

# FIGGETTING

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# TALK



*Tear Gas and Shootings:* Tribesmen gather for the exhumation of the body of one of the victims of the Ngquza Hill shooting. In their hands they hold remnants of the tear gas bombs used against them that day.

## LIFE BEHIND BARS

JAIL REPORTS BY  
DETAINEES

## The Boycott of S.A.

RONALD SEGAL'S LONDON  
LETTER

Joe Matthews on  
**BASUTOLAND**

NO MORE COLOUR-BAR  
OLYMPIC TEAMS:

John Player



*Which Way Now?* A group of Pondos talk it over.

# PONDOLAND!

THE PONDO PETITION TO THE UNITED NATIONS

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A JOURNAL FOR DEMOCRATS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

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## EDITORIAL

# BRASS-STUDDED COLLARS FOR CHIEFS

The Nationalist Government is preparing this year and next to extend the system of Bantu Authorities from the countryside to the towns. Only this month the Transkeian Territorial Authority considered nominations for tribal ambassadors in the urban areas.

Hundreds of Bantu Authorities have been set up in the Reserves, and the Government has been surveying its handiwork with the complacent air of a school principal who, by an early morning lecture to his pupils, has settled discipline in the school for all time.

*Yet the Transkei, oldest and most important Reserve in the Union, is seething with unrest over this system of Bantu Authorities. Pondoland is a troubled area verging on civil war. Like Sekhukhuleni and Zeerust in the Transvaal before them, Government-propped Bantu Authorities are bringing to an ugly crisis all the simmering grievances and the burning sense of injustice suffered by the African people of the countryside.*

The Bantu Authorities Act itself is coming under fire. The people are objecting to the methods of the local, regional and territorial Bantu Authorities and the powers and practices of the chief and headmen who are part of these Authorities. But also under fire are the taxes, the pass laws, and the labour control regulations, the peoples' land hunger, the govern-

ment's agricultural policy in the Reserves. These general grievances are by no means irrelevant to the affair of the Bantu Authorities.

*The people of the Reserves see plainly that the Bantu Authorities are intended to make the African people administer their own oppression.*

Dr. Verwoerd's policy is to make the African chief and headman the buffer between the people and the government.

Unpopular policies will seem to emanate from the tribal heads themselves. The Bantu Authority Chief will speak with the words of the government, but the sounds will seem to issue from his own mouth.

More and more the Bantu Affairs Department White official will withdraw into the background. The responsibility for issuing unpopular orders, increasing taxes, imposing new cattle culling regulations, persecuting opponents of Bantu Affairs Department policy, will be shifted from the policeman in khaki uniform and the official behind the desk in the government office to the chief presiding over his own court and commanding a bodyguard of strong men to protect him from the anger of his tribe and enforce his rule.

The Nationalists hope that when trouble does break out (for even the B.A.D. realises that this is inevitable) then the Bantu Authority mem-

bers will bear the brunt of it. *The system is meant to deflect the anger of the people from the government to the tribal heads who have been manoeuvred into positions of authority in the Reserves.*

Not that they have much authority. The Nationalists call this self rule. But the Bantu Authorities have power only to build on the present system of oppressive rule. They can tighten the screws, but they cannot take them out and throw them away. They cannot make laws or change laws; they can only administer them. Chiefs, headmen, commoners who serve on Bantu Authorities are installed there to do the work of the Government, subject to its orders.

Those chiefs who tried, in the early days of the Bantu Authority system, to serve their peoples' interests and oppose Bantu Authorities had a clear ultimatum put to them: accept Bantu Authorities or lose your chieftainship.

By the time the Bantu Authority member accepts office he has been tamed. He wears a collar and a lead. The collar might have bright brass studs to ornament it, but it is a collar all the same.

*It is because they see that the Government holds the far end of the lead that the people of Pondoland and other parts of the Transkei have directed their fire not only at the Bantu Authorities but also at government policy as a whole.*

The Bantu Authorities are proving useless as buffers in the government's first line of defence against the anger of the people. For from entrenching tribalism and chieftainship the Bantu Authorities system is destroying them.

*African chieftainship stands condemned once it becomes an instrument of the Bantu Authorities Act and a party to the administration of the people's oppression.*

The Bantu Authorities Act was meant to divide the people and get stooges to rule for the Nationalists. Instead it is uniting the people of the countryside as seldom before because now a tribal head who does the dirty work of the government becomes as hated as his master.

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From the fields around Bizana to the forum of the United Nations. This year's session of the world body, strengthened by the admission of a formidable group of newly independent African states, will hear many petitioners for African freedom. Among them will be the chosen emissary of the people of Pondoland, bearing with him their memorandum on the causes of the trouble in this part of the Transkei.

The memorandum plunges to the heart of this crisis: "The Government has boasted that Bantu Authorities is an attempt to teach the Africans to develop democratic institutions. The real truth is that the African people have deep democratic traditions which the Government is trying to subvert through Bantu Authorities."

Here is a portion of the memorandum taken from Pondoland to the United Nations.

# PONDOLAND GOES TO THE UNITED NATIONS

## THE BEGINNINGS OF THE TROUBLE

The beginnings of the trouble lie in the appointment of Botha Sigcau as Paramount Chief of the Pondos. He was appointed in defiance of the will of the people and contrary to their laws and customs. It is not the Chief's eldest son who necessarily becomes tribal head, nor the son of the first wife of the chief, which Botha was. The successor to the chieftainship is the eldest son of the wife of the chief for whose hand the whole tribe paid the dowry. On the death of this man the tribe nominated Mandlonke as chief, but the Government appointed Botha and he was installed as Paramount Chief in 1939 under armed guard.

Here was a bad enough beginning. But matters have grown steadily worse, for Botha has brushed aside the tradition that a chief is not a dictatorial ruler but is intended to represent the will of the people, and has steadily isolated himself from his people and tried to force government decisions on them.

The Bantu Authorities Act was passed in Parliament in 1956. The Pondos were officially notified about the Act towards the end of 1957. The Chief Magistrate of Pondoland and Botha Sigcau held meetings to persuade the Pondos to accept the system but though they listened patiently enough to the speeches of government representatives, the Pondo people rejected the new scheme.

In 1958 all districts were invited to a large meeting called by the Minister of Native Affairs, Mr. de Wet Nel, and the Paramount Chief.

"They did not know that they were being called to give the impression that Bantu Authorities were to be implemented in Pondoland. As they were not asked to say anything, the Pondos refrained from expressing their views at the meeting, especially as it was supposed to be a celebration. Botha announced that he had been promoted to take over the chair of

the Chief Magistrate at Umtata and that in turn some of his chiefs would be promoted to higher positions in various districts. Pondo courts were to become appeal courts too. Other festival gatherings were held to celebrate these and other 'great changes' being brought about. The people were told they were getting "self-government."

The Pondos now began to ask why they were being given Bantu Authorities which they had previously refused. The Paramount Chief had the answer pat: it was too late. It was done and no one could undo it.

The Paramount Chief now appointed his supporters either hereditary chiefs or Bantu Councillors. A hierarchy of pro-government councillors in the confidence of their Paramount Chief grew up; locations and chieftainships were shuffled about and the Bantu Authority courts started to operate.

## NO CONFIDENCE IN THE COURTS

The new courts have been a major cause of resentment against the new system. The UNO memorandum says, feelingly "As the chiefs and councillors of the courts are chosen by Botha without consultation with the people these courts have no interest in us, their obligation being only to Botha. Decisions by the courts are unfair . . . Because the Councillors are not responsible to the people they are open to bribery and corruption . . ."

FIGHTING TALK, OCTOBER, 1960.

People of merit are not chosen to sit in the courts, but those who have gone over to the government against the stream of tribal opinion. The Pondo are insisting on the reinstatement of their own traditional courts. Here is how they describe their working in their UN memorandum.

"Our people do not object to the new courts because certain councillors are illiterate. In the past most of our cases were tried by illiterate men. Our ob-

jection is based on the fact that persons of merit are not chosen, but persons who do not have our confidence and persons who ignore our laws and customs. Most of our law is more or less natural and any male adult of the tribe who has grown up among us and thus who knows our laws and customs is entitled to sit on any case together with the chief who is trying the case. The tribesmen who sit with the chief have

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as much right as the chief to question the parties and their witnesses.

After all the evidence has been heard the chief and all the tribesmen who sat with him deliberate on the case. As not one of them usually has an interest in the case, by their joint consultation they usually soon arrive at a unanimous just decision acceptable to both parties. The chief delivers the judgement, but, and this must be stressed, the judgment is not his personal judgement, but is the judgement of the whole group who tried the case.

Thus in the traditional courts of the people there was no point in bribing the chiefs because he merely gave a judgement of his tribesmen. With the new courts the situation is the reverse. The Councillors no longer sit with their tribesmen. They are tricky and bullying, often accept bribes and questions put to them are answered by force and compulsion and they take no trouble to convince anyone of the justice of their decisions."

The memorandum then deals with longstanding opposition to 'rehabilitation' schemes which have sub-divided arable land, restricted head of cattle and eliminated goats; to rises in livestock taxation and the heavy increases in poll tax.

"At first taxation on livestock was 6d. per head of animal per year. After some years it was increased to 9d. per head. Later there were further increases up to 1/- and to 1/3. In each of these cases the Pondos were consulted about the increases and agreed to them. Now, without their consultation and without their consent there has been a further increase to 1/9.

"Due to the increased cost of living and the shortage of work the Pondos are not in a position to pay the increase in poll tax of 15/- from £1.10.0 to £2.5.0 and in particular resent this increase over which they were not consulted.

"The Pondos are told that one reason for paying poll tax is to pay for the education of their people. At the same time they are made to build schools by giving their own labour, time and materials without compensation. The schools are built by tribesmen using their own teams of oxen, and who in their own time make mud and bricks. They cut the necessary grass and pay the expenses of windows, doors and sundries."

#### Passes

"When the new pass books were issued the Pondos were told that the old passes were being abolished and that they would be issued with new pass books which would enable them to move anywhere in S.A. without trouble.

"These new reference books would contain everything in connection with the identity of a man. Thus the new book was welcomed by many Pondos.

"But the Pondo people were quickly disillusioned when it came to looking

for work. When they went to seek work in the towns, often hundreds of miles away from their homes, they were told by the Bantu Administration Department of the Town Councils to return to their home districts to obtain permits (another word for passes) from the home districts permitting them to go and seek work in the particular town. But when a tribesman returns home for the necessary permit he is told that he cannot get the permit unless he has work promised to him in the town. Thus the tribesman does not know where to start first.

"To get a permit to go to the town he must first have a job in that town, to get a job in that town he must first have a permit to seek work, to get a permit to seek work he must have a permit to go to the town. Thus he is in a vicious circle. If, however, he does manage to get an employer to agree to employ him, he does not get the permit immediately. His permit might still be refused on the ground that there are too many people in the particular town seeking work. Thus before a person can get work he has many fruitless journeys with much outlay in expenses and on top of it has to wait many weeks before he can get work. Often this means that the work seeker has to borrow money for his outlays which can be as much as £9 or £10 before he even begins working for wages that are far below the breadline.

"In town while seeking work he is permitted to stay only in Municipal hostels or locations. Very often these hostels are full. Living elsewhere can result in arrests and fines and gaol sentences. If he stays in hostels he cannot have his wife to visit him.

"After having obtained employment, if he is unlucky to lose his job and is unable to find employment within 2 weeks he is ordered out of that urban area. By then he might still be owing the money he borrowed for his outlay to obtain employment and he might have to start all over again when seeking employment in the next urban area.

Thus very often tribesmen are forced to seek work on the farms where conditions of work are usually most unfavourable and where laws protecting farm labourers are almost nil. To the Pondos the pass laws have become a further weapon to force many of them to work for the farmers.

#### Stock Reduction

"We have been told that if we reduce our stock, reduce our land, live in locations, we will become wealthier. This talk reminds us of the story of Nongqause the daughter of Mhelkaze. She was the daughter of a Xosa chief and after having told the Xosas of a vision that she had had, she induced them to destroy their stocks and burn their crops on the promise that on a certain day the sun would rise in the west and set in the east, the white man would be driven into the sea and the Xosa people would roll in wealth. The outcome of the story is well known. The sun did not rise in the West, and thousands of our people

died from starvation. The once proud Xosa people were reduced to poverty.

"The white people laughed at the Xosas for believing such tales. Now we are expected to believe the Government propaganda that reductions in land, propaganda that reductions in land, and

"We are not against the improvement of our land by the use of modern methods of agriculture. But we do not see the necessity of reducing our land. There is land enough for all Pondos in Pondoland. Years ago agricultural demonstrators were first introduced into Pondoland. They were Pondos and we trusted them and welcomed them. We gave them free board and lodging in our homes.

"We gave the Government a farm as an experimental station. We accepted the advice of the demonstration and began growing vegetables, and we learnt about vitamins.

"It was in about 1939 that the first agricultural demonstrators came to our areas and taught us modern methods of agriculture e.g. how to plough deeply, dry farming, poultry farming, breeding of cattle, vegetable gardens competitions etc. This was appreciated by our people.

"But now the government is changing all this. The agricultural demonstrators have become officials of the soil conservation committees. Their ploughing areas (ploughs, harrows, etc.) have now been sold. Paid by our poll tax they are now remaining not to help us but to harm us. All that they do is to show us how to make barricades to prevent soil erosion. They no longer teach us improved methods of agriculture."

#### The Beginning of Violence

The tribesmen tried to express their views to the Government in a peaceful manner, and a meeting was held at Ndlovu near Bizana. The magistrate of Bizana told the meeting that three spokesmen should be appointed to discuss the position. The meeting duly appointed three spokesmen and sent their names to the magistrate, but before they could talk with the magistrate all the spokesmen were arrested.

On another occasion they had a meeting with certain councillors at Isikalo location in the Bizana district. The people wished to know the real meaning of Bantu Authorities. They were insulted by the councillors and fighting broke out in broad daylight resulting in the councillors receiving injuries.

Frustrated and seeing no avenue open to them for the discussion and presentation of their views on the application of the system of Bantu Authorities they proceeded to burn down the huts of certain councillors as a protest against their grievances.

The memorandum concludes with a vivid description of the shootings at Ngquzu Hill when 11 Pondos were killed, and with episodes connected with this shooting which have led to the present grave state of crisis in East Pondoland.

# THE NATS' LAST TERRITORIAL DEMAND?

As was expected, the question of whether a republic was better than a monarchy has played a small role in the referendum campaign.

Of course the Nationalists paid full-some lip service to the noble ideal of republicanism.

But the referendum has been merely an excuse, an opportunity for another Nationalist bid to rally the Whites behind them.

Dr. Verwoerd fought the referendum for higher stakes: the consolidation of a White laager under Nationalist generalship.

This was his last ditch gamble to conscript the whole white population as musket-bearers to man the ramparts of White supremacy.

As one M.P. put it: "The referendum is the mixture as before, only dressed up and streamlined with new gimmicks."

## Sleight of Hand

Yes, the Nationalists used the old tricks — the Black Bogey, the Red Bogey, even an Arson bogey.

The ideal of republicanism — hallowed in democratic tradition — was in Nationalist hands merely a tool to entrench White supremacy.

This is the meaning of the "My People — Your People — Our Republic" posters showing two clasped white hands.

But the hands really symbolised a clenched White fist — for this is how Verwoerd plans to dam the rising waters of Black liberation.

Fighting a losing rearguard action to fortify the bastions of herrenvolkism, Dr. Verwoerd desperately needs allies.

But it is not easy to persuade rats to join a sinking ship. And the Nationalists used every sleight of hand, mirror trick and illusion to stampede white voters into their camp.

They promised a heaven on earth (Whites Only) in the republic, a Shangri-La of profits for businessmen, and a nice cosy White brotherhood for English and Afrikaners.

Their propaganda was a mixture of "Operation Scare" and "Operation Peace Dove."

The Nationalist aims were threefold: | To whip up Afrikaner sentiment and rally the folk behind the Nationalist Party's banners.

Worried by signs of wavering among the Volk, the Nationalists exploited all the old unifying slogans.

## Rearing Horses

Platteland posters showed women in Voortrekker costumes and Boer Commandoes on rearing horses.

## Behind the Slogans and the Symbols of the Referendum Campaign

Here was an appeal to the old Boer Republican days — with the exhortation to "Opsaal."

Another placard depicted the rising sun with the legend: "The republican day is breaking" . . . the promised land was at hand.

Once again the Nationalist Party was leading the Afrikaner people into the future, facing backwards.

The party had to be boosted as the Saviour of the Afrikaner destiny, the ranks had to be closed, the laager former.

2 To catch the U.P. on the wrong foot, split the anti-Nats and blunt the edge of the Opposition.

Knowing the U.P.'s fear of the "liberalist" smear Dr. Verwoerd played his cards shrewdly.

He laid down that the anti-republicans must nominate one agent between them.

This threw the U.P. into a panic: collaborate with the progressives — or fight them.

Rather than soil its hands, the U.P. decided to go it alone.

As a result the opposition campaign was less co-ordinated than it might have been.

But what really paralysed the U.P. was its susceptibility to the "Black peril" bogey.

As usual it tried to outdo the Nationalists in beating the drum of white unity and the Swart Gevaar.

Graaff excelled himself with the argument: "A vote for the republic is a vote for one mixed republic and seven black Congostan republics."

This played right into Nationalist hands, for it is they — not the U.P. — who reap the benefit of race hysteria.

So inept was the U.P. leadership that an important section of the business community decided to wage its independent campaign.

## Angry Young Advertisers

Through a group of "Angry Young Men", it ran an expensive advertising campaign against the republic.

But — one suspects — they were not backed by the whole business community. Some fell hook-line-and-sinker for the Nationalist promise "A republic — then peace."

This was reflected, according to some observers, by the playing down of the republican issue by Argus newspapers, one of which (The Cape Argus) openly backed the republic.

By and large, however, it is clear

that anti-Nationalists are still in the majority — but need effective leadership.

Those who plumped for the republic did so because they believed it would deprive Dr. Verwoerd of his chief man-stay — his major hold on Afrikaner sentiment — or because they were genuine republicans.

## Soft Underbelly

3 To get at the soft underbelly of the opposition.

In a sense the chief aim of Nationalist strategy was the demoralisation and absorption of all Opposition elements.

Prodigious efforts were made to entice a Fifth Column into the Nationalist camp.

The Nationalists promised business a healthier climate once the republican issue was settled.

They called on the floating vote — "new" South Africans, like Jews, Greeks, etc. — to prove their loyalty to S.A. by voting "yes."

And to dupes of "White unity", Dr. Verwoerd offered a "union of hearts" in a republic.

Boiled down to its essentials, the referendum was a colossal bread-and-circus stunt to create a WHITE laager for all time.

Those who decided to vote "yes" in the belief that the Nationalists would become more "moderate" in a republic only fooled themselves.

Appeasement of dictators never pays. The appetites of Verwoerdian Nationalism is insatiable. With every concession, its demands grow more extreme.

A Nationalist republic will never bring peace to South Africa any more than Hitler could have brought internal peace to Germany.

One only has to look at the laws for the next parliamentary session to appreciate this: There are laws for internal censorship, political screening of lawyers and a national educational system for Whites.

## Still More Territorial Demands

Yes, the Nationalists are going to tighten the screw.

Dr. Verwoerd may have repudiated his Draft Constitution, but then Hitler also publicly declared his abandonment of territorial ambitions in 1938.

Both promises were stage manoeuvres, designed to lull opponents.

The Nationalist Party cannot abandon its totalitarian course; to do so would mean its end as a party.

There is only one answer to a Verwoerd republic — and that is the Congress answer: "NO to Verwoerd rule— Yes to a Multi-Racial Democracy."

# BOYCOTT BALANCE SHEET

Dr. Diedrichs, Minister of Economic Affairs, claims that the boycott of Union goods has not adversely affected the country's economy as a whole. This is correct. The boycott has not brought about a serious decline in South Africa's trade.

For the first seven months of this year the value of merchandise exports was £23.4 million higher than that for the corresponding period last year and exports are still increasing.

## African Markets

A more detailed glance at our trade statistics shows that our 1959 exports to those countries participating or pledged to participate in the trade boycott are as follows:

Ghana	£2.2 million
Tanganyika	£1 million
Uganda	£.6 million
Belgian Congo	£2.7 million
Malaya	£3 million
Philippines	£1.6 million.

Compare this total figure of £10.1 million with our £6.1 million-a-year trade with Mozambique which is more likely to expand than to contract. It pales into insignificance when compared with the £53 million of our annual exports to the Rhodesian Federation. The largest of the Union's customers is the United Kingdom (£110 million) and one must accept that both the United Kingdom and the Federation are unlikely to be affected by the boycott movement.

South Africa's other markets on the African continent are as yet of little importance to her economy. Exports to the United Arab Republic are worth £.5 million a year, to the Sudan £.1 million, to Ethiopia £.1 million and to Nigeria £.9 million. Kenya imports £3.5 million worth of goods from the Union and this is the only African territory where a boycott might substantially affect the South African exporter.

Many of the African states export more than they import from South Africa. Ghana, Tanganyika, Uganda and the former Belgian Congo all have a favourable balance of trade with the Union. Where other markets are easily available the South African market is expendable.

If, however, this is not the case and their economies may suffer will these African states involve themselves in anything more than a 'token' boycott?

Nearly all Ghana's mining equipment is ordered from South Africa. Their Chamber of Mines had explored the possibility of importing equipment from other countries but prices tended to be higher, quite apart from higher freight charges. After the Conference of Afri-

"ECONOMIST"  
examines the trade boycott of  
South Africa

can States at Addis Ababa and Ghana's decision to boycott it was stated that the Ghana Government might consider representations by their Chamber of Mines to the effect that a total boycott would cause hardship to the mines. Applications for import licences in respect of South Africa or South West Africa would be entertained in exceptional circumstances.

This is one side of the picture. One must not infer from these facts and statistics that the boycott movement is of no concern to this country. It is true to say that it has not affected our economy in the drastic and direct way that many of its supporters may have hoped. At the same time its indirect and long term effects are cause for grave concern.

## Industries Hit by Boycott

Specific industries will be affected—fishing, packaging, machinery, foodstuffs, wattle bark, hides and skins, to mention a few.

The loss of the Philippines market will be serious for the fishing industry. Several factories may have to shut down.

Supplies of timber from Ghana, Nigeria and Malaya which together constitute South Africa's principal source of hardwoods have been severely disrupted. Hardwood is necessary for railway sleepers, furniture, building and boat building. If these industries are compelled to find other sources, in Brazil, for example, the prices will shoot up and the country's cost of living may be affected accordingly.

This is an example of the boycott affecting not only the export market for Union goods but playing havoc with supplies of raw materials.

Should any industries be forced to curtail production or should any factories be forced to close, unemployment will automatically follow. This is likely to have repercussions out of all proportion to the numbers of persons and loss of purchasing power involved. It will add to the already growing climate of insecurity and uncertainty that is retarding the growth of the economy.

## Threats Are Bad Enough

Even the threat of a boycott by yet another country, irrespective of the value of the exports involved, is sufficient to influence local and foreign investors. And it is this resultant unorganised

capital boycott that is in fact far more important than the organised trade boycott.

The former may stem partially from the same distaste for the Union's political policies that motivated the trade boycott. It is also due to a sound business and investment sense. For some years now the economic experts have stressed the need for faster economic growth—particularly in secondary industry—to ensure sufficient employment opportunities and rising living standards for an expanding population. Yet the Government persists in following policies that are least likely to induce the confidence necessary to bring this about.

Recent events here have tragically emphasised this.

Investors are understandably reluctant to employ their money in a country where there is discontent and no security, unrest and no stability.

Instead of the required foreign capital flowing into this country we have seen an outflow of capital as the decline of confidence in the Union gathered momentum. It is against this background that the boycott must be evaluated.

## No 'Beat the Boycott' Plan

Dr. Diedrichs is confident that the boycott can be beaten by a campaign to 'Buy South Africa.' In this way money will be kept in the country and the Union's industries will be strengthened.

This solution begs a very important question. It has long been accepted that the smallness of the domestic market is one of the principal deterrents to the establishment of large competitive industrial enterprises. Such industries must be based on both local consumption and export and it is unlikely that African wages will be increased sufficiently quickly to build up the required consumer demand.

It is natural for the Union's industrialists to look to Africa for additional markets. Few industrialists share Dr. Diedrichs' optimism about the major trade assault on Europe's already stiffly competitive markets planned by the Department of Commerce and Industries.

There is no doubt that the closing of many African markets to South African goods will not only deter the enterprising industrialist from expanding, but will also deter the overseas investor from financing new ventures. And this is exactly what the country's economy cannot afford.

The boycott, Dr. Diedrichs, is not to be beaten. If South Africa's economy is to develop, it must be withdrawn and this means a drastic reassessment of policy. The alternative is economic stagnation, unemployment and consequent political unrest. This will be the harvest of the Nationalist Government.

FIGHTING TALK. OCTOBER, 1960.

RONALD SEGAL, Editor of 'Africa South in Exile', writes a London Letter on the British Trade Union Congress stand against South Africa.

## **Working Intervention**

The 1960 meeting of the Trades Union Congress, in Douglas on the Isle of Man, passed unanimously during the afternoon session of Wednesday, September 7, the following resolution on South Africa.

"This Congress expresses its continued abhorrence of the policy of racial discrimination practised by the government of South Africa and reaffirms its support for those inhabitants of South Africa of all races who are struggling against that policy. Congress urges the Government of South Africa to lift the Emergency Regulations forthwith and allow all workers to enjoy freedom to organise, freedom of speech, freedom of movement and freedom of the press.

Congress applauds the efforts of all those who actively supported the boycott of South African goods and asks the General Council to consider, in consultation with the I.C.F.T.U., the practicability of a resumption of the boycott or the **ADOPTION OF ANY OTHER MEASURES CALCULATED TO BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.**"

The resolution reflects a number of significant developments. It was moved by the National Union of Journalists, seldom associated with radical demands and seizing the trumpet on this particular issue in its real rage at the anti-press manoeuvres and persecution of opposition journalists by the South African Government.

It is no longer true of Britain today, as it was a year ago, that militant hostility to apartheid surges from the committed left.

Macmillan's speech to the South African Parliament, which placed apartheid on the Conservative Party index of non-U doctrines; the boycott campaign, which employed radio, television, the press and the platform to place the stark reality of race rule before the British public; Sharpeville and the State of Emergency, which aroused disgust on every political front in Britain outside of Mosley's desolate band of hooligans and incidentally showed the City of London the expense of repression; all have contributed towards making antagonism to apartheid 'respectable'.

Acts of the South African Government, like the arrest of Dennis Kiley, for his recent widely-read dispatches in the "News Chronicle", and the deportation of Bishop Reeves, can only intensify this process.

The sponsorship of the National Union of Journalists for a motion of 'intervention' is some indication of how widely militancy in British opposition to apartheid has already spread.

Of further significance was the unanimity with which the resolution was adopted. Despite the implications of the motion, no one from the platform attempted postponement, no one from the floor — in a Congress of some 1,000 delegates representing over 8,000,000 workers — expressed hesitation, let alone hostility. It is difficult to believe that so united an expression of opinion on so vigorous and far-reaching an approach would have been likely a year or two ago.

Certainly the resolution is both vigorous and far-reaching. It was introduced as a **COMPOSITE MOTION**, encompassing motions 44, 45 and an Amendment proposed by the Chemical Work-

ers Union. And it is to the Amendment that we must look for the ultimate significance of the composite motion which contains it. This calls upon the T.U.C. "in consultation with the I.C.F.T.U. to consider the practicability of a policy of economic sanctions". It is therefore quite clear to what the composite motion refers when it mentions "THE ADOPTION OF ANY OTHER MEASURES CALCULATED TO BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT". What is more, it was quite clear to the delegates when they heard the General Secretary of the Chemical Workers Union, Mr. Bob Edwards, M.P., support the composite motion.

The significance of this development can hardly be exaggerated.

There exists within the British trade union movement, far more widely than within its Continental counterparts, a strong inhibition against taking industrial action for political ends. Whatever the attitude of British workers to apartheid, many of them are reluctant to risk a clash with their employers over a political stand; they remember the failure of such action during the Spanish Civil War and Italy's invasion of Abyssinia, and they are only too aware of how noisily their opponents will complain that they are interfering in matters that are none of their concern.

An argument that I employed when canvassing the issue at the Congress and which received the influential support of many unions there was that industrial action should be demanded for **INDUSTRIAL AND NOT FOR POLITICAL ENDS**. The British and Continental trade unions are being asked to refuse to handle South African goods not until the Nationalist Government resigns or a new constitution bestows the franchise on all adults regardless of colour, but until four specific industrial objectives are achieved — the right of African workers to organise themselves into non-racial registered trade unions, the right to strike recognised in law and sustained in practice, immediate discontinuation of the wholesale recruitment of mine and other labour from outside Southern Africa, and the withdrawal of the pass laws so as to ensure a free labour market. Until these objectives are attained, South African goods must be considered classically 'black', the product of forced labour and broken strikes, and so handled neither by dockers nor railwaymen, truck-drivers nor distributive workers, from Glasgow to Naples.

As I wrote in my last letter to 'Fighting Talk', the I.C.F.T.U. has been waiting for some support from British trade unionism before deciding to organise an international campaign of industrial boycott. It has received that support now, more manifestly than most dared to hope. The campaign is not, however, yet off the ground. The whole issue must now be taken through the individual unions, especially those of the transport workers, and the General Council encouraged to put the Congress motion speedily into effect. It may be some months yet before the first docker in London folds his arms before a crate of South African oranges; but the time will come before long and, on the day it does, apartheid will measure its survival in weeks.

## Reports from Detainees

## Even the Angel Gabriel would be searched

A detainee held in Boksburg prison describes the Tauza dance in the prison yard.

When we had been in Boksburg for some time, we found out that a large number of the prisoners were from Sharpeville and Vereeniging. They were kept away from us and only let out in the yard for washing and exercise, though at different times of the day to us. However one day one of the warders, in error, released us all together and we were able to talk to them.

There was only one older man among them; the others were young boys in their teens and twenties. We were shown bullet wounds; some limped, with bullets not yet removed; some shirts were stained with blood.

One Thursday afternoon the Chief Warder arrived, accompanied by two white warders and six African workers. They demanded that we perform the Tauza in the prison yard. (This meant the removal of all our clothes and a search of our bodies.) Not only were we searched, but our cells were gone through, the clothes and blankets left strewn in disorder as though a hurricane had hit them. When we protested about this the Chief Warder said that according to regulations we should have been subjected to such a search every day and he had only just found out that his subordinates were not carrying out orders. Everyone was angry and only the discipline of the detainees prevented more trouble.

A detainee who had been arrested a little later than the others had seen the Kuper judgment ordering the police to allow relatives and lawyers to see detainees. When the Chief Warder was approached on this matter he replied: "That judge is not here now."

Two days later the Captain came with the Chief Warder and asked if we had any complaints. We protested vigorously against the daily degrading naked searches. The Captain smiled and said "These are gaol regulations and if we suspect you we have the right to search you ten times a day. Even if the Angel Gabriel came here, he would be subject to the same regulations!"

A young nursery school teacher, and a member of the Congress of Democrats, Amy Reitstein was arrested in the first swoop. For ten days she was the only white woman detainee in Cape Town, and completely alone, until the second arrests took place.

Who is it? The Police. I opened the door at 3.30 a.m., for the second time in a week.

"I'm afraid it's not so pleasant this time, Miss Reitstein," said Sgt. Grobler. "You are under arrest."

"Very well. Let me see the warrant . . . What is the charge?"

"There is no charge now, but ultimately sedition."

"Are any other white women being arrested?"

"No, you are the only culprit."

"Are we going to Johannesburg?"  
No answer.

They let me phone my sister to collect the key of my flat, and a friend to ask if she would contact my employers. I packed a small vanity case and set off with the two policemen for Caledon Square (the Cape Town prison), where I was booked in on a charge of sedition.

"Sedition -- wat is dit?" asked the Matron. One of the three worst crimes. You can get hanged for it. The Matron was unimpressed, and led me to a cell which was furnished with two broken beds and a pile of blankets.

"You can take as many blankets as you like," she said.

I decided to get as much sleep as possible, so that when I appeared in Court the next day I would not look too haggard. For the next ten days, I was continually keeping one clean garment and an unladdered pair of stockings "for Court."

### Wednesday

Apart from the night Matron, who tells me what a fine gentleman Arlow is, and what a pity it is that the police did not shoot the 2,000 Africans who had marched to Caledon Square the previous Friday, everyone has been kind to me. The Chief Warder lent me his own newspaper. Soon I got a note from outside . . . we are thinking of you . . . how precious that scrap of paper!

At lunch, the police appeared to be very excited. It sounded as if people were outside. Later I saw a paper — 30,000 Africans marched to Caledon Square demanding the release of their leaders.

### Thursday

This morning, at 3.45 a.m., a policeman came into my cell and asked me my name and address, and what organisations I belonged to. By now I was awake. No, I cannot answer any questions. What is the time?

All my magazines and writing materials have been taken away. It is really

miserable now. I pass the time walking in the yard and singing, by exercise and thinking.

The walls are covered with filthy remarks written in lipstick and eyebrow pencil. I've got an eyebrow pencil. I write:

"We the People of South Africa declare for all our country and the world to know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white. The people shall govern, all national groups shall be equal. Long live freedom and democracy!"

The sergeant who saw this writing on the wall was trembling with rage. "We will charge you with destroying state property!"

### Friday

What a long, long day. Watch the shadow come down one wall and up another. One policeman has told me that I can be put against a wall and shot without a trial. Heard someone calling me. It seems that Brian is in also.

There are no words to describe the horrible noises that rend the air of Caledon Square at night. So many people are being brought in. The policemen yell the most foul language I have ever heard. Hitting and screaming and weeping. The police cannot talk to non-whites. They bark like dogs. What a horrible night. No sleep.

### Saturday

Spoke to Brian by shouting across the yards. The police here say they will lock me up in a tiny cell if I call out again. Singing is not taboo here, so I sing songs without the words.

"Pack your things. You are going to Roeland Street Gaol. You won't be so comfortable there."

The men were put in the back of the van, and I was made to sit in front. When the van drew up in front of the women's gaol at Roeland Street, I jumped down and banged on the side of the van . . . "Bernard! Dennis —" The policeman lifted me off the ground by the sleeves of my coat.

"Let her go!" the men in the van yelled. I try to smile and give the Afrika salute. The door opens. This is gaol. I was stripped and searched. All my things, apart from what I was wearing were taken from me, and I was given a bowl of soup, a piece of bread, and a pile of blankets, and escorted by at least eight wardresses to a small green cell and locked in. There is a basin in one corner, a broken bed and a wooden bunk. Leading off one corner is a lavatory.

So this is solitary confinement. Nothing to do. Nothing to read. Just this dark, green cell.

Lie down and try to sleep. The women convicts from the cell next door tapped on the wall and told me that they would see me next day at Church.



Sunday, Monday, Tuesday,  
Wednesday, Thursday

I have asked for, and received, my toothbrush, comb, toilet paper and tissues. Found some torn pieces of magazine pages, which I ration myself to reading three times a day. Do lots of exercise, and sing, and keep very neat and clean.

Tell myself the date each day.

I am allowed out of my cell only when the African women convicts come to polish the floor. I told the doctor that unless I had something to do or read I would have a mental collapse. As a result, I got two thousand advertising cards to sort into piles of 50 and tie with elastic bands. I also got two awful books to read.

The food consisted of porridge for breakfast, stew for lunch, and soup for supper. I could not eat the food, so I lived for four days on bread and water. On Thursday the young Matron told me that £5 had been deposited for me, but she had "forgotten" to tell me. This angered me so much that I decided to go on a hunger strike and demand to be moved to Johannesburg, where I knew there were other white women detainees.

Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday remain in my memory as a haze of walking and sitting and dozing, with dreams of police coming into the cell at night to interrogate me.

#### Thursday

Since deciding to go on a hunger strike, I feel much better. Now I am doing something positive to fight back. Tap on the wall and ask the woman convict who will be going out at the weekend to contact my lawyer and tell him I am not eating. After eating only bread and water for the past four days, it is no hardship to continue on water alone.

#### Friday

The wardresses are beginning to get worried about my not eating. One has started shouting at me, and saying "There is nothing we can do for you!" Anyway, I feel that they will be most reluctant to have anyone die in gaol, so that eventually they will do something about me. In the last resort, I can ask for a Rabbi; so I must prepare a speech in Hebrew which will tell him what is happening to me. This speech took all morning to work out.

The barking bitches with the jangling keys. This is the music of the gaols. The wardresses do not speak, they bark. Brooms with sawn-off handles, so that one must bend very low when sweeping. Buckets without handles. And for non-whites, no shoes, and the continual scrubbing of cement yards. The only human warmth comes from the non-White convicts who smile at me when they come to scrub. I give them the Afrika salute, and their faces lit up.

Last night the white women convicts tapped on the lavatory wall to ask why I was being kept locked up all the time.

FIGHTING TALK. OCTOBER, 1960.

## "Sufferings Are Not Measured..."

A— M— factory worker was taken into custody at the gate of the factory where he worked. "Sufferings are not measured," he says, "but I suffered."

I was at work when the foreman told me that somebody wanted me at the gate. As I came out of the factory, I was met by two tall white policemen. The secretary of the firm followed me to the gate. Then he pointed at me — "There," he said "is the boy you wanted." They pounced on me. I was much surprised, as I was completely unaware of what was going on that morning. "We are the police," one said, pointing his revolver, and the other one searched me. After searching he said: "You are wanted in town for questioning." I was scared by this. Questioning! "What is this questioning about?" "Kom, kom," they said. "Well, let me go back inside the factory and take off my over-all." He replied in Afrikaans: "You are wasting my time, kaffir!"

So I was pushed roughly into the van and taken to Newlands police station, and then to a cell, where I was put with other arrested people.

Later I was taken with others to the Fort, where after two weeks, I received bad news — my mother-in-law had passed away. I tried to see a warder about it. The answer was: "Not under the State of Emergency could I be allowed to attend the funeral."

The same week I was told that the tsotsis had broken into my home and stolen all my belongings.

From the Fort I was transferred to Pretoria. There I had news of another death in my family. I said to myself,

"I'm in for theft, what are you in for?"

"Sedition."

"What's that?"

"Politics."

"Is THAT all — man, they're bloody mad!"

\* \* \* \* \*

The keys are jangling. I am sure they they have come about my not eating. Prepare myself for trouble, and go over my speech: "I am being punished without even having been tried or convicted. If you cannot move me to Johannesburg, you must allow me to read, and have knitting, and some fresh air."

The door opened, and I thought I was going mad, because here is Jean, and Nancy, and Sarah, and Joan! And Celia, and ANNIE!!

My head sank on Jean's shoulder, I had lost control of my voice and shouted to them: "I've not spoken to anyone for ten days — I'm on hunger strike — I'm so glad to see you!"

AMY REITSTEIN.

is it that God is against my arrest? Or if this is temptation, it is quite enough. This time I did not worry to tell the officials.

Sufferings are not measured but I suffered in gaol and still suffer. I had a family of four boys and two girls. I heard that one of my daughters had died. The elder boy, who was attending school, left school to look for a job to keep the family, but whether he will get permission to look for a job is anybody's guess. God's hand fell heavily upon me.

#### He Refused to Push a Car

J— V— employed by a large departmental store in Johannesburg was going to his home in Witbank on leave. He had just alighted from the train in Witbank when two Europeans came along and asked him to help push their car. He refused, saying he was waiting for a bus to take him home. An argument ensued, the police arrived and J— was set upon and beaten up. He was thrown into the pick-up and locked in the cells, then sent to Middelberg and thence to Pretoria jail. The charge: 'Noodregulasies.' (Emergency regulations.)

#### Wedding in Gaol

Motsamai Mpho was married in the offices of the Pretoria gaol on July 7. Goolam Pahad obtained permission from the authorities to order and have sent in a wedding cake, and the detainees were also allowed to come together to cut the cake to celebrate the wedding. One week later Mpho was called to the prison office and asked by the Special Branch how long he needed to prepare himself for deportation from the Union. (Dr. Letele was asked too.) The next day Mpho was informed he could have seven days, Letele three weeks.

#### In the Death Cell for 60 Days

A detainee from the Northern Cape was arrested on Emergency Day at 2 a.m. and imprisoned for long periods in isolation.

I am still confused and trying to adjust myself. I stayed too long in jail alone; I had no one to speak to or laugh with. For 30 days in the beginning I was put into an isolation cell where I could not see a prisoner or detainee, let alone speak to them. During their interrogations, other detainees were told I had been shot dead and they would never see me again. During July and August I was put alone into the death cell for 60 days. By then I was the last detainee in this jail. On August 30 I was released without even being called up for interrogation.

# "I Just Danced the Charleston"

## THE ARREST OF MARY MOODLEY OF BENONI

She was arrested at 2 o'clock in the morning in the first swoop, at her home in Benoni location.

She left behind six children, the eldest 15, the younger one year old. The baby is actually her grandson, but she is bringing the child up as her own.

She was taken to Benoni police station, and put in a big cell in which there was a bucket and some blankets. The bucket smelled most foully, and having heard stories of lice and bugs in prison, she was afraid to touch the blankets, and so she spent the rest of the night sitting against the wall of the cell and waiting for morning.

She was alone, the only woman to have been arrested in Benoni, but soon she heard a man's voice shouting from a nearby cell. "Auntie Mary?" "Yes?" "Are you alone?" they called to her. "Yes!" Then they called greetings to her, and began to sing. A warder shouted angrily to them to keep quiet, but one of the men yelled a disgusted, "Oh, shut up!" and her spirits rose to hear them.

Often during the next few hours, they called again to her: "Auntie Mary! Are you still alone?" "Yes!" she cried.

She was kept locked in the cell the whole day without water. At midday, a plate of porridge was put in the cell, but she was unable to eat it. They did not take her out that day, and night came again, and she was still locked in by herself and without water. Only the next day did they let her out to wash and have a drink of water.

On that day, Thursday, they unlocked the cell again later in the day and she was taken out, this time to be moved to Boksburg gaol with the other men detainees. As she climbed into the police van, she gave the Congress thumbs up salute, and a policeman said, "Ek sal die dondermeid se duim askiet!" ("I'll shoot that damn girl's thumb off!")

At Boksburg, they took away her shoes, and she was made to strip and to bathe in cold water. She did not mind this, as the wash was so welcome, and refreshed her. She was searched, and taken to a small, dark, dirty cell.

Mary says that the worst part of her detention was the three days in that "dark room." There was no light. The air was hot and close. For three days she sat alone in the darkness, with nothing to do. One night it was so dark, hot and stuffy that she could not breathe, and felt as if she were choking. Mary has a heart condition, and had not yet fully recovered from a serious heart attack some time before her

arrest. Gasping for breath, Mary says she decided not to give in. "So I got up and I just danced the Charleston — then I felt better!" says Mary, with her lovely laugh.

Thursday, Friday, she was not let out. Sitting alone in the dark with no one to talk to and nothing to do, on Friday she heard the sound of shots outside, and was afraid. It was police training, but she thought they were going to shoot her too, and she even started to pray.

On Friday the Superintendent of the prison visited her and asked the Matron if she had been allowed out for exercise. The Matron said that she had been out.

Then five more women were brought in, and they were put together in a bigger cell. On Saturday, when she had friends with her, Mary ate for the first time. "I couldn't eat before," she said. "I was alone, and nervous, and couldn't touch any food."

For the next week, relatives were allowed to bring food to the detainees, so they ate well. Then this was stopped. They were told they could buy food themselves if they wanted to, but they felt it was bad enough to be in gaol without having to buy their own food as well, so for the next three weeks they ate prison food.

"The goggas we saw, we took out," says Mary. "The others, we ate."

A month after their arrest, the women were taken to "Number Four" (the Fort, in Johannesburg) one Friday afternoon, in transit, as they were being moved with other Transvaal detainees to Pretoria. There, after waiting for a couple of hours, the non-white women saw the white women being carried and dragged through the yard. Mary said they thought we had been batoned, and they were both upset and frightened. "If they can do that to white women," they said, "what on earth will they do to us?"

The first day at Pretoria their supper consisted of mealies mixed with fat. They could not eat it, but after three days the food improved, and they were brought soup in the evenings, although they never had the prison bread that we threw away in such huge quantities every day.

They protested about the cold food, the dirty cups and bowls, and were provided with better ones.

At first they were given thin grass mats to sleep on. They protested about this, and later were issued with "Asiatic" mats — thicker mats made of felt, that were warmer to lie on. Later still they were given small pillows as well.

They worried about their children, the rent on their homes, their jobs and families. They constantly demanded to know what was happening to their children.

They were locked in most of the time, having about two hours outside each day. They had few books, but they had some jig-saw puzzles, cards and other games. On Sundays they sang hymns, and among the hymns, Congress songs. The wardresses didn't know the songs, because they sang in vernacular, and thought they were just singing hymns all the time. Or did they sometimes detect the stronger spirit and livelier rhythm that sent their voices surging in glorious harmony from that shabby grey yard every Sunday?

## Feeble-Minded Youth

J— S— was a young man in the early twenties, a feeble-minded youth, unable to work. He lived with his parents in Witbank Location. The police met him one day roaming around the town and asked him for a pass, which he could not produce. He was arrested, locked up, sent to Middelburg gaol, then to Pretoria, handcuffed hand and foot to four other detainees from Middelburg, all arrested under the Emergency Regulations.

In Pretoria gaol he would wander about the yard mumbling to himself. Every morning, when the detainees were let out into the yard, he would come out too. He would walk out of his cell with his latrine bucket, go to the tap, fill the bucket with water and then drench his blankets with it.

At the end of the State of Emergency he was released.

Dr. Agostinho Neto, the Angolan poet, is among those arrested during June. In all 52 arrests are reported to have taken place at the beginning of June. During 1959 some two hundred Whites, Africans and assimilados were arrested on various charges, and 57 were committed for trial before a secret military court in Luanda, the capital.

Guinea's trade figures for 1959 show that countries in Eastern Europe received 16.2 per cent of Guinea's exports and provided 9.3 per cent of her imports. French zone countries continued to be the most important trading centre countries, accounting for 74 per cent of imports and 51 per cent of exports. From Eastern Europe, Czechoslovakia supplied sugar, machinery and textiles to the value of £700,000 and East Germany rice and wheat to the value of £500,000.

Tanganyika will have an African Government from October onwards when the Legislative Council re-assembles with a majority of elected members and the Tanganyika African National Union in control.

FIGHTING TALK, OCTOBER, 1960.

# The Newspaper War for the Congo

Journalistically and politically, the South African Press has nothing to be proud of in its handling of the Congo story.

The difficulties facing correspondents on the spot in the Congo must have been immense, and sketchy, sometimes inaccurate, reports were possibly unavoidable.

This, however, does not excuse the consistently alarmist and biased reporting which has characterised the Congo story in the South African press.

One expects nothing better from the Nationalist Press, whose screaming headlines all hammered home the point that the African is a barbarian who cannot be trusted with independence.

## Lessons in Hysteria

The Opposition press, however, should have known better. Its selection and treatment of reports from the Congo, and its editorial comment on the situation in that unhappy new State, contributed to buttressing the fatal frame of mind among White South Africans that the emergent African is a hopeless case, and that the only thing to do with him is to suppress him for as long as possible.

Properly handled, the Congo story could have had a profound influence on racial attitudes in the Union. It was simply a question of learning the correct lesson. The South African Press proceeded hysterically to learn the wrong lesson.

The result is that, instead of helping the cause of multi-racialism, the Congo story has retarded it grievously.

The image which the South African press created of the Congo was of a primitive people prematurely receiving independence and abusing it. The moral: don't grant independence!

The overseas press committed many of the same mistakes, but at least the overseas reader was given an opportunity to hear a bit of the other side of the story. Editorials in several overseas newspapers and periodicals drew the correct conclusions from the Congo debacle, namely, that colonial powers must prepare as speedily and thoroughly as possible to grant independence, not delay it until it is too late.

When one examines the overseas press, certain important facts emerge which the South African press ignored.

## Cat Out of the Bag

One of these was an interview which the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, gave to the London Daily Express at least a month before the Congo was granted independence and before the trouble started. Sir Roy

raised the question of the Katanga seceding and joining the Federation.

There was a tremendous outcry, and it became apparent that Sir Roy had let the cat out of the bag.

The disclosure proved, now that it can be studied in retrospect, that the idea of Katanga's secession did not arise in the heat of the moment during the height of the disorder, but that it was carefully planned beforehand.

Sir Roy knew about it, and no injustice will be done to the vast financial interests in the Katanga to suspect that they had a fat finger in the pie.

## Rape and Alarm

Immediately before independence day on June 30, reports appeared in the South African press that the Congolese were busy drawing up lists of the White women they were going to annexe and the White houses they were going to appropriate. As June 30 approached, the stories became more hair-raising.

A deliberate attempt was made to create alarm. Reports in overseas newspapers indicated that the Belgian Government tried — successfully, as it happened — to panic its White subjects. The aim was to create the maximum confusion and alarm and to plunge the new state into chaos, so that Belgian rule could be restored.

The French tried the same technique in Guinea. They stripped the new young country. They thought that, in desperation, Sekou Toure would have to ask them to come back and run the country for him.

These things, however, no longer work out according to plan. This particular colonial era is over.

The London Observer scathingly criticised the Belgian Government for its behaviour in the Congo, but in the South African press the Belgians were portrayed as a rather benevolent colonial power trying to restore order so that the new state could survive.

## Distorted Image

In the initial days of the Congo's independence, the South African press reported Mr. Lumumba as "often" expressing the hope that Whites would remain in the Congo and make their homes there.

They also reported him as saying that the Congolese were "not Communists, Catholics or Socialists, but African nationalists", and that they would act "according to the principles of positive neutrality between East and West."

At that early stage, Western newspapers and Western diplomats conceded that Mr. Lumumba was more pro-West than pro-Communist. When it

became apparent, however, that he was primarily determined to be independent, they proceeded to try to destroy him.

Certainly, the reports in the South African press soon created an image of Mr. Lumumba as a reckless, fanatical ally of Soviet Russia.

Did a single editorial in one of the larger newspapers in South Africa concede the basic fact that Mr. Lumumba was the legally elected Prime Minister of the Congo?

Did any of these newspapers, when the vacillating Kasavubu "sacked" Lumumba, point out to its bewildered readers, that there was no authority for such action, and that unless Kasavubu could enforce his "sacking" with military or police action, it was meaningless?

## Bayonets and Cash

Were South African readers allowed to glean the information that the problem in the Congo was not fundamentally a case of tribalism and primitivism run riot, but of a titanic clash between a new State and the combined, subversive efforts of the West to undermine it?

If Mr. Lumumba and the Congolese people were prepared to accept continued foreign influence, as jokers like Mr. Tshombe and Colonel Mobutu are, it is safe to predict that the disorder in the Congo would rapidly diminish.

Mr. Tshombe could not survive for one moment without the support of foreign bayonets and the machinations of the Katanga's White financial interests.

Now that Colonel Mobutu has turned against Mr. Lumumba, the Force Publique has suddenly become respectable. When it revolted against its Belgian officers, however, it was not respectable.

The British Journalist, Basil Davidson, pointed out in the "New Statesman" that the Belgian officers had taken arms away from the Congolese soldiers and given them to White civilians. No mention of this was made in the South African Press. The reasons for the Force's revolt were always kept obscure.

Newspapers, like the Daily Telegraph, published grim accounts of what the Belgian soldiers did in places like Matadi, where the Congolese were the victims of savage acts of vengeance.

The overseas newspapers, too, recalled that long before the Congo was granted independence, there had been tribal fighting in Ruanda Urundi, and that the Belgians, the White missionaries and others had been accused of deliberately inciting some of this fighting.

(Continued on page 14)

# CHIEFS, COUNCILS—AND CAPITAL—FOR BASUTOLAND

A great responsibility for charting the future course of Basutoland rests with the country's new National Council.

Under the new constitution which came into force last year the Basutoland National Council is a legislature with great powers. In fact the National Council of Basutoland has power to legislate on all matters except a few still directly controlled by the High Commissioner who acts for the British Government.

## Council Chamber

The building in which the National Council meets is small by South Africa standards but is impressive. The interior decoration and fixtures are lovely. The seating arrangements for the members of the Council are rather unexpected. Instead of the British pattern of a rectangular chamber in which members sit to the left and to the right of the Speaker, here we have a circular chamber. The members sit facing the President (as he is called) on benches which rise terrace fashion to a height level with the gallery.

To the left of the President on a high bench at the back sits Ntsu Mokhehle, Leader of the Basutoland Congress Party, in constant whispered consultation with his chief lieutenants who sit around him. This corner looks rather like "the Mountain of the National Convention in the revolutionary France of the Eighteenth century. In fact the seating arrangements have a French aspect.

## Two Sessions

There have been two sessions of the new Legislature. The first was to provide a kind of refresher course for members on the conduct of procedure in the "House." The lecturer was appropriately enough one of the clerks of the House of Commons which the British continue to believe is the only really successful example of parliamentary government.

The second session was one called to consider the estimates. This session unexpectedly turned out to be a wholesale attack on the administration of Basutoland as members took the opportunity of dealing with the policies of the various departments in the course of examining their estimates. In one or two cases the votes for the departments concerned were not passed, to the utter consternation of the government.

The executive government for all practical purposes is in the hands of the Executive Council which consists of elected members and certain government officials. The members of the executive council sit to the right of the President and are led by the Government Secretary who is also Leader of

the House. Among the elected members of the Executive Council sits B. M. Kha-ketla, Deputy-Leader of the Basutoland Congress Party. This is the result of the decision of the Basutoland Congress Party to contest elections to the Executive Council by which they managed to get one of their members on to the governing body.

## Chiefs, Councils and Constitution

On the surface the new constitutional set-up would appear to be working well but in reality it clearly cannot last as long as was anticipated. And strangely enough it seems that the Chiefs will be the cause of the crisis over the constitution although it maintains their powers to a very great extent. The fight by the Chiefs against the new constitution is masked by the relatively controlled and polite debates taking place in the National Council.

But it is in the District Councils that the struggle for power between the old and the new forces emerges more clearly. Basutoland has been divided into 9 districts. The organ of government in each district is the District Council which is an elected body except for an Ex-Officio President, invariably a Chief.

The struggle arises from the process whereby the District Councils are taking over all the administrative and law-making functions, formerly vested either in the District Commissioners or the Chiefs. The Chiefs in particular are now agitating against the new set-up, with a view to restoring their powers. This campaign by the Chiefs is giving rise to a counter-campaign for reforms which will curtail or eliminate the powers of the Chiefs entirely.

That a new struggle is imminent can be gauged from the growing political activity throughout the country. New parties are springing up like mushrooms. Defunct parties are being revived and in one case two parties have amalgamated. All these parties seem to share an aversion to the Basutoland Congress Party. In some cases these parties have an extremely doubtful background. This applies particularly to an apparently very "militant" party which has received wide publicity in the White Press of South Africa in recent weeks.

## Voters and Councillors

The Basutoland Congress Party which has the undoubted support of the majority of the people seems to have the clearest views in regard to the future of the country. At present discussions are going on which will result in a detailed manifesto embodying the aspirations of the Basuto for freedom and independence.

In the discussions presently going on in Congress circles the questions that

are uppermost in the minds of the people are, among others, electoral reform, executive responsibility and the position of the Chiefs, especially the Paramount Chief.

They would like immediately implemented an electoral reform which will enable all persons over the age of 21 to elect or to be elected to all Councils of State. The present electoral arrangements virtually exclude women from the voters' roll. The important part played by women in the absence of their migratory men-folk clearly entitles them to exercise full political rights, if for no other reason.

Furthermore, the Congress demands that the National Council consists entirely of elected members, directly elected by the electorate. At present half the members of the National Council of 80 are elected indirectly. The people elect District Council members who in turn elect from amongst themselves members to the National Council. This system has proved to have many disadvantages.

Congress leaders also believe that the Executive Council should be replaced by a Cabinet responsible to the National Council. It is envisaged that the Paramount Chief be swiftly transformed in a constitutional monarch exercising all the functions now performed by the High Commissioner.

The Congress does not at present favour the disappearance of the Chiefs. The suggestion seems to be that a College of Chiefs be retained to act as an organ of legislative review for legislation passed by the National Council. Apart from that Chiefs would have their role confined to that of administrative servants of the District Councils.

## Independence and Development

Can Basutoland be independent?

This question is frequently posed, not only by antagonists of Basuto independence, but also by its friends. The doubts regarding the possibility of genuine Basuto independence arise from its economic position and also its character as a country completely surrounded by a hostile Union of South Africa.

The leaders of the Basuto are not unmindful of the problems posed by independence but are determined to face up to them. As far as the economic facts of life are concerned they are indeed grim in Basutoland. At present the country is almost wholly dependent economically on the Union of South Africa.

The problem of the Basuto is how to transform this dependence on the Union into a healthy inter-dependence. This means that the leadership of the Basuto will have to take what the Americans call "a long hard look" at the economic future of the country.

# Trade Unions Campaign For ONE POUND A DAY

It must be emphasised that in fact an independent Basutoland will be better able to utilise its resources. There is no likelihood of economic development under even the most benevolent colonialism.

In some quarters there is a tendency to use the economic problems of Basutoland as a "gogga" against the demands of the Basuto for independence.

Warnings on the economic plight of Basutoland come ill from those who have maintained it as a labour reservoir for the Union all these decades.

A country's greatest and most important resource are its people. Given a political and economic system that releases the creative energies of the people and fills them with determination that knows no obstacles the people of Basutoland could solve their economic problems.

The important thing is to develop to the full the skills of people. The experience of Switzerland has shown that the skill of a people can build a prosperous economy in a country with virtually no natural resources.

There is a dearth of persons with skill particularly in the higher fields of public administration, technology and agronomy. The Basutoland Congress leaders say that what is urgently needed in Basutoland is an imaginative crash programme in which about 200 Basuto are sent out to Universities overseas for a three-year period of study in those fields in which skills are at present lacking. The avowed aim of such a programme should be to prepare them to take over the entire administration of the country. If Basutoland itself cannot provide the capital for such a venture it can be obtained from other agencies including UNO.

There are great water resources of the territory that remain virtually untapped. These resources must be utilised for purposes of producing hydroelectricity and developing agriculture. There are two problems in that regard.

Firstly, no country can develop its agriculture with all its young able-bodied men away from home on the mines and farms of the Union. On the other hand if agriculture is undeveloped then the people are forced by conditions to go to seek work elsewhere.

That is the vicious circle that must be broken. There is also a delicate question of land tenure. Can Basutoland develop a modern agriculture on the basis of an unmodified tribal tenure?

Secondly, where is capital to come from for these developments? In its present status Basutoland is compelled to look exclusively to Britain for capital needs. An independent Basutoland would be able to look further afield.

Britain insists that there is a limit to the "aid" that it can give to Basutoland. The reply of the Basutoland Congress Party leaders is that this "aid" is really Basuto money. This conclusion is arrived at by a process that is tortuous, but I think, true. The argument

£1 a Day! When the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions put forward this demand after the Johannesburg and Pretoria bus boycotts in 1957, it was cursorily dismissed by employers as "unthinkable" and "grossly unrealistic". The Government labelled the demand as the "work of political agitators", and with the employers insisted that African workers would have to be "more productive" before higher wages could be granted.

Nationalists and bosses alike were dreaming of wages remaining at a standstill, while the workers laboured harder than before, with speed-ups and long hours.

As recently as April, 1960, Dr. Donges "firmly rejected the idea of a national minimum wage of £25 a month (£1 a day) as an answer to some of the country's troubles". He called instead for "harder work and a consequent increase in output per man-hour".

## Strikers Starved Out

The Government did not stop at "warnings to be cautious about raising African wages" (Dr. Diedrichs, Minister of Economic Affairs).

It took stern action against those who worked for the demand that poverty wages be ended.

When stevedores in Port Elizabeth demanded 25/- a day in 1957, the Government's Native Labour officers told the employers not to grant higher wages. Instead the Government brought in convict labour. The stevedores — who refused to do overtime work — lost their jobs, and were eventually replaced by scab labour from the Reserves. The stevedores had their passes endorsed by the labour bureau so that they had to

runs like this: Thousands of Basuto work on the mines and industries of the Union. A large proportion of the shareholders in these industries are British. Of the tremendous profit made, millions go to British shareholders. These shareholders are taxed in Britain and an insignificant tax collected is sent to Basutoland and called a gift. It really represents the blood and sweat of the Basuto.

The situation in Africa today is developing at a rate which suggests that Basutoland will attain its independence much sooner than was expected. The relationship between Basutoland and the Union demands that democrats throw in their full weight behind the Basuto people in their drive for independence. The existence of a democratic state in the heart of the Union would have a powerful effect on the South African struggle for freedom.

leave Port Elizabeth to starve in the countryside.

This was the fate of many workers who took action for £1 A Day.

400 of the striking Amato Textile workers were endorsed out of Benoni in 1958; building workers and many others were victimised after the stay-at-home of June 26, 1957, during which £1 a Day was demanded; a number of people who distributed leaflets and made speeches calling for £1 a Day before the stay-at-home of April 14, 1958 went to jail for periods of up to one year. At Hammarsdale, Worcester, Cape Town, Durban, Johannesburg, Benoni, Springs — wherever workers have gone on strike — the demand for £1 a Day has taken root.

The demand has not been restricted to the towns.

At the Natal Peoples' Conference in September 1959 women from the remote country areas stood on a political platform for the first time in their lives. And in all their speeches they spoke not only of the passes and the vicious rule of Bantu authorities, but of what they wanted: £1 a day for their husbands toiling in the mines and factories.

"Asinimali! Sifunimali". £1 a Day — has become the inspiration and the rallying call of South Africa's starving millions, in town and village.

## No Longer So Deaf

Events have compelled many employers to recognise this voice from the depths. When SACTU first sent a memorandum to the Chambers of Mines, Industries and Commerce on the subject of £1 a Day in June 1957 it was treated with stony silence. By September 1959 when a fresh memorandum was sent, the Chamber of Mines did not answer, but informal discussions were held with members of the Chambers of Commerce. About the same time a number of commercial and distributive firms have started paying higher wages to their lowest-paid employees; a few factories did the same.

In May 1960 SACTU once again sent its demands for the immediate payment of a minimum wage of not less than £1 a Day. The Chamber of Mines—which still pays the lowest wages in the country—did not even acknowledge the memorandum setting out these demands. But the other Chambers, and a large number of local employers organisations did reply. Informal discussions were held with some employers in Natal. Other employers were not yet prepared to have negotiations for £1 a Day.

But simultaneously practically every business leader (except in the mining industry) has said that higher wages will HAVE to be paid.

(Continued on next page)

Among those who have expressed support for such a policy are Mr. L. Lu-  
lofs (President, Federated Chamber of  
Industries); Dr. H. J. van Eck (Chair-  
man, Industrial Development Corpora-  
tion); Mr. P. J. Vidal (President, Mid-  
land Association of Industries); Mr. E.  
P. Rousseau (Managing Director of  
SASOL); and Mr. M. A. Labuschagne  
(Superintendent of Sharpeville Loca-  
tion). In his now-famous Humansdorp  
speech Mr. Paul Sauer (speaking 14  
days after Dr. Donges made the call for  
harder work mentioned above) said  
"immediate attention must be given to  
higher wages for Natives who work in  
urban industries . . . industrialists  
should prepare themselves for this . . ."  
(The Star, 20/4/60).

Representatives of organised white  
workers have also expressed agreement  
with the demands for higher wages for  
non-white workers. Mr. R. F. Budd  
(President of the S.A. Trade Union  
Council) has called for a minimum wage  
of £6.0.0. per week, and J. H. Lieben-  
berg (President of the Railways Artisan  
Staff Association) — usually a suppor-  
ter of Government policies — has asked  
for a review of wages paid to non-white  
workers.

### First Breaches

These statements and the promises  
which accompanied them, were the first  
big sign of a breach in the employers'  
front. The fight for £1 a Day is winning  
its first real successes. The indications  
of this grow stronger by the day.

At the beginning of September 1960  
the lowest-paid workers in the iron,  
steel, engineering and metallurgical  
industry started to receive bigger pay  
packets. Some workers are now get-  
ting £1.8.9d per week more than they  
were receiving 15 months ago. The  
average wage in this industry for  
African workers is today £15 per  
month as compared with about £11-£12  
a month a year ago. These increases  
followed a demand from the Metal  
Workers' Union (comprised of non-  
white metal workers) to the Nation-  
al Industrial Council for the indus-  
try, for a minimum wage of £1 a Day.

Other workers who have won increas-  
es recently are in the furniture, laun-  
dry, distributive and textile industries.  
Today it is virtually impossible for an  
industrial council agreement or wage  
determination to be revised without some  
concession being made to the workers'  
demands for higher wages.

These signs of a crack in the "get-  
tough" policy of employers and govern-  
ment are a reflection of the split in the  
ranks of South Africa's rulers. A re-  
port to a recent meeting of the national  
executive of SACTU summed up this  
split. It said:

"the exploiters of this country are in  
a permanent state of crisis; they are  
tied up in countless contradictions and  
difficulties. Every time they try to  
get out of their troubles they become  
more deeply involved . . . Large and  
influential sections of the ruling  
classes have been compelled to call

on the Government to adopt a policy  
of concessions."

Particularly on the question of wages,  
employers have had to appeal for these  
concessions! They boast that they are  
now suggesting higher wages out of  
the "goodness of their hearts", and that  
"South Africa is the only country in  
the world in which employers would ini-  
tiate a campaign for higher wages".

The truth is that SACTU's £1 a Day  
campaign and the militant action of the  
workers has MADE them offer higher  
wages.

### Yet — Struggles Ahead

Despite these victories, £1 a day has  
not yet been won. A bitter struggle  
lies ahead before every worker in South  
Africa will be earning a £25 per month  
minimum wage. And even this will not  
satisfy the workers' demands.

According to a recent survey by Mrs.  
Joy de Gruchy for the S.A. Institute of  
Race Relations (The Cost of Living for  
Urban African, 1960) the income of at  
least 50% and possibly 75% of African  
families is inadequate to meet minimum  
family expenses. On the figures set  
out by Mrs. de Gruchy minimum expendi-  
ture in 1958-59 exceeded the average  
wage by £9.3.2. Her conclusion is that  
the average family income in Johannes-  
burg at the present time would have to  
be £36 per month — that is, £16.10.0  
higher than the average family income  
assessed in her report — in order to  
"ensure that the standards of consump-  
tion set out in the theoretical minimum  
budget are maintained".

SACTU is convinced that advantage  
can be taken of the split among the em-  
ployers on the wage question, to drive  
home the workers' demands and make  
important gains.

It is this which makes SACTU's Na-  
tional Campaign for a minimum wage of  
£1 a day and higher wages of the great-  
est importance. This is a campaign  
which can organise the thousands of  
unorganised into trade unions.

At present SACTU is establishing fac-  
tory committees and area committees  
in industrial zones; it is also setting up  
area committees on a residential basis  
to go to the people in their homes to  
discuss their burning living and working  
problems, encouraging them to join trade  
unions at their places of work.

This organising campaign goes hand  
in hand with trade union education. Re-  
cently a new group of officials — who  
stepped into the breach during the ar-  
rest of many trade unionists during the  
State of Emergency — underwent an  
intensive training course. Executive  
members and rank-and-file trade union-  
ists are also being trained in the prin-  
ciples of trade unionism.

The African workers are faced with  
many obstacles in their struggle for bet-  
ter conditions. But the splendid way  
in which they are gaining ground in the  
fight for £1 a Day, is a sure sign that  
they are going to win.

R. HAMBLE.

## THE PRESS AND THE CONGO

(Continued from page 11)

As early as July 5, five days after the  
granting of independence, Mr. Lumum-  
ba warned that "certain Europeans are  
plotting against the State." Four days  
later, the Belgian Government was ar-  
rogantly ordering Mr. Lumumba to re-  
store order, otherwise Belgian forces  
would go into action.

### Tarnished Armour

The press of the West has created a  
picture of the U.N. Secretary-General,  
Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, as a knight in  
shining white armour. Mr. Lumumba,  
however, has accused Mr. Hammarskjold  
of being an agent of the West. Cer-  
tainly, Mr. Hammarskjold (in spite of  
Mr. Alan Paton's spirited defence of  
him) has not emerged from the Congo  
situation with his reputation unblemish-  
ed. The Secretary-General will never  
be the same man again.

Another aspect of the Congo situation  
which has been discussed in the over-  
seas press but hardly mentioned in the  
South African press, is that there has  
been very little looting or damage to  
buildings in Leopoldville, and that the  
extent of the raping of White women  
has never been precisely determined (in  
spite of the Belgian Government's "do-  
cumentation", published in the London  
Press).

Nor has any South African newspaper  
bothered to point out that rioting and  
atrocities are not the prerogative of  
"primitive" Blacks — the "civilised"  
White nations of the world have a pret-  
ty black record themselves.

The biggest failing of the South  
African press, however, has been its  
refusal to draw the correct conclu-  
sions from the Congo debacle. This,  
at least, has been done in several over-  
seas newspapers.

The "Observer", in a series of articles  
on "What Went Wrong in the Congo",  
pointed out that Belgium's withdrawal  
was not voluntary — the alternative  
was a colonial war; that no preparation  
whatever had been made for independ-  
ence — there were only about a dozen  
university graduates among the Congo-  
lese, whereas in the French territories  
in Africa there were 7,000; that instead  
of encouraging a national leadership,  
the Belgians had promoted tribalism;  
and that the basic error was not that  
the Belgians withdrew prematurely, but  
that they refused to accept that with-  
drawal one day would be inevitable and  
that they should prepare for it.

If the South African press had driven  
home these all-important points to its  
readers, the Congo story could have had  
a tremendously beneficial influence on  
our own troubled racial situation.

FIGHTING TALK, OCTOBER, 1960.

# Stage Producers and Stone Walls

Perhaps it is a good thing that some of us are prepared to go on banging our heads against stone walls. In the end perhaps it is the stone walls which give way.

By now Cecil Williams's 'theatrical' head must be soft and sore, yet he goes on banging it. This time in Cape Town he is toughening up his head again after attempting to find a theatre where he could produce 'The Strong are Lonely' with a Coloured cast or, alternatively, with a mixed racial cast. Some of his friends are saying, 'Well, we told you so, but you insisted on trying'.

While he was detained in the Fort and Pretoria Central, in addition to producing his co-detainees in a multitude of play readings, he planned for the day when he would be released. (Cecil always expected that day to be 'next Thursday!') He decided that what he most wanted to do was to produce his favourite play, 'The Strong are Lonely', which meant it would have to be done in Cape Town, since he had already produced it in Johannesburg, Pietermaritzburg and Durban. With amateurs, he thought, since there are not so many professional actors in Cape Town. Why not Coloured amateurs, he asked?

So off he went to Cape Town, with a bright idea in his bony head. He found:

\* Leading Coloured men interested in the theatre assure him he would not be able to find a sufficient number of talented actors.

\* Helpful white amateur actors assured him that, though none of them would demur at acting in a mixed cast on racial grounds, yet many of them would refuse because of fears of repercussions from the frowning government.

\* No hall with adequate staging facilities where a mixed cast could perform, was available.

\* The owners of one theatre, when asked to abolish their colour-bar, refused on the grounds that, as a business concern, they were unwilling to enter into politics.

## Meddlesome Priests

Ruefully, rather than abandon his great desire to produce this particular play, Cecil succumbed to the circumstances and is now rehearsing the play for presentation by a white company in a colour-bar theatre. As a small gesture from his aching conscience, he is devoting the proceeds of the run to the Cape Peninsula School-Feeding Association.

Many readers will remember this magnificent play which mirrors to a startling degree many of the situations of conflict and conscience which confront us in South Africa today. The

final act in the play is the deportation of priests considered by the authorities to be 'meddlesome'!

## Punchier King-Kong

Biggest news, of course, is that "King Kong" is going to London. Writer Harry Bloom, has been in Johannesburg discussing changes in the script. This great show is now in two acts, it's slicker, and Bloom says that it has more punch. The part of Lucky has been enlarged, and judging by rumour Joe Mogotsi is well on the way to stealing the show. The new Joyce is really a "wow". Not in the same class as singer as Miriam Makeba, but a vital personality and she gives the "Shebeen Queen" a much more earthy interpretation.

Naturally the government had to let politics decide whether a man is a good artiste or not. Dan Phoho, popular secretary of the Union of Southern African Artists and the man who gave so much humour to his part in the original production, has been refused a passport to join the show in London.

## Eoan Standards

Cape Town's EOAN group has been setting new standards for South African Opera. Brilliant, and rave reviews, all of which we already knew . . . Europeans found it so surprising?? The production of these operas has the touch of vigour which European performances have always lacked in this country.

This is probably due to the Italian producer, and the close co-operation between producer and artistes. Speaking to soprano Ruth Goodwin, she had nothing but praise for the producer . . .

A National Opera Association is about to be formed, Government sponsored. Naturally the EOAN group has been excluded. I say naturally, because this Government only thinks "White" and probably resents the tremendous success of the EOAN group. Let's face it, if the EOAN group is not included in the National Opera Scheme, the same poor standard and shocking productions will continue despite government assistance. Never mind, EOAN, it won't be long before things change!!

## "Mkumbane"

Rumblings at the Union of S.A. Artists are that despite the cream of talent that will be on its way to London with "King Kong", Todd Matshikiza's "Mkumbane" will be coming off next year. Readers will remember that this production took place just after the declaration of the State of Emergency. It received good notices in Durban, but appears to be a little heavy in the dialogue. Here's hoping that it's pepped up a bit. Alan Paton, who wrote the

script has insisted that it must be performed before non-segregated audiences.

## Lyrics for the 'Shrew'

And if that weren't all the Union has on its fork, news has it that Lewis Nkosi has been writing lyrics for a musical set to the plot of Shakespeare's "Taming of the Shrew" and that this production is scheduled for 1961.

If all this doesn't show that the major contribution to the theatre is coming from the African, then I'm a republican!

Side by side with Government policy of losing heavily on National Theatre, there has been no attempt to assist the Union in its tremendous drive to train and teach. The whole burden of the new drive for coaching and finding new talent has been left to private funds from sympathetic whites. If anything is calculated to show how two-faced this government is, it is this neglect and total lack of concern with the "cultural development" of the African. The Union is providing Africa with a great new stimulus in original drama and music. Several factors have given rise to this burgeoning of art forms among our people, and they all give the lie to the Nats. and their theories of "separate development".

The South West Africa National Union has issued a press statement answering attacks made on it and its President-General, Mr. F. Kozonguizi, who is currently representing his people at the United Nations. SWANU is not an underground organisation, says the press release. It is today playing a role never played before by any organisation in South West. It has become a member of the All-African People's Conference and "we share the same views as the rest of political organisations in Africa." Its president Mr. Kozonguizi has the full support of the people of the territory and the rumours that he is not authorised to represent SWANU abroad are completely unfounded. SWANU has sent cables to countries and conferences throughout Africa to reaffirm its president's mandate to speak on behalf of the organisation.

The African States at the United Nations will shortly muster 26 votes in all, that is one quarter of the votes in the General Assembly. The African member states are: Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (formerly Belgian Congo), Congo (formerly French Congo), Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Libya, Malagasy, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan Soudan (formerly French), Togo, Tunisia, United Arab Republic, Volta.

## No More Colour-Bar Olympic Teams

The winds of change blow as fiercely on the sports fields of South Africa as elsewhere. The structure of all-white sport totters and it is only a matter of time before it falls.

The developments in recent weeks have shown this clearly.

### Cricket Tour Crash

The Springbok cricket tour of England crashed for a number of reasons, not the least being the amount of opposition in Britain to an all-white team and the regular protests and demonstrations organised by the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport under its Secretary, Anthony Steel.

During the final test the Campaign staged its most impressive demonstration — the effect has been noticeable, not only in terms of gates and financial failure, but also in the morale and playing standard of our all-white team.

Their prejudice had been exposed previously, when the national body declined to consider non-whites for the trials and when outstanding non-whites like Basil D'Oliviera were ignored. So marked was the feeling in Britain that a former Sports Editor of Die Burger suggested that it be counteracted by including D'Oliviera in the Springbok team while the tour was in progress.

### Footballers Expelled

Another striking success has been the recent news that the Football Association of South Africa — the all-white controlling body, had been expelled from the All-African Soccer Federation which covers the whole continent. Their exclusion was for obvious reasons — their discriminatory policy. It was inevitable.

### Olympic Protest

Biggest success was the appearance of Rev. Michael Scott and Nana Mahomo before the Executive of the International Olympic Committee — supreme sports body administering more than 20 sports codes and 100 countries in the world. They appeared there on behalf of the South African Sports Association (SASA) after the President and Secretary of SASA had been prevented from going to Rome through passport difficulties. They presented the charge of racial discrimination framed by SASA and urged that the President of the

I.O.C. should visit South Africa and investigate the position himself. Now that SASA has succeeded in getting the issue before the highest sports body in the world it is only a matter of time before our racial discrimination is eliminated — the alternative is the expulsion of White South Africa.

The non-racial Soccer Federation has gained another victory in recent weeks: The Federation Internationale de Football Associations has ordered all countries to remove their colour-bar within twelve months. White South African soccer will either have to play ball or get out!

The future promises well. And the Campaign Against Race Discrimination in Sport has announced a full-scale campaign against the Springbok rugby team due in Britain in October.

SASA is well justified in giving its recent assurance: There will never be another South African Olympic team selected on a basis of race or colour; all future teams will be truly representative and will be selected on merit.

JOHN PLAYER.

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