a small crook; only

the big ones succeed. He vows to become "Charlie Potatoes," the guy with the dough who says "thank you" to no man.

Sidney Poitier who came to South Africa some years ago to film in Alan Paton's "Cry the Beloved Country" plays Pullen, the Negro prisoner who talked backed to and then assaulted a White man who came to his farm to collect on a bank note. For him too the search is for fulfilment — for no more of "taking it easy" when he is degraded. Although they do not realise it, they are fighting for the same thing against the same villains.

Soon after their escape Joker calls Cullen a "nigger" and the basic antagonism is established. But they are forced by the chain to put off "tangling" over the epithet. As they pass through their adventures they find themselves alternately dependent on each other to cross a rapids, climb a deep pit, scrounge for food and evade a lynch mob.

A metamorphosis takes place in both, but it is sharper in Joker. At first he rationalises his racism. "That's the way things are and you can't change them. You are too sensitive. You can

call me Hunkie, I don't mind," he tells Cullen. Later to a blood-thirsty mob he says: "You can't lynch me, I'm a White man," implying that what happens to his partner is something else again.

But as they go on, getting to know each other and sharing hardships the bond grows tighter.

Finally, free of the iron chain, Joker has a chance to escape at the price of betraying Cullen. He leans toward the temptation but recoils at the price. Cullen too is given an opportunity for freedom but gives it up because he cannot take his friend with him. They end triumphant because, although they have not escaped the posse, they have learned in which direction real freedom for both lies.

This is not a moral tale nor a psychological study. This is real drama—an action movie in which the acting is powerful, the photography beautiful, the direction crisp. If it is lacking, it is because of over-concentration on the central figures and theme. The rest of the characters are hazy. There is some attempt, which does not come off, to portray the by-play between members of the posse, particularly a fair-minded sheriff and a stiff-necked state trooper. Sex rears its head briefly, and not unpleasantly, in the form of a lonely widow who attaches herself to Joker. But for the most part all except the two main characters are one-dimensional.

But, wrote an American reviewer, (Continued on page 16)

IN HIGH OFFICE

The Murderers of Anne Frank

A group of young film makers in East Germany set out to find out what happened to the people at whose hands the young Dutch girl, Anne Frank, whose diary has been made into a moving film, died in the German concentration camp. The film released by Berlin's DEFA Company, presents horrifying documents from the past, but it also shows, with candid camera shots made earlier this year in West Germany, that many of the people who had a direct hand in Anne Frank's death are living, free and prosperous in West Germany today.

There is, for example, SS Lieutenant Albert Konrad Gemmeke, who was Commandant of the Jewish Assembly Camp at Westerbork, through which Anne Frank passed, is now a prosperous businessman, living at 55 Park Strasse, Duesseldorf.

Another man shown in the film is Dr. Hermann Conring, war-time admini-

strator of the province of Groningen in Nazi-occupied Holland. Today he is a Christian Democratic M.P. in the West German Parliament.

The film "A Diary for Anne Frank" shows war-time photos of Max Faust, chief engineer of the IG Farben factory in Auschwitz, which worked concentration camp prisoners quite literally to death. Today he is a prosperous businessman working for one of the successor firms of IG Farben, and living at 32 Ruben Strate, Ludwigshafen.

His boss, Otto Ambros, wrote the following letter on April 12th, 1941 to the directors of IG Farben:

"... Our new friendship with the SS is proving very beneficial. At a dinner given us by the chiefs of the concentration camp (Auschwitz) we laid down all measures concerning the adaptation of the really first-class organisation of the concentration camp for the purposes of the Buna works . . ."

Dr. Ambros is today a member of the board of directors of five leading West German companies, including a mining company owned by the West German state. He lives in a luxurious villa at 14 Kniebis Strasse in Mannheim, and the new film shows him setting out for a drive in 1958 in a big new glossy car.

And so the film goes on, with picture after picture of the murderers who survived. It ends with the following words, spoken almost in a whisper by Kathe Szekely, a Jewish girl, who is today the same age as Anne Frank when she was killed:

'You were their victim, Anne Frank: But your murderers are back again in West Germany.

For you the horror was nameless, But we know the names.

We know that they would do the same again

Unless we prevent it."

RADIOACTIVITY: ITS DANGERS AND USES

Until Wilhelm Roentgen discovered X-rays in 1895 mankind was blissfully unaware of short-wave radiation and its significance for living things. With the coming of the nuclear bomb millions of people have become conscious of a danger, sometimes minimised, sometimes exaggerated, and often incompletely understood.

There are various forms of radiation, which may be thought of as waves of travelling particles, all of which move at very high speeds. Of some of them we can become aware through our senses. Others can only be detected by means of special apparatus. Thus the comparatively long waves (measured in yards or metres) can be "picked up" by a radio-receiver or a television set. Ultra-violet light, invisible to the eye, will fog a photographic plate or will cause sunburn in your skin if you lie about in a bikini.

The most familiar forms of radiation are light and heat rays and to these we are sensitive through sight and feeling. The wave-length of visible light is roughly one three-thousandth of an inch. Heat waves are rather longer and ultra-violet rather shorter. Shorter again are things like X-rays, alpha, beta and gamma-rays, and cosmic rays. It is these rays which may prove damaging to living bodies. The radiation produced by nuclear explosions is of this short-wave and damaging type.

The Geiger Counter

The usual apparatus for detecting this radiation is the Geiger-Muller counter. Small geiger counters are now manufactured which you can carry about in your pocket. A Geiger-counter may make a sound every time a travelling particle hits it, or it may record the number of particles per second on a moving dial.

If you walk about with a Geiger-counter you will find that it is recording radiation practically all the time. This means that short-wave radiation is everywhere and we are continually being exposed to it. The only nearly complete protection would be a suit made of lead, which would be rather heavy! The radiation in outer space is very great and highly lethal. From this we are protected by our atmosphere and particularly by the ozone layers in the stratosphere about 100 miles above the surface of the earth. What comes through may still have harmful effects, producing blood-cancers and the like, as well as affecting our reproductive cells and causing mutations. These are haz-

ards which cannot be avoided, like lightning, floods and earthquakes.

Nuclear Explosions

The effect of the explosion of nuclear weapons in war or in "peace-time" experiments is to increase the amount of radio-activity in the atmosphere. When a single atomic bomb or hydrogen bomb explodes there may be a very considerable local "fall out", but most of the radio-activity eventually becomes dispersed throughout the atmosphere. The total amount in the atmosphere is increased by a very small amount, not enough to be measured directly. It would be comparable to adding a single drop to a tank full of water. However if a nuclear war broke out and large numbers of bombs were exploded there would be a considerable increase in the total radio-activity in the atmosphere and consequently a great increase in leucemias and other forms of cancer. There would also be a rapid rise in the mutation rate in plants and animals including man. Thus while those in the immediate proximity of the bursting bombs would be killed outright, all the remaining living people on earth would suffer from the results of increased radio-activity.

Radio-Active Strontium

A particular aspect of nuclear-weapon testing that is causing concern is the fact that each explosion results in the production of a certain amount of radio-active strontium. This material may be carried about in the atmosphere and eventually washed down by rain into the soil, where it is absorbed by the roots of plants. By way of vegetables and milk it may then enter the bodies of human beings. It may then be deposited in the bones and subsequently cause bone cancer.

All in all there are strong arguments against even small-scale nuclear weapon testing, quite apart from the general pacifist objection to all forms of armament manufacture.

Nuclear Reactors for Power

As for the useful application of radio-activity, they are legion. But it should be remembered that many of these uses involve the danger of the contamination of the earth, sea and atmosphere just as the use of nuclear weapons will do, though not of course in such a vast and uncontrolled way. Nuclear reactors are being used increasingly in the production of electrical power for industry. The

by-products of the process are however still active and have to be disposed of in places where they will not do damage. One way is to enclose them in lead boxes and bury them deep in the earth. Worked out mines may eventually be used for this purpose.

Radioactivity of a certain intensity and if sufficiently prolonged will kill a man by destroying his tissues. It can be used for destroying cancerous tissues which are more susceptible than healthy ones. So we have the interesting fact that radioactivity may cure cancers as well as produce them.

EDWARD ROUX.

OLD AGE TREATMENT FACT SHEET.

Two Canadian doctors, husband and wife, the Dyson Carters have published a fact sheet on H-3, the Rumanian old-age treatment conducted under the direction of Dr. Anna Aslan at the Parhon Institute in Rumania.

Two clinics in Mexico have manufactured the H-3 product following the Rumanian formula and Dr. Aslan is due to visit these clinics in October. At least one United States firm is preparing to import the product from Mexico.

The Dyson Carters' cyclostyled memorandum gives a fund of detail such as a doctor might require and makes the following points:

- ★ Yes, your doctor can give you this new Rumanian treatment.
- ★ He doesn't have to import anything; he can get H-3 in the United States and Canada and can administer it according to directions followed successfully in thousands of cases by the Rumanian experimenters and contained in the Carter fact sheet.
- ★ The treatments should not be given other than by a doctor.
- ★ H-3 treatment are used also for asthma, peptic ulcers, duodenal ulcers, varicose veins, arthritis, and premature baldness.

The NATIONAL GUARDIAN, the United States progressive weekly which first reported on the Rumanian old age treatment in the States prophesies that the Carter's letterbox will be jammed for months to come.

The Rumanian Treatment for Old Age using Substance H-3, by Charlotte Carter RN, PHN; and Dyson Carter, M.Sc., F.R.C.G.S., M.C.I.C., Northern Book House, 1334 Bloor West, Toronto 4, Ontario, Canada. 15 pps. for 50 cents each.

Latin America

(Continued from page 11)

against the Siles Zuazo regime in the hope that this would lead to the restoration of private ownership."

Things To Come

The Hispanic American Report of Stanford mentions casually that in Guatemala the leftist opposition "probably has the support of the majority of the population"; in other words, the Arbenz regime overthrown by Allen Dulles' C.I.A. would, under any democratic set-up, be back in power were it not for State Department arms for dictator Ydigoras. In Mexico, according to the Latin American newsletter already quoted, Petróleos Mexicanos, the national oil company, must admit Standard Oil and Shell participation and "the U.S. must insist on publicising the basis of its policy . . . apparently to indicate the nature of the victory over Mexico." The same newsletter refers to "Bolivia's Foreign Minister, whom the State Department will support for the Presidency in the next Bolivian election."

One could pile such facts mountain-high to document the economic prostration of Latin America and the ruthless conspiracies of the State Department and the Wall Street financial overlords against the sovereignty of the rest of the continent. The one comforting thought is that the peoples of these lands are beginning to piece together the picture, as

they have done recently in Cuba, and are beginning to know how to deal with it. When that time arrives, the State Department having "lost" Africa and Asia, can also be credited with "losing" Latin America as its people take over the power.

The Defiant Ones

(Continued from page 14)

Robert E. Light, this is not a film to quarrel with. It is a film to be seen. In the States, he wrote, it had meaning for all, North and South, Negro and White. It has deep meaning for South Africa, so it joins the line of meaningful films like Mexico's "Salt of the Earth" and so many others that the censoring powers that be keep out of the country.

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