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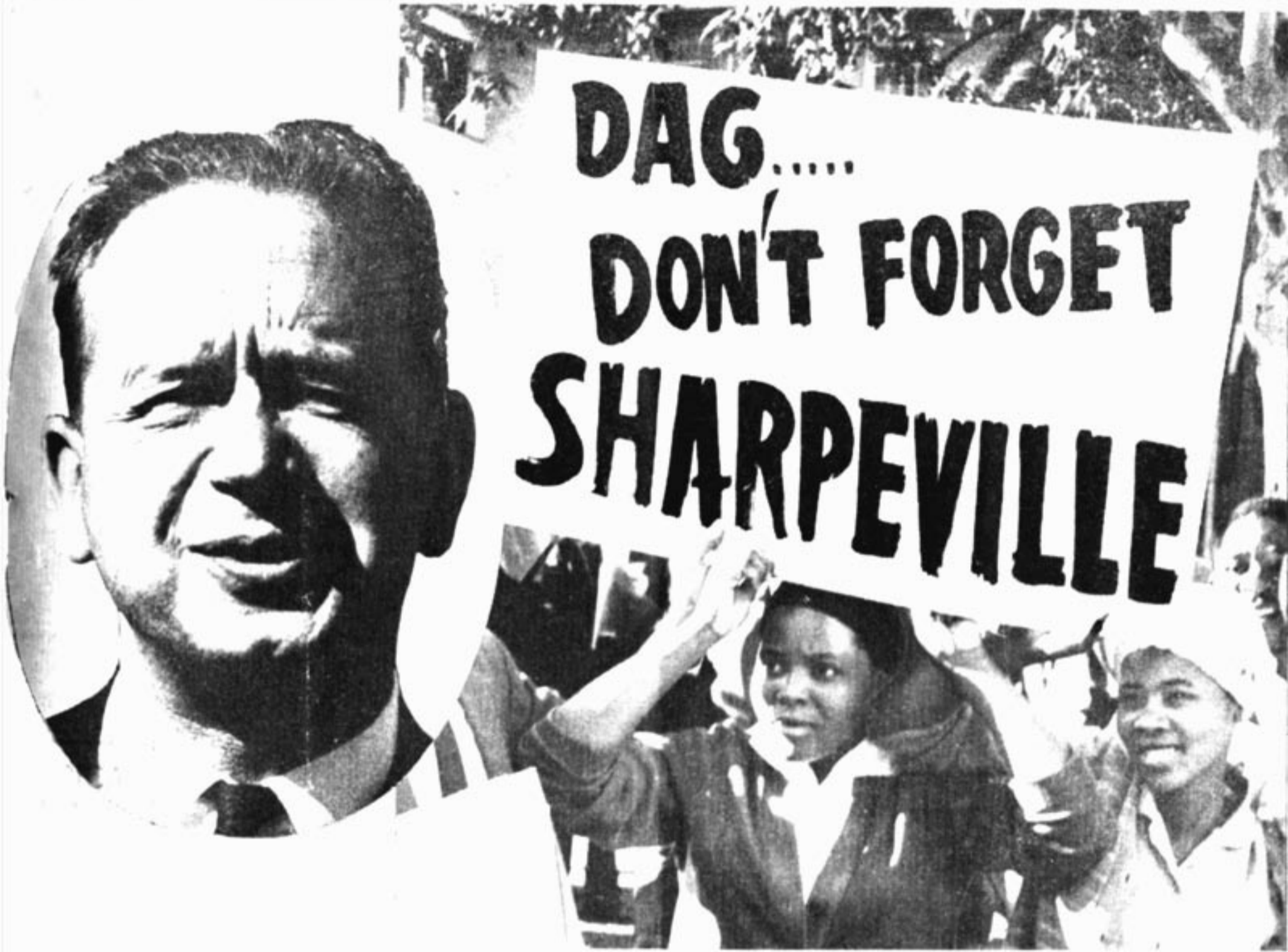
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TALK



AFRICA 1961

CONTINENT ROUND-UP

NEW FLAGS / NEW CONSTITUTIONS / NEW GOVERNMENTS / BEHIND THE F.L.N. LINES IN ALGERIA / CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

Jackboot Over Pondoland

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A JOURNAL FOR DEMOCRATS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

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AGENTS WANTED
½ Commission
Write Box 1355 Johannesburg

DAG — REMEMBER SHARPEVILLE

This is the memorandum submitted to the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Dag Hammarskjold, during his Security Council mission to South Africa, by the CONGRESS ALLIANCE — the South African Indian Congress, the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, the S.A. Coloured Peoples' Congress and the S.A. Congress of Democrats.

Our Organisations have sent many memoranda to the United Nations since its formation. We have repeatedly stressed the unjust and undemocratic rule of an all-White minority Government over a disenfranchised Non-White majority.

The character of South African political life can be readily understood by an examination of the Parliamentary structure in this country. All the Members of Parliament and the Senate are Europeans. There are three representatives of the Coloured people in the House of Assembly, but they are Europeans elected on a severely restricted separate roll. There are no members representing the African and Indian people, and no Africans or Indians have a Parliamentary vote of any kind, direct or indirect.

In place of political rights in the legislative assembly, the Government has chosen to introduce so-called "self Government" for Africans in the "Reserves." This policy, known as Bantu Authorities, has been rejected by the African people throughout the country, and they have demanded representation in Parliament which they maintain, is the lawmaking body for the whole of South Africa, including the reserves. Bantu Authorities is by its very nature purely administrative and, therefore, can never take the place of democratically elected peoples' representatives.

The persistence of the Government in imposing Bantu Authorities on the African people in the face of African opposition, has led to violent eruptions in one reserve after another, including such important areas as Zeerust, Sekhukuniland, Pondoland, Transkei, Ciskei, and many others. No major reserve area has been left untouched by strife and bloodshed. The recent disturbances in Pondoland have shown such united and strong opposition to the Government that a State of Emergency has been declared over the whole of the Transkei and the Police, Army and Navy have been brought in to enforce Government Authority. This is the way "self Government" is granted to the African people.

Political rights for the Indian people are practically non-existent. Most of them do not even have the elementary right to vote in municipal elections, even though many are property owners paying municipal rates and contributing to municipal coffers in other ways. In many towns in Natal, the Indian people form the great majority of the inhabitants, but they are ruled by a local authority elected on an all-White franchise. Only Indians registered before 1922 may vote in municipal elections in Natal. As for representation in Parliament itself after 100 years of settlement in South Africa, the Government is not yet prepared to officially recognise the Indian people as South African citizens.

The Coloured and Indian people in the Cape Province only are entitled to a limited vote on a separate roll for Parliament, and they have a qualified vote for the Municipal Councils. However, the Government is preparing to remove these voters from the common roll and to create separate municipalities with separate voters' rolls where they will be privileged to "develop on their own lines," according to the principles of apartheid. These municipalities will, however, embrace a poverty stricken community from which the authority will be unable to raise sufficient funds for necessary local works. The Coloured local authority will also be subservient to European local authorities and to the all-White Provincial Authority and Parliament.

In dealing with political rights, it is necessary to add that even for the European voters democracy is severely curtailed by the loading of constituencies, by delimitations favourable to the Government and by the general restrictions on free speech and organisations.

The denial of political rights goes hand in hand with the most oppressive and discriminatory measures.

The Indian and Coloured people have suffered greatly from the Ghetto provisions of the Group Areas Act. Under this law, land is reserved for a specific racial group and no other race may reside or trade in this area. Thus thousands of people have been forced to sell their homes and businesses at great loss and under duress, and move to an area reserved for them alone. An all-White Government elected by Europeans has used this law to benefit Europeans at the expense of the Non-Whites.

Job Reservation has been applied by the Government to limit the possibilities of advance of the Non-Whites as a whole. It has hit the Coloured artisans in the Cape particularly severely with many skilled artisans forced out of skilled work and replaced by Europeans, often with less skill.

The working population of South Africa is severely hampered by the complete denial of Trade Union rights to the African workers, and by the splitting effects of the Industrial Conciliation Act. In most cases workers have no recognised channels of negotiation, and their strikes are met with police brutality. These are the realities of life for the workers under Nationalist rule, and nothing can disguise them.

(Continued on facing page)

Two million people of the Transkei are under seige — South Africa's State of Emergency is back again.

To talk is to court indefinite detention. The peasants live in the shadow of jail and the sjambok. This is Apartheid in practice in the Bantustans.

JACKBOOT OVER PONDOLAND

by GOVAN MBEKI

In a decree promulgated on November 30, 1960, the Government published regulations which virtually created conditions of martial law over the five magisterial districts of Eastern Pondoland.

Newspapermen who had flocked into Bizana and Flagstaff were given only hours to beat a retreat from the area. All news, they were told, would be dished out by the information wing of the Bantu Affairs Department — a State Department which is manned by lieutenants of the Nationalist Party rather than by civil servants. All people who did not belong to the area were ordered to leave immediately.

Those who came into the area, whether on a visit to their homes like migrant workers from the sugar plantations and the mines, or were merely passing through by road, had first to obtain a permit to enter. The Government was setting the lid firmly on the pot so that nobody outside the area would know what was happening there.

A subsequent decree on December 14, covered the remaining 21 districts of the Transkei. The whole area, with a population of 2 million, was cut off from the rest of the country, and within a few days there was not a word in the

press that had up to the mid-December printed news of happenings in Pondoland and the Transkei in screaming headlines across eight columns.

It was as if the Transkei did not exist, and as if the news that had before then daily filled the columns of the press for nine months had been a mere phantom that disappeared faster than it came.

Army of Occupation

Towards the end of November long convoys of police riot trucks packed with heavily armed police had filed into the Transkei. Saracens and other armoured vehicles had been withdrawn from some areas in the Ciskei to swell the number of those allocated to Pondoland.

This peaceful area which had for generations been supervised by a token police force of two or three white Officers in each district and a handful of Africans, the majority of whom were in fact NAD Messenger clerks in uniform, suddenly became alive with armed police.

On December 10, long columns of the Special Watch — a highly mobile crack Commando Force — rumbled along the northern Natal roads in a long convoy

of all manner of army vehicles. Its destination was Eastern Pondoland.

Further to the north west similar columns came from the Free State and entered the Transkei through Tembuland from the South. The army of occupation took its positions at strategic points in these Territories. An air of expectancy lasted for three days and foretold a showdown, and soon enough gave way to the joint swoop by the army and the police on the night of December 14 when hundreds of peasants were hauled into jails.

The State of Emergency which had been called off at the end of August was re-imposed in Pondoland.

These measures had been preceded towards the end of November by secret meetings at Umtata between the BAD Secretary and other high-ranking BAD Officials on the one hand, and the nine Regional Bantu Authority Chiefs on the other. At this meeting most of the Chiefs who had become frightened of the anger of the people whose cause they had betrayed, recommended desperate measures to crush the popular resistance. That was all the Nationalist Government required — it was a signal from the terrified puppets of its own creation to use force, which is the only means by which it can rule.

Desperate Advice

At this stage popular resistance had reached such intensity in Eastern Pondoland, and more particularly in the Bizana and Flagstaff districts, that practically all the Bantu Authorities supporters had deserted their homes. They lived with their families in refugee camps which the Government had set up under regular police protection.

As a result of this resistance the Chief BAD Commissioner had announced at Bizana that Chiefs should form "Home Guards" who it became generally expected, the Government would train in the use of arms. Emboldened by this announcement some chiefs like Stanford Mditshwa began to throw their weight about indiscriminately. Although he did not live long enough to learn that it does not pay in the long run to act rashly, his death served to highlight the fact that the Government had in its desperation given indiscreet advice to the Chiefs.

Confession

In the circumstances the Government probably had little choice. Midst a blare of trumpets by its propaganda organs, it had announced in January 1959 that it was about to translate into working

Conditions for rural farm workers in the countryside are even worse. Their working conditions have been exposed frequently as being sub-human, and the International Labour Organisation and other international bodies have described them as blatant forced labour.

The material conditions of the Non-White people have been analysed and described on many occasions, not only by South African social scientists, but also by many visiting writers.

Almost everyone has been deeply moved by the squalor that is to be found here, and by the fact that, taken as a whole, the situation is deteriorating under Nationalist rule.

The people themselves are supremely conscious of this fact, and are now expressing the view that as long as apartheid and race discrimination remain, conditions will deteriorate.

The people are, therefore, turning to political action in order to seek relief. But Nationalist tyranny meets this political activity with outright repression and military force — hence the South African deadlock and crisis.

The record of political suppression is a long one. From its very first year of office, 1948, the present Government has followed a policy of eliminating its opposition. Members of Parliament were removed from office, Trade Unionists proscribed, political leaders banned from their organisations. On many occasions meetings have been banned for no other reason than that the Government did not approve of the particular manifestation of opposition.

This throttling of the expression of public opinion is bottling up widespread resentment among the people. This frustration manifests itself in periodic eruptions with increasing intensity and frequency, which cannot be suppressed. That we are sitting on a volcano due to erupt at any time, arises directly from this fact. This is recognised by all men interested in South African politics the world over, but it appears to have escaped the myopic vision of our present Government. This, too, is the basis for world-wide concern for South Africa.

An eruption in South Africa would have world-wide repercussions. Whereas the unjust nature of South Africa's form of government was only of academic interest in the past, it is now a source of great concern to many nations throughout the world. This is because South African tension and violence is recognised as a threat to world peace.

Above all, we hope that your investigations here will bear out our repeated contention that the South African Government is a monster imposing its arrogant will on a dissenting people. We hope that you will recognise, as we do, that this Government is holding the vast majority of our people down by sheer force and that its policies are contrary to world practice. We hope, too, that you will inform the Security Council that the majority of the South African people are looking to that body for substantial assistance in their struggles for the realisation of true democracy in our country.

reality what had been largely a dream when the Bantu Authorities Act was promulgated. Now at last the country was on the verge of seeing the 'positive aspects' of the Apartheid policy of the Nationalists.

The leading architects of the concept of Apartheid — Dr. Verwoerd, Dr. Eisele, officers of the State and BAD information divisions, Afrikaner intellectuals in SABRA and those like Minister De Wet Nel and Commissioner-General Hans Abraham who try with assinine stupidity to work apartheid in the field — are striving with might and main to convince a world that refuses to 'understand' that an idea which has not even taken final form in their own minds must work.

We have the words of an eminent Nationalist Afrikaner thinker, Mr. W. van Heerden, editor of *Dagbreek*, who admits this fact in an article in the December issue of *OPTIMA*. He says: "For the sake of clarity, I should now first of all underline . . . that the concept of separate development has obviously not yet reached the stage of being a final detailed formula. It is a dynamic process evolving as it proceeds."

And the Nationalists have the effrontery to expect that the millions with whose lives they toy must submit to such experimentation because God's "chosen race" is still seeking a way of entrenching racial domination in a manner that will give it a semblance of moral justification in the eyes of the world!

What makes the position even more damnable is the fact that even in Nationalist circles the truth which we have been at pains to explain all these years — that the Nationalists are going in for deceitful sleight of hand politics — is admitted without any twinge of conscience. Mr. van Heerden admits that the fact that apartheid theoreticians themselves have a clearer idea of what they want, they owe to critics of Apartheid.

"Today," he writes, "the outlines are already much clearer than, and in many respects different from the image which . . . many people and even leading personalities had in 1948."

Nat. Nemesis

It is against this false concept, on the basis of which an entire people is being forced to travel an uncharted course in the history of social organisation, that the peasants in Pondoland, in the rest of the Transkei, in Zeerust, Sekhukhuniland, Zululand and elsewhere, are waging a heroic struggle.

Pondoland has been a shining example of how "simple" peasants — so simple that even their own kith and kin, Chiefs such as Botha Sigcau, Sandi Majeke and Kaiser Matanzima, have sadly misjudged them, have risen to noble heights of human leadership.

The Nationalist Government has been threatened with an assault on the very foundations of their brutal apartheid policy. The camouflage descriptions of these policies as "separate but equal development," or "the white man is carrying out a divine mission to civilise the heathens", have been wrenched aside.

The Nationalist Government is well aware that if its policy of Bantustans fails, if the peasants refuse to bow down to the borrowed authority of the Chiefs, the entire concept of apartheid (which Mr. van Heerden thinks is at last beginning to evolve) will disappear like a ripple that expends itself at the edges of a pond.

Jail and Sjambok

Once a solid wall of secrecy had been built round Pondoland and the rest of the Transkei, the state machine moved into action with brutal swiftness.

The army and the police threw their dragnet over wide area in their hunt for victims. Hundreds of peasants were thrown into the jails of the Transkei where they are allowed neither legal advice nor contact with the world outside the jail walls.

Scores of Africans on the highways that pass through the Transkei are stopped by the police at check points and subjected to humiliating searches; passengers in taxi and private cars are forced to waste hours and hours at police stations while piles of documents are filled in by police intent on hunting men for detention. At the end of these long periods of fruitless waiting crowds are driven into Special Courts, where they are swiftly convicted for a contravention of some offence unknown to them under the Emergency Regulations. A number of cars owned by Africans have been confiscated under the Emergency Regulations.

To talk is to court detention for an indefinite period.

In the entire area the two million peasants live in the shadow of jail and the sjambok. The jackboot struts over the area which is infested by a vast army of informers.

Jungle of Informers

This has become a jungle where unscrupulous characters, at the instigation of the Government, hunt people as if they were wild animals, and hand them over to the frenzied agents of Nationalist Apartheid policies. Apparently respectable men who run around in cars provided for them pass as commercial travellers, but the people have become wise to the spying activities of these dubious characters.

South African cannot allow the Nationalists to seal two million people into a prison-pen as if they were a flock of sheep that belongs to them.

The Government must be forced to repeal the Bantu Authorities Act and to remove all restrictions on the right of the people to assemble and discuss matters affecting their lives.

The Nationalist Government must be forced to give way to a government that has respect for human lives, human rights and human values. For Pondoland is proving once again that this Government is unfit to govern; and must make way for the representatives of the people who can ensure justice and equality of opportunity to all the peoples of this land.

'History Did Not Begin with Francis Drake'

Delegates said to represent 30,000 African students in Britain and Europe held a three-day conference in London towards the end of last year and advanced African unity by several long paces.

Among resolutions passed by the conference:

- * Fire Hammarskjold as UN secretary-general, and remove UN headquarters from the U.S. in view of that country's mistreatment of delegates.
- * Independent African states should form a common bank, and institute a unified African military command.
- * "British" African states winning independence should quit the Commonwealth.
- * Strict cold-war neutrality, supporting neither bloc.
- * "Mental and physical" emancipation of African women.

There were cheers for every mention of Congo Prime Minister Lumumba of whom speakers said: "We are absolutely behind him! Tell the world he is our man!"

There were cheers, too, for the comment by Congo Youth Movement president Dionge Arsene: "Any time a government tries to work without corruption it's immediately accused of being Communist. Such propaganda won't turn us aside from our aims."

Dr. Nana Nketsia, cultural adviser to the Ghana Government led discussion on the 'African Personality.'

Considering the superimposition of European upon African culture, he said that "decolonisation is not enough — all consequences of the colonial system, moral, intellectual and cultural, must be rooted out. We must be ourselves," Nketsia told the new African generation represented in the hall.

Communalism, an "essential of African life," had given way to individualism and "now we have double institutions in all Africa from birth to marriage and death. You court a girl in the African way and then take her to church to be Europeanised. Why? Because African marriages and other institutions were 'bad' for Europeans. Now we say all this is foolish and we must be African."

Why should Africans emulate a civilisation that calls the mother of a baby "Miss So-and-So" and condemns her to finish her life in an old people's home? Why should the African custom of pouring libations be regarded as "primitive", any more than the European custom of putting flowers on graves? "The African family is a structure through which individuals pass, with obligations inside. We have something to teach the rest of the world. We have an operative morality within our structure, not an intellectual exercise." Nketsia urged the students to sing their own songs, study and develop their own sociology and history ("no longer beginning with Sir Francis Drake").

LIKE THE CURATE'S EGG...

The most interesting and valuable part of the work of the Progressive Party's "Commission on Franchise Proposals" is undoubtedly its proposed "Bill of Rights." Here for the first time since the Congress movement tackled the task at the Congress of the People in 1955, a major South African political organisation has given serious thought to the shape of South Africa's future. The Congress of the People produced the Freedom Charter — a programme designed to be fought for by all its supporters as a means to change South Africa. The Progressive Party's Bill of Rights on the other hand, is — if I understand it right — not a programme to be fought for on the Party's road to political power, but a programme to be brought into operation when that power has been won.

This difference of approach may sound like a quibble. I doubt whether it is. The Bill of Rights has already been publicly obscured by the widespread publicity given to the Party's franchise policy; it would appear that there is a very real danger that it will be completely forgotten in the hurly-burly of political struggle, relegated to a place on a dusty shelf of the Party's archives until the day of the Progressive Government — if that day ever comes, useful, of course, in the meanwhile, as a certificate of the Party's future faith and intentions, should they ever be doubted; but it is not a vital living part of the Party's campaigning, not a forefront issue of its political agitation amongst the electorate. It will be a pity if it is so; for the most important things the Party says about South Africa — and the most important things it says wrongly — are in the Bill of Rights.

The Common Ground

It is useful to compare the Bill of Rights with the Freedom Charter. Generally they cover much the same ground. They reveal that, between the Congress alliance and the Progressive Party there is much common ground. Both stand for equality of all South Africans before the law, and for only the full legal process of law to be used against offenders; both stand for the fundamental rights of free speech, assembly and organisation; both stand for the abolition of colour bars in respect of jobs, trading, and professions, for the right to move freely throughout the Union, and for full equality in all civil-service positions.

If, in this article, attention is concentrated rather on the points of difference between the two, it is not because these points are more numerous than the points of agreement, but rather that the points of difference serve to clarify the real issues which are still to be resolved by democratic opposition, in order to clear the way for a wide unity for South African freedom.

L. BERNSTEIN

compares the Progressive Party Bill of Rights with the Freedom Charter.

Points of Difference

The most glaring difference between the two concerns the very first detailed provision of the Freedom Charter: "Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws." On this issue the Bill of Rights is silent, completely silent. It is, of course, true that the Progressive Party has elaborated a detailed franchise programme in one of its conference resolutions (See Fighting Talk, December 1960). But the Bill of Rights is intended to be more than a statement of policy; it is designed to be 'entrenched' into a South African constitution "which will be unalterable except by an overwhelming majority of all sections of the entire nation and then only by an extremely complicated procedure."

The right to vote will thus not be an entrenched right; nor in fact does the Party's franchise policy make it a universal adult right. The position thus remains as it is today; that the Progressive Party, if it achieves a Parliamentary majority, may legislate in terms of its franchise policy; and, after the following election, if it is defeated, the new party in power may reverse that legislation.

Expediency vs. Principles

It would be interesting to know how this peculiar aberration on what is generally regarded as a basic and fundamental "right" comes about. I can see no explanation for it save this: that the Commission decided its franchise policy first; in doing so, it was guided not by consideration of basic principle, but by an attempt to square electoral expediency with conscience; and that having decided its policy, it was obviously impossible to entrench a right to vote, when the franchise policy itself severely limits that right.

As a curious by-product of this process, there is the notable failure in the Commission's report, to even refer to "the right to vote" when it lists and counts the basic rights common to the Bill of Rights of the U.S.A., India, Switzerland, West Germany, Italy and Eire — which are taken as a guide for in all other respects — or when it refers to the UN Declaration on Human Rights.

Perhaps this reference to the Bills of Rights in the constitutions of other countries misled the Commission; those countries do not have either our problems or our historical background as a frame of reference for their ideas.

Thus the Bill of Rights does not include any reference to the idea which is so vital for South African freedom, contained in the Freedom Charter's clause: "The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime."

Nor, on the subject of language rights, does it take account of the fact that the "official" status of the two main European languages, English and Afrikaans, is a denial of basic language rights to the majority of South Africans. The Bill of Rights declares both English and Afrikaans to be official languages of equal status; the Freedom Charter that "All people shall have equal rights to use their own languages." It should be noted here that the Commission added a proviso to the Bill of Rights, allowing for the addition of official languages by legislation on a national or provincial basis. This proviso was however scrapped by the Party conference.

Deep Gulf in Economic Thinking

On their approach to questions of economic rights, the two documents differ radically, however. There is here a deep gulf in thinking, both in the nature of basic economic rights, and in approach to the present economic structure of South Africa.

The Freedom Charter starts off from the premise that "the national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people." In this premise is contained the Congress recognition of the fact that racial equality in the economic sphere cannot be attained merely by setting aside colour restrictions. The land has been largely monopolised by the white minority; the mining wealth has been completely monopolised by the white minority. To now legislate that all people have equal rights to buy and occupy land, or that all can equally engage in gold mining, would do nothing to eliminate inequality in these monopolised fields. The Freedom Charter accordingly calls for the land to be "redivided amongst those who work it", for the mineral wealth of the country to be "transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole."

By way of contrast, the Bill of Rights calls merely for every person to "have the right to acquire, hold, inherit or dispose of property," thus leaving historic inequality virtually unaltered.

Race Separation

There is an interesting addition, however, to the Bill of Rights' formulation. This states that servitudes freely negotiated between private persons, may be inserted "in titles to fixed residential property restricting ownership, occupation of user thereof to persons of a particular class, unless legislation otherwise

(Continued on page 16)

CRACK in the FOUNDATIONS

It is frequently said that the Afrikaners are a religious people: stories are told of the Voortrekkers who carried only one book — the Bible — which they read day by day, seeing in the stories of the ancient Hebrew people a pattern of their own, and seldom getting beyond those pages.

It is also believed by many that to these religious people their Church and Civil Government are virtually synonymous, or at any rate twin pillars of the fabric of human life.

There is a sense in which both these things are true.

Church and State

Through the generations, and even today, the descendants of the Dutch-Huguenot-British early settlers have, in the main, been people whose personal outlook on life was moulded by a form of religious conviction, based on a puritanical interpretation of the writings which comprise the Christian Bible. This being the case it is only one step further for such people to make sure that they are governed by their own people — that the community ethic should accord with personal conviction.

Unfortunately for people thus conditioned 'religion' is something deeper and wider than their insular concept of it. There are more interpretations than one of Church-State relations.

During the last few weeks there have been indications that some leading personalities in South Africa (men born and nurtured for generations on the type of religious concept mentioned above) are beginning to see fallacies in many things they learned with their mothers' milk.

Voices of Doubt

It is some years now since Dr. B. B. Keet of Stellenbosch dared to speak openly of errors which his studies led him to see in the popular theology of the faculty to which he belonged. He was followed a few years ago by a Pretoria minister Ben Marais, who wrote a book entitled "Colour policies and the West" which caused no small stir: in spite of this he was elected to a vacant chair in the faculty of theology at Pretoria University. Still, by and large, so long as they were lone voices in the south and north of the land, little heed was paid to the significance of their writings.

Delayed Action

Now it would appear that more courageous, and far-reaching revelations are appearing, bringing—as is to be expected—sharp repercussions.

First, Professors B. B. Keet and B. Marais have found nine others as brave as themselves, and the Eleven have pro-

duced a set of essays entitled "Delayed action." The Afrikaans edition came out some months ago, the English translation in December, and now we are informed that an overseas publishing firm have acquired the world copyright.

Clay Feet of the Idol

Anything in the nature of an analysis of this volume is impossible in a short article, but having read all eleven essays carefully I can say that their importance lies in the fact that they lay bare the weaknesses and errors of many traditional religious concepts held by members of the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa.

Much that is written is generally accepted belief to Christians throughout the world, but for those to whom the words are addressed they reveal the clay feet of the idol. Not without significance a cover has been designed for the English translation showing a wall of red bricks, built on a foundation of stones, in which a wide gap is sending spreading upwards as a crack in the whole fabric.

Christian Conviction

The second sign of an awakening to reality is the long statement of convictions put out at the close of a week's consultation between representatives of eight South African Churches, and a team of six from the World Council of Churches.

Each clause of the statement was approved by at least 80% of the total membership of the Consultation.

Two groups from the Dutch Reformed Churches present registered their reservations. Some members of the Ned. Gereformeerde Kerk said they limited the extension of civil rights to urban Africans only, while all ten delegates from the Ned. Hervormde Kerk stated that in their opinion the policy of separate development (apartheid) is the only right one for South Africa.

As has been stated in the Afrikaans daily and religious press the fact that a number of D.R.C. delegates voted for these statements cannot commit their Churches — that can happen only at official Synods which will take place during the course of 1961.

Stirring of Conscience

Nevertheless these things which have happened indicate, more clearly than anything else since 1948, that there is a stirring of conscience going on in the land: to assume that this is the beginning of the end of Nationalist rule would be the height of unreality, and irresponsibility: but it can be watched with sympathetic interest and hope.

MAJORITY VIEW

The declaration issued by the World Council of Churches' Consultation said:

"we are united in rejecting all unjust discrimination;

"... the right to own land wherever he is domiciled and to participate in the government of his country is part of the dignity of the adult man..." (This was clause 15 of the declaration... see below).

MINORITY VIEWS

The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk (N.G.K.) is the largest of the DRC churches, and has synods in all four provinces and South West Africa, as well as 5 Non-White daughter churches. Only two of the Synods — from the Cape and the Transvaal — attended the Church Consultation. The Free State and Natal Synods took no part, and are also not members of the World Council of Churches.

Crisis time for the N.G.K. Church is April and October 1961 when the Transvaal and Cape Synods meet, for there will undoubtedly be pressure from within the Church and from the government to not confirm these the Declaration, or N.G.K. membership of the World Council of Churches.

... A policy of differentiation can be defended from the Christian point of view... it provided the only realistic solution to the problems of race relations and is therefore in the best interests of the various population groups.

"We do not consider the resolutions adopted by the Consultation as in principle incompatible with the above statement... Our delegations voted in favour of clause 15 provided it be clearly understood that participation in the government of this country refers in the case of White areas to the Africans who are domiciled in the declared White areas in the sense that they have no other homeland."

"Thank the Government"

The Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk (N.H.K.) is an almost exclusively Transvaal church.

"... It is our conviction that separate development is the only just solution of our racial problems. We reject integration in any form... We wish to place on record our gratefulness to the Government for all the positive steps it has taken to solve the problem, and to promote the welfare of the different groups."

THE PRICE OF GOLD

by ECONOMIST

From the Minutes of the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress — October 28th, 1959.

Chairman (Sen. P. Douglas): Though you do not mention this, to raise the price of gold, would enrich, I suppose, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and South Africa?

Mr. Triffin: I discuss this quite at length in that article and mention a number of objections to the proposals to raise the price of gold, including that very one, that the two countries that would benefit from this most would be South Africa and Russia.

Chairman: The first of the countries has the worst racial system of any country in the Western world.

Mr. Triffin: Certainly.

Chairman: And the second is certainly hostile to the United States?

Mr. Triffin: Exactly. I think those are the most powerful political arguments against any such proposal.

(Quoted in R. Triffin: *Gold and the Dollar Crisis*: Yale 1960).

The belief that a change in the price of gold would be helpful to those countries the U.S. would sooner not help — the Soviet Union and South Africa — appears to be very firmly held. It is felt in the States that nothing should be done to make it easier for the Union to combat the financial consequences of apartheid policies that led to Sharpeville.

It is unlikely that the Union Government will be forced by gold reserve difficulties to scrap apartheid and to seek a solution of the racial problem satisfactory to the United States.

Though our gold reserves have been shrinking they are still relatively substantial, and the South African authorities can and have taken steps to deal with the problem without making any political policy changes.

It is also likely that the American experts, having examined this problem, might come to the conclusion that the political objections to raising the price of gold does not outweigh its economic advantages to themselves and to the Western world.

Gold is still the most important medium for settling international debt. If we take the ratio of all the existing gold stocks to the value of world trade we find that the stocks of gold are only half what they were before the war. In

Dr. T. E. Donges:

'We do not deny that the raising of the gold price would be of great advantage to the Union, but we advocate it mainly on the grounds of the contribution this would make to international liquidity and through this to international trade.'

other words world trade has grown far more rapidly than gold has been mined and world trade is now being run on the basis of about half the assets and securities that there were before the war. It is widely held that these circumstances are acting as a check to the further development of international trade.

There is now no way of increasing the supplies of gold available other than the use of newly mined gold. The production of gold has not greatly increased over the last years. For example it does not pay South Africa to work her low-grade mines at the existing price paid for gold. It is argued that these circumstances are a result of the failure to re-align the gold value of currencies to correspond with their reduced purchasing power.

The Gold Dollar

The United States has been affected by these forces. The dollar has fallen in commodity value, its purchasing power has declined whilst the official gold valuation of the dollar has remained the same.

A further difficulty for the U.S. has been the dwindling of her gold reserves. Most of the gold has been held at Fort Knox in the U.S. and by far the greater part of this has been redistributed throughout the world in the form of dollar balances. The rise of dollar balances in countries other than the U.S., particularly in the last three years has been intensified by the high level of U.S. aid to underdeveloped countries and to U.S. overseas investment. There is a fear that if every dollar holder tried to convert his dollar balances to gold there would be insufficient gold in Fort Knox and people's faith in the dollar has accordingly weakened.

In fact this is unlikely to happen as the Central Banks of the Western world would never embarrass the United States in this way. On the contrary they have undertaken measures such as the lowering of their bank rates in order to assist her. Whilst these measures have been reasonably successful they have not allayed the fears of the business man and the man in the street.

A recognition of these factors does not necessarily imply a lack of confidence in the U.S. economy which, in spite of her dwindling reserves, is still very powerful. It does mean that the

Americans have a difficult choice ahead of them.

Either America devalues the dollar in gold or she accepts a de facto devaluation in all free markets. Naturally America is interested in upholding the old value of the dollar even if the dollar would be helped by the fact that other countries would be devalued in gold by the same amount as the dollar.

Apart from America's dollar problem, there is a large section of U.S. opinion that is against a rise in the price of gold because it would lead to inflationary conditions throughout the Western world.

Most countries are inclined to regard with mixed feelings the possibility of dollar difficulties leading to an increase in the world price of gold. But South Africa is one country that is most anxious to see this happen. An increase in the price of gold would provide an immediate, easy and badly needed supplement to her foreign exchange reserves.

If the dollar price of gold were to be raised by half — and if Washington was at last persuaded to withdraw its resistance to a change it would presumably be prepared to agree to an increase of at least this amount — South Africa's foreign exchange earnings would leap by some £130 million. This assumes that all existing currency parities remain the same. Should the dollar end up by being lower in terms of some other currencies, South Africa would still be better off to the extent of £100 million or so per annum.

There would be an immediate benefit to the mines in the shape of increased revenue. Many mines would extend their lives by working low-grade ores that have hitherto been classed as unpayable. For the richer mines the benefit would not be so marked but would still be substantial.

The Government would benefit as it drains off a very large share of profits in taxation. Then too gold is used to pay for imports so the higher the value of gold production, the easier it is to balance the international trading account.

Labour and the Gold Mines

These more prosperous conditions ruling in the gold mining industry would tend to encourage the development of secondary industry and perhaps also lead to a speeding up in capital works programmes. One can expect boom conditions and with the resulting economic expansion there is likely to be more openings than there are trained workers. There would be strong competition for the available labour force.

Mr. A. S. Robertson well-known mining economist makes the following point when dealing with the effects of a gold price rise:

"The availability of labour will have an important bearing on the trend of events following any increase in gold

(Continued on page 15)

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

With the African people of the three countries of Nyasaland, Southern and Northern Rhodesia, fighting to a man for the ending of the Central African Federation, 1961 could be its year of doom.

What happened at the Federal Review Conference?

Background to talks. The Monckton commission declared Federation so unpopular, that an association — if there was to be one — would have to be under another name! Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead (S. Rhodesia) and Opposition M.P.'s labelled the report "completely unacceptable", "untenable", "unfortunate" but all accepted it as the writing on the wall.

Seven years of Federation, imposed against African wishes, has created a tide of ill feeling. The Monckton Commission Report made the admission that Federation cannot be maintained in its present form but for economic reasons refused to abandon the Federal Constitution. It recommended instead substantial changes: broader franchise; parity of representation between Africans and Whites in Federal Legislature; immediate advance towards self government in N. Rhodesia; drastic changes in colour legislation in S. Rhodesia; Bill of Rights for protection against unfair discrimination. Secession from Federation should be permissible only after a stated period and upon achievement of responsible government by the territories concerned.

The success at the Federal Review Conference depended on acceptance of the Monckton proposals — and more —; and the prospect of early territorial constitutional talks for the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. Banda, Nkomo and Kaunda — Central Africa's Big Three — announced that they would attend the talks but reserved the right to walk out if they thought the conference was being used to delay the Territorial Constitutional conference.

Sir Edgar (Southern Rhodesia) sabotaged the talks from the outset by allowing after strong persuasion from Britain only 2 Africans (Nkomo and Sitholo — NDP) to attend the talks. He was not prepared to concede 10 out of 50 seats to Africans and adopted a petulant attitude all the way through. Eight days after the start of the talks Banda, Kaunda and Nkomo walked out in a boycott of the proceedings. Territorial Conferences proposed for December 13th were indefinitely postponed by Whitehall.

The nub of the issue is that no one but the tiny majority of White Federalists want the present Federation.

NORTHERN RHODESIA

Both Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) and Nkambula's African National Congress are emphatic that the territory cease to be part of the Federation and that a democratic constitution be enacted. The two bodies have made different sets of proposals for universal franchise, African majority control of the Legislative Council, and reserved seats for the minorities of Europeans, Asians and Coloureds. The proposals of the two groups here differ only slightly. Sixteen chiefs from the different provinces have also made constitutional proposals, along similar lines to the UNIP and ANC ones.

Strong bargaining basis for Northern Rhodesia has been the Monckton recommendation for self-government right now.

KAUNDA WOOS THE CHIEFS

by TITUS MUKUPO

Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, president of the most powerful political party in Northern Rhodesia has set himself another task, one both difficult and tricky. But if he succeeds it may win him great dividends. Mr. Kaunda, assisted by his lieutenants, is going all out to win the support of Chiefs for his United National Independence Party (UNIP).

Mr. Kaunda returned from the recent London talks on the territorial constitution, convinced more than ever before that Chiefs were on his side in his bid to break Federation and to establish a democratic form of government in Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Nalumino Mundia, deputy treasurer of the party told me that Mr. Kaunda is paying "courtesy calls on Chiefs in appreciation of the stand the Chiefs took at the talks."

One sign of such support came when the two chiefs — Chikwanda from the Northern Province and Mapanza from the Southern — both representing other Chiefs in Northern Rhodesia, walked out of the Federal Review conference with Kaunda and other African nationalists.

Another sign of the growing support from Chiefs was that at the talks the Chiefs took much the same line as that taken by Kaunda and his UNIP.

NYASALAND

Constitutional reform was top priority in 1960, and a triumph for the Malawi Congress Party, for there is to be an African majority in the Legislature, though there are still education and property qualifications for the majority of the voters.

Among the thousands imprisoned without trial under the 1959 Emergency, Malawi's President Dr. Hastings Banda left gaol to journey to England and America, and to attend the critical constitutional talks. He said: "The British are the only colonial people who send a man to prison only to invite him to Westminster if not Buckingham Palace tomorrow."

The last 14 Africans detained during the Emergency were released — 18 months after the declaration of the Emergency — and the former detainees were taken to Kota Kota by bus and dressed in red gowns, the uniform of prison graduates, there to be received by 10,000 people.

Government's Heavy Hand

Kaunda's present task is difficult because the policy of the Colonial Government has been to stop chiefs from toeing the line of African nationalists. As a result many chiefs throughout the country have been deposed for supporting African nationalists.

For over a year now the veteran Paramount Chief Chitimukulu of the half-million strong Bemba tribe in the North, has had all his powers withdrawn and delegated to his subordinate chiefs for similar reasons. Of course they are always couched in some such official phrase as "incompetence" and the like

Apart from that, administrative officers bring pressure on chiefs so as to make them enact harsh native authority rules and orders. The orders make African political meetings illegal even if they are held in a hut with only seven people present. They also restrict the movements of African nationalists from one chief's area to the other and are in that respect more severe than even the Central Government public order ordinance.

When the four chiefs who had represented others at the London conference

In frantic measures after riots in Salisbury, spreading to Bulawayo, after a raid on the offices and leaders of the National Democratic Party (NDP — leader Joshua Nkomo) the Southern Rhodesian parliament rushed through the Emergency Powers Act and the Vagrancy Act which give the police power to suspend the law and hold Africans indefinitely, exile and banish, and will head S. Rhodesia for a Sharpeville-type explosion.

The NDP demand is for a constitution based on the principle of 'one man one vote'. The NDP's northern allies, the Malawi Congress Party of Nyasaland and Kaunda's UNIP, with African majorities in their Legislative Councils within their grasp, are standing by the claims of the NDP in the South.

The British Government has the power to suspend Southern Rhodesia's white-dominated constitution and parliament, but will it?

Confronted with the prospect of a newly constituted N. Rhodesia and an independent Nyasaland, Rhodesia is faced with a choice between Verwoerdism and a multi-racial democracy. Sir Edgar has his back to the wall, even as new constitutional talks open this year in Salisbury.

on the Northern Rhodesia talks arrived at Lusaka, they were immediately whisked away to their tribal areas.

Mr. Kaunda is calling on Chiefs in the North-Western Province which borders on the Portuguese territory of Angola and the troublesome Congo. The Chiefs he is to see include Chieftainess Chavuma who has strong links with the powerful Mwatyamvu of Katanga and supports Moise Tshombe, president of the break-away province of Katanga. The present relations between UNIP and Tshombe's ruling CONAKAT party are very strained. UNIP is pro-Lumumba.

Mr. Kaunda is being assisted in the campaign by Mr. Munukayumbwa Sipalo the secretary and Mr. Sikota Wina, the party's publicity chief. Both Messrs. Wina and Sipalo were at the talks in London.

Mr. Sipalo is visiting chiefs in the Kariba Dam area, who have been strongly opposed to Federation. When the tribesmen had to be removed to give way to the rising waters of the dam, there was a serious clash during which eight tribesmen were shot by the police.

Mr. Wina will seek audience with Paramount chiefs Mpezeni and Undi of the Achewa in the Eastern Province.

When the talks resume later this month, Mr. Kaunda will need the united support of chiefs even more. It is important that if he is to get the British Government to give way, he must not only show that he commands the support of the majority of people in the country but that most of the traditional rulers of the people are with him.

FIGHTING TALK, FEBRUARY, 1961.

NIGERIA: WHICH WAY?

On October 6, 1960, after nearly 100 years of British rule the Union Jack was hauled down and the new green and white Nigerian national flag was run up in its place.

Thousands of Nigerians throughout the country watched the independence celebrations and acclaimed Nigeria's clean cut with the past. With over 35 million people, Nigeria is the largest African state.

She is also the white hope of the former colonial powers that she will water-down the African states' firm and uncompromising independence aims for the continent.

"There is danger," says the British journal, *West Africa* (Oct. 1, 1960), "that too many people outside Africa are expecting Nigeria not only to make a major contribution to African stability but to give a new lead to the continent to reverse some present tendencies which are causing uneasiness."

The political party at the helm of the Federation of Nigeria has its main support in the most politically and socially backward region of the country, the feudal North. The Nigerian leaders' current aloofness to proposals for a strong union of African states gets a nod of approval in western capitals. So also do statements like that of the Finance Minister, Chief Festus Okotie-Eboh, during his visit to the United States last year: "We do not believe in nationalising things that do not belong to us. We believe we have a stable government and investors who put their money in Nigeria can keep it, invest it as they wish, and take away any profits whenever they wish."

American business interests appear to be taking Chief Festus at his word, and Liberia has reason to fear for the loss of its pre-eminence as the chief West African repository of U.S. private investments.

A good many Nigerians, however, are not at all happy about the present course of the Nigerian government. There have been strong demands for the nationalisation of foreign industries, notwithstanding what the Finance Minister and other leaders may say; for the replacement of the British civil servants yet remaining in many key posts by Africans; for putting a stop to the widespread graft in political circles and public affairs, and to the scandalous waste of state funds on Hollywood-type residences and over-size American automobiles for government ministers. Striking railway workers clashed with the police last year and picketed the residence of the Minister of Labour demanding the release of their jailed leaders. And police using tear gas were required to disperse a crowd of some five hundred university students who descended on the Federal Parliament in

Lagos last November, shortly after the attainment of independence, protesting against the military agreement concluded between Great Britain and Nigeria without public debate or sanction.

Unless deep-going reforms and changes of policy occur speedily, there are likely to be more serious challenges to governmental authority developing in Nigeria.

THE CAMEROONS

* Cameroun Republic

Armed revolt against the pro-French Ahidjo government continues furiously, led by the outlawed U.P.C. (Union of the People of the Cameroun), whose leader in exile Dr. Felix Moumie died in Geneva from poison administered by the French terror group, the Red Hand. The republic is only very nominally independent, the French army is still trying to put down the areas in revolt against Ahidjo, and this government relies on France to balance the budget.

* Cameroons, British

1961 will see yet more United Nations conducted plebiscites on the future of Northern and Southern Cameroons. The issue: will they join the Republic of the Cameroun to reunite the former German colony dismembered 40 years ago, or will they join Nigeria? The Southern, but not the poorer northern British Cameroons, are given the choice also of becoming a self-governing region under Nigeria.

Reunification of the whole Cameroons is very much a live issue, and even Premier Ahidjo of the Cameroun Republic, though it was his arch enemy the UPC which first raised this demand, is talking in terms of reunification.

TUG-O'-WAR

Mauritania, independent from November 28, 1960, faces a claim from Morocco that it should be part of this kingdom. Lying between Moslem and Black Africa, the great majority of Mauritians are Moslem.

Maghreb solidarity, though strong as steel in Algeria, has taken a dent on Mauritania for Tunisia has refused to support Morocco's claim.

TELMA
SOUPS
are
TASTIEST

Rhodesia's Peculiar Politics

by ROBIN FARQUHARSON

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is well known as requiring the intending visitor to state the sex of his wife on his Immigration Form. And it outdoes even America's notorious McCarran-Walter Immigration Act by insisting that immigrants should not only never have been members of any Communist organisation, but also should not have been 'supporters' or 'sympathisers' with any.

These two characteristics — endearing stupidity and fanatical suspicion — also apply to many white politicians in Rhodesia. As a result, the Rhodesian political scene is not only very confused but also extremely changeable. When I came to Rhodesia I was told that three new political parties in a year was an average crop; while I was there, in late 1960, three a month seemed more like it.

Each would begin with a ponderous yet high-flown manifesto to the press, emphasising its entire independence of all previous political parties and its firm attachment to the purposes and principles of pure Rhodesianship; would hold a meeting, or even two; and then drop into obscurity until the announcement that it had either (i) split into two or more equally high-principled new parties, or (ii) merged with some previous or subsequent political grouping.

Despite these manoeuvres, which seemed sometimes motivated by no more complex aim than to make every Rhodesian his own Party Chairman, certain consistent features of the party structure can be detected.

The first might be summed up as "SOCIALISM — WHAT'S THAT?" The normal classification of political parties from Left to Right according to their attitude on the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange is still of some use in South Africa — in Rhodesia it is totally irrelevant. No party makes any public reference to socialism, or planning, or distribution of wealth; public ownership is not regarded as a political question.

"Watch Out For Penalties"

The second, perhaps in some way the cause of the first, is "THE GOVERNMENT WILL GET YOU IF YOU DON'T WATCH OUT."

Long before Federation, deportation without trial was a useful tool of the Southern Rhodesian Government. In a Federation whose white population was largely composed of immigrants, it was invaluable for checking tendencies to advocate equality, to contract (legally permissible) mixed marriages, or simply to write fiction critical of the Rhodesian Way of Life.

Recently, however, the Government noticed that the possibility of acquiring citizenship after two years put many un-

desirables in a position where they need not fear deportation. An Act was rushed through to correct the situation: now, any person who has acquired Rhodesian citizenship other than by birth may be denaturalised and expelled if he has been sentenced to one day or more's imprisonment for any political offence (such as attending a banned meeting, wearing an ANC badge, or uttering the word "Kwaca" — "Dawn", the slogan of Nyasaland independence). What with deportation, preventive detention, and the Government's power to ban absolutely and without appeal both organisations and publications, Rhodesia in some ways offers less political freedom than does the Union.

The third, and fundamental, principle of Rhodesian politics is "IT'S RACE, IT'S RACE, THAT MAKES THE WORLD GO ROUND". Every political issue is fundamentally racial; such apparent other issues as Britain's role in Rhodesia or relations with South Africa are of importance only because of their implications for racial policy. Let us examine the principal parties of Southern Rhodesia, the main focus of the Federation.

Rider and Horse

The UFP, the United Federal Party, is in power and likes to think of itself as 'the centre party' and 'the responsible party'.

On the franchise and on African advancement it is perhaps somewhere between our UP and Progressives: on the suppression of civil liberties it has nothing to learn from the Nationalists. In general, its policy is to permit African advancement to a limited extent provided white control is in no way endangered.

Similarly it is prepared to tolerate a few thousand African voters provided there is no chance of their ever becoming an effective force in Parliament. Under British pressure, it allows a mixed university: mixed schools remain illegal, even if privately sponsored. Its proclaimed policy of 'partnership' has been demolished by one of its own founders, Lord Malvern (formerly Huggins) who compared it to 'the partnership of the rider and the horse'.

Civilised Control?

The official Opposition in Southern Rhodesia is the Dominion Party. It is strong — at the last territorial election, it received more first-preference votes than did the UFP, and was only prevented from winning the election by the 'alternative vote' electoral system in force. The Dominion Party's policy is about as close to absolute white supremacy as is consistent with an appearance of moderation. It does not openly advocate dis-

crimination as such: it speaks of "keeping control in civilised and responsible hands for the foreseeable future." It considers Sir Roy Welensky, apostle of Federation, and Sir Edgar Whitehead, author of countless repressive measures, as softheaded liberals. And it is just as strongly opposed to Federation as is the Malawi Congress Party of Nyasaland, believing that Southern Rhodesia has a better chance of keeping white if separate from the Northern Territories.

The Dominion Party is successful enough at combining apparent moderation with actual extremism: so successful that it has a pretty fair chance of becoming the next Government of Southern Rhodesia.

Racists and Rape

Not so successful are two more openly racist organisations, the Confederate Party and the Rhodesian Republican Army. The Confederate Party speaks openly of keeping control in European hands for all time: it has many a good word for Dr. Verwoerd. The RRA seems to have been started as a joke, modelled on the Irish Republican Army but with far less worthy aims. Its initiators took fright when mysterious groups, using the RRA's name, began to placard Salisbury with slogans and to threaten prominent journalists with violence unless they 'depicted Rhodesia in a better light'. After a short while it was banned by the Governor of Southern Rhodesia under the security regulations, which had been introduced to curb activity of quite a different kind.

The ideology of the Confederate Party is weekly expounded by the *Citizen*, a curious semi-literate journal whose favourite type of headline tends to be "Pregnant woman chased by mob." The extremes of racialism are often touched also by the *Sunday Mail*, an Argus group paper with an independent editor. The *Sunday Mail* was notable for screaming "Congo Rape!" in early June, long before independence had been proclaimed or disorder had begun. It also distinguished itself as the only paper to give enthusiastic support to the Government's Bill putting an end to freedom of the press.

Between Two Stools

So much for the racist opposition: the liberal opposition is far weaker and less influential. The Central Africa Party developed from Garfield Todd's United Rhodesia Party — it advocates approximately the policy of qualified suffrage and mitigated equality that the South African Liberal Party was offering in 1957. In the result, it is too liberal to attract any significant white support: on the other hand, it is too reactionary for almost all Africans and for many

(Continued on page 15)

BEHIND THE LINES IN ALGERIA

Early in 1960 I visited two units of the Algerian Army of Liberation, one in base camp enjoying its regular rest period, and the other not far from the front lines in Algeria. They seemed well fed and in fine spirits, their boots were sturdy, their uniforms good (they sew themselves, I was told, while in base camp), and their rifles, first class. In one company I noted that almost half the men were equipped with American Garand rifles: NATO arms captured from the French, I was informed. An American bomber, flown by a French pilot, flew threateningly overhead; on the next ridge one could see puffs of white smoke arising from an artillery bombardment — by American-made guns, my escorts said.

Electricity Barrier

We were on the edge of a 30-mile wide "no-man's land", where a total "scorched-earth" policy has been carried out by the French. Nothing alive exists in that zone; whatever moves is shot at. Beyond that the French have attempted to further seal off the Algerian-Tunisian border with two barbed-wire barriers, each electrified with a hundred thousand volts, called the Morice and Challe lines, after their builders. Although these fortifications present formidable difficulties, they are regularly transversed by Algerian army units.

Qualified Leaders

The leadership of the Algerians is magnificent, if the Commander of three battalions whom I met is at all typical. He was a calm, self-contained man of 38, clad in a simple uniform, wearing a beret and a small pistol at his side. He had an intensely paternal feeling for his men: "my sons," he called them. All his family have been killed in Algeria. He is not only a dedicated patriot but an extremely competent soldier; he was for 15 years an officer in the French Army before the outbreak of the Algerian revolution. He wears no epaulet, or insignia of rank; "It is not the rank that is important," he said, "but the job that is being done."

Germans Desert French Legion

Not only is the leadership in the Liberation Army first-class, but its organisation seems to be extremely efficient. Propaganda across enemy lines "To Men of Conscience" has had a considerable, if unadvertised success. I was told that 5,000 West Germans members of the French Foreign Legion, to mention the largest group, have deserted — been "liberated", as the Algerians put it, since the beginning of the war.

First Aid from China

The organisational end of the army seems to be very efficient. Physical

MARY-LOUISE HOOPER
looks at the F.L.N. Army in the
field.

and rest care are provided "in depth" at varying distances from the front lines. We saw medical kits from Communist China with everything conceivable for first aid, carefully packed into knapsacks for the use of doctors travelling with the guerrilla army. We saw well planned layettes packed in wooden boxes ready for distribution to expectant refugee mothers. We visited the rest camp, in Tunisia, complete with a small hospital fitted with cots for the lightly wounded or ill.

United Communist Support

A few miles to the rear we inspected the more complete hospital, including x-ray and a small operating room, as well as a supply storehouse and dispensary. Ambulances wait here to take the severely wounded to hospitals in Tunis. Some are flown to Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Albania, Hungary and East Germany, and many to Yugoslavia, where they are fraternally cared for at no expense.

Relaxation Well Organised

At the rest camp which we visited there was a permanent stone building, an office for the commandant, a bakery where delicious French bread is turned out, and large comfortable tents for the men, with raised "beds", each holding perhaps 10 men, made of branches topped by straw and covered with blankets. Some troops were drilling, some piling stones for the foundation of a school for refugee children and others merely loafing.

Children Behind the Front

The Algerian revolutionary struggle has two aspects: one hears a good deal about the military side, but very little of the positive political, social and educational aspects. Even on the edge of the combat zones, each army unit behind the lines maintains a school for refugee children who live in the area. There were 72 children, of various ages, in one school group very close to the frontier, which sang for the writer, defiantly and with pinched, old-looking faces, a song called: "Algeria, Our Homeland." Some of the children were dirty-nosed, all hands blue with cold, ragged trousers and thin jackets, but they were cared for and seemed unafraid.

Constructive Administration

In Algeria proper, in areas controlled by the FLN, the revolutionary party is carrying on political, administrative,

educational and judicial activities. It is, one of its spokesmen commented, "transforming the fundamental structure of Algerian society — building schools and teaching the young people, when necessary in the silence of the night, a new spirit of independence. To quote from a speech of the chief representative to the January 1960 Tunis Conference from the General Union of Algerian Workers, A. Maachou:

"The Algerian workers are not only fighting to have a flag and embassies: they are fighting to guarantee land to the peasant, a job to the worker and better conditions of life for all."

Cruelty the Rule

Living conditions and treatment of Algerian prisoners of war in many French internment camps are reported to be shocking. The reports of December 15, 1959 of the International Red Cross, published by the highly respected French paper, *Le Monde*, and circulated last year in the U.N., reveals that torture and other forms of inhuman treatments are practiced in these camps by the French army. This Red Cross report does not allow any doubt to remain that the inhuman acts and tortures described in it are not, as one might hope, isolated incidents. A letter protesting the practices described in this Red Cross report was circulated in the 1959 session of the U.N. by 20 members of the Afro-Asian group.

Evidence of Torture

On the subject of torture, the Tunis All African Peoples' Conference was told by an Algerian delegate whose own younger brother was tortured to death, that only 90 miles from Tunis, at Philippeville, Algeria, there is a school of torture where French officers are scientifically taught the methods of extracting information from prisoners. Corroboration has been given to this contention by a French officer, writing in "Temoignage Chretien," a French liberal Catholic weekly.

"Scientific" Approach

He quotes his own notes taken during attendance at a lecture in this school. There were five rules given, he says:

1. "The torture must be 'proper.'"
2. It must not take place in the presence of the young or of sadists.
3. It must be done by an officer or some one 'responsible'.
4. It must be 'humane'—which means that it must stop when the subject has divulged the desired information.
5. Above all, it must not leave traces. Water and electricity are quite permissible."

A PROFILE OF the Bishop of Johannesburg whose book on SHARPEVILLE was recently banned.

"In smallness of stature," said the late Archbishop of Cape Town to his successor to the diocese of Johannesburg, "you will find little to choose between your old Bishop and your new. In rotundity of belly, however, there is a world of difference." And, indeed, that was one very noticeable dissimilarity to be observed in this latest (but doubtless by no means last) of the succession of turbulent parsons who have coloured South Africa's political history.

Small, spare, wiry and energetically alert, Bishop Ambrose Reeves has been likened vividly, but not unkindly, to a nagaaple. In full episcopal regalia, however, he can create the impression of a true Prince of the Church, in the mediaeval sense — pontiff, politician, diplomat.

The Diocese of Johannesburg is no episcopal sinecure, including, as it does, a population of 1,856,000; containing, as it does, the rich white mining and industrial cities of the Southern Transvaal from Johannesburg to the Vaal Barrage, the farmlands of varying productivity from Schweizer Reneke to Bethal and Barberton and all their satellite black townships; embracing, as it does, the kings of mining, industry, commerce and farming and the hundreds of thousands of toilers who build their pyramids.

In 1949, the racial situation in South Africa was making world headlines, exposed factually in the United Nations' debates on the South West African question, (launched on its controversial career by Michael Scott, an earlier meddling priest), and imaginatively in Alan Paton's best-seller, *Cry, the Beloved Country*.) Canon Richard Ambrose Reeves, Rector of St. Nicholas, Liverpool, could not have been entirely ignorant, when he accepted the bishopric of Johannesburg, of what he was likely to be letting himself in for.

Nor could those responsible for so deviously selecting him (on a two-thirds majority vote of clergy and lay representatives) have been altogether ignorant as to the nature of the man. True, he came with a reputation, in Johannesburg, of being "a tireless worker and excellent business man with a fine sense of organisation," a splendid testimonial for an aspirant stock-broker or chairman of a great business house and not without appeal in Johannesburg. But in Liverpool (from where he several times refused preferment) he was known also as "a great leader and a man of vision and imagination," preoccupied with the relationship of the function of Church and State; one who believed the

A POLITICAL PRELATE

by FREDA TROUP

Christian life should permeate all spheres of social activity — business, industry and politics; and well enough esteemed to be on the Executive Committee of the World Council of Churches.

Graduate of Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, he completed his theological studies with the Community of the Resurrection, a great monastic order (some of whose members, such as Father Raynes and Father Huddleston, had deeply concerned with social justice already raised some dust in South Africa) and at the Theological Seminary in New York, when he made a study of the colour question in the States.

He attracted ecclesiastical attention for his part in the Commission on Catholicity and was accepted as a foremost theological thinker.

"I have always believed that all ordinary things such as food and housing are the concern of the Church of God," and to that creed he had full opportunity of testifying in his work in bomb-shattered Liverpool. He acquired a reputation for consistent opposition to colour and race discrimination, and became Chairman of a Community centre for Coloured people, first of its kind in Britain, and appointed to assist him priests from Gambia, the Gold Coast and Burma.

His most spectacular wedding, until then, of affairs of Church and State was during the great 1945 dock strike which paralysed Liverpool and spread to every port in Britain, threatening post-war disaster. Exercising a faculty, later to be of great value, of reconciling apparent irreconcilables. Canon Reeves discussed their grievances with the strike leaders and with the employers. He lay awake all night applying his Christian principles to the problem and in the dawn a solution came to him. He got out of bed, typed out his plan and explained it to a meeting of 15,000 dockers in the Liverpool football stadium, and eventually brought the two factions to agreement.

The new Bishop made clear his view of the relationship of Church to State at his enthronement in Johannesburg in June, 1949, declaring that it was vitally important that the Church should never give the impression that it could contract out of responsibility for what happened in the world around.

It was soon apparent into what a wide range of secular subjects the Bishop believed the Church should poke its nose: he sat on committees, addressed meetings, debated and was quizzed on such diverse and vital matters as mental health, marriage guidance, juvenile delinquency, free love and nuclear disarmament. But, as he was in South Africa, naturally the main preoccupation became race relations and race laws. He spoke his views on every

piece of legislation that was discriminatory in effect or intent.

A political, but not party political, prelate, in his first charge to the Synod he deplored the South African tendency to make party issues out of every problem as "a most serious menace to our national health." Later he attacked apartheid as "one of the great and terrible heresies of the modern world."

Commenting on his new appointment, the Bishop-Elect had said: "I have never been to Africa . . . I want to get first-hand knowledge before I form any views. It is a terribly tricky subject and I feel that it is one that needs most careful handling." And, indeed, he made a very cautious start.

In the course of the Defiance Campaign, three years after his arrival, at a meeting arranged between A.N.C. representatives and a group of religious leaders, to explain the campaign's purpose and discuss what the religious communities could do about it, he gave the impression of being definitely uncommitted as regards that sort of direct action.

Soon after, however, he played a decisive part in reconciling divergent opinions in the successful organisation of the Multi-Racial Conference.

Then African leaders began to recognise in him "great qualities destined to give a dynamic leadership." This was confirmed by his positive activity in connection with the Treason Trial and by the time he formed the Bishop's Committee of 14 Organisations, in close understanding with African and other leaders, he was accepted "as an important figure, a stout believer in justice, and peace and the rights of the underdog."

His opinions are illuminated by some of his more pungent comments. On learning to live together in a shared society: "The day is rapidly passing . . . when the African people will accept a policy, however enlightened and generous it may be, which has been devised for their supposed benefit by some white group."

The management of the diocese was becoming increasingly a full time job. In the ten years of his rule it had grown tremendously and Bishop Reeves had dedicated no less than 70 new churches. Besides the added weight of work that this expansion entailed, he accomplished a phenomenal amount of political work. On some days he would go from committee to committee on the most unrelated subjects without the time of a cup of tea between. Small wonder that there should develop a tension between those who held the specific function of administrative and religious head of a great Anglican community to be paramount and others who accepted his view of an extended role, "father of his people."

ple" giving a militant spiritual lead against abuses, injustice and indignity. The old cleavage, reflecting South Africa's ambivalence, between the majority of whites in the white parishes who believed the Church's sphere is not politics, and the mass of non-whites, supported by the missionary priests, for whom politics is perforce the air they breathe, had in the decade been largely closed. There were those, however, who resented the claim on their Bishop's time of politics.

Ambrose Reeves has the rare gift of getting individuals of conflicting outlook and temperament to work effectively together. "For his outstanding ability," said an African friend, "to bring together people of divergent views, I privately called him the South African Makarios." There were often murmurs of discontent: the Bishop is too dictatorial; the Bishop likes the limelight; the Bishop is all right if he gets his own way. However, the murmurers would turn up to the next meeting and make their contributions.

As a Chairman the Bishop, however busy, has always worked on the matters to be discussed and is ready to present constructive or even disruptive suggestions to galvanise a flagging and ill-prepared committee. If an autocrat is required on some of these occasions the Bishop will fill the role: when satisfied his line is right he will be a dictator.

The climax of his Johannesburg career came with the Sharpeville disaster. With characteristically quick comprehension of the significance of the situation, he set lawyers to collect evidence from the victims. The emergency followed and the detention of the lawyers concerned. Anticipating his holiday arrangements by some weeks, the Bishop, warned of possible arrest, took the evidence with him into a temporary and self-imposed exile in Swaziland, attracting intensified criticism, in the diocese, in the Church and in the country, of his attitudes. African politicians and white detainees on the whole supported his action. "No one knew how long the emergency would last," said one, "You couldn't have everyone going to jail. He was a key figure in raising funds and the Sharpeville story had to be put across."

His subsequent return and second and imposed exile then closed the breach and largely united diocesan and Anglican opinion behind him. The Africans lament: "We need him more here than abroad." In allowing the deportation of the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Dr. Verwoerd appears to have forgotten his own maxim: "The United Party could tear its hair out because of the propaganda made for the Nationalist Party by the Scotts, Huddlestons and Collineses. We must not act too strongly against them."

On hearing, in 1949, of his appointment to Johannesburg, Ambrose Reeves is reported to have said: "I do look on this as a very great adventure." Just how great the adventure, he could not then have guessed nor where, in the next 10 years, it would lead.

THE PRICE OF GOLD (continued from page 7)

price. In such circumstances existing mines would, in the main, want to step up their rates of production. Moreover an increase in gold price would in all probability lead to the establishment of more new mines at a faster rate than might otherwise be expected, thus aggravating the labour position."

A labour shortage is sure to result in sharp initial increases in wages. This will also come about as a result of pressure from labour organisations who will demand their share of the country's increasing prosperity. These wage increases will take place in industry but are likely to be more marked in the mining industry. At the moment the mining industry pays its workers wages well below those earned in industry. With a shortage of labour the mines will have no option but to pay higher wages to attract the Union's African workers who constitute 50% of their labour force.

In a rapidly expanding South African economy there is also likely to be a great shortage of semi-skilled and skilled workers. Whilst one can expect immigrants to be attracted to South Africa in larger numbers by this economic

up-swing, it is unlikely that there will be sufficient new immigrants to meet the labour requirements.

Cracks in the Colour Bar

This being the case one can expect to see ever-widening cracks in the industrial colour bar. Whether Non-European workers are given semi-skilled and skilled work to do unofficially or whether new industrial agreements will revise their categories of skilled and unskilled work, the economic colour bar is likely to receive several hard blows. The integration of the Non-European peoples into a single economic unit will progress at an accelerated pace.

An increase in the price of gold will certainly benefit the Nationalist Government, the mine owners and industrialists of this country.

The people will share in this prosperity both on a short term and long term basis. Assuming some of the economists to be correct in that growing inflation will ultimately negate the immediate economic benefits, the Non-European peoples of this country will still benefit by the undermining of South Africa's apartheid policy.

RHODESIA'S PECULIAR POLITICS (Continued from page 12)

Europeans, including now even Mr. Todd, who resigned because the party would not support him in calling on Britain to suspend the Southern Rhodesian constitution.

African Opposition

Almost all Africans in Southern Rhodesia, now, are united in the National Democratic Party, formed in January 1960 after the banning of the S.R. ANC, and led by Joshua Nkomo. The NDP advocates universal suffrage and racial equality: unlike the ANC here, it admits Europeans and has about 70 in its ranks — yet, perhaps because its proceedings are in the vernacular, European influence in it seems slight. The CAP has some African members, though most resigned towards the end of last year with Stanlake Samkanga and Dr. Terence Ranger (a European lecturer at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland; he was honoured by a special clause in recent legislation permitting the Government to refuse citizenship to those, like himself and his wife, whose applications were pending.) The UFP has a few, too, principally useful to be given seats in Parliament and shown off to visiting delegations. Even the Dominion Party has one African MP, whose immense wealth has apparently motivated him to throw in his lot with the ruling class. I don't think the Confederate Party or the RRA would admit African members.

Most of the Argus press in Rhodesia treads an uneasy middle course, though occasionally it summons the courage to protest at a particularly drastic or stupid action of the Government.

The Central African Examiner, independent, was fervently pro-Government during the 1959 Emergency; now, under new management and with a new Editor, it generally takes the view that some day, and with every care being taken not to go too far, it may perhaps be desirable for some small concessions to be made to the Africans. For daring to be so bold, it has suffered many withdrawals of subscriptions and advertisements. Universal suffrage is advocated only by *Dissent*, a duplicated sheet put out by Dr. Terence Ranger and John Reed of the University College, and by *Tsopano* (Chinyanja for 'now', short for 'freedom now'), produced by a young Scotsman circulating in Nyasaland, where it has achieved much success and is even spoken of as 'the voice of the Malawi people'. But Nyasaland is another story — in this space, it has been impossible to mention more than a few of the complexities which obtain in Southern Rhodesia alone.

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THE CURATE'S EGG (Continued from page 5)

provides." It serves no purpose to be mealy-mouthed about this. The intention clearly is to permit private individuals to insert "Europeans only" in the title-deeds of residential property. The final proviso "unless legislation otherwise provides" is again meaningless. The right to insert restrictive clauses will be entrenched; the legislation providing otherwise will be subject to the whim of government.

The Conference made a further amendment to the Commission's formulation, making the right to hold, acquire etc. "subject to clause 1." Perhaps, for the exact import of this amendment, a con-

stitutional lawyer is required. But its intention is clear. Clause 1 lays down that "Every person shall be equal before the law" regardless of race, colour, sex, home language, religion or opinions. It proceeds to state, however, that the state or public authorities may provide separate services, such as schools, housing, hospitals, transport facilities or jails "for the exclusive use or benefit of different classes of the community", as long as fair and equal facilities are provided for all other sections of the community. It is apparent that here, at least, the drafters visualise separate services — though equal — on a racial basis. To underline this thought, and to explain their "subject to clause 1" amendment, the conference added in the words "residential areas" to the list of services which be differentiated on a racial basis.

"In the Interests of the State"

There are some fair-sounding proposals in the Bill of Rights which are nevertheless thoroughly objectionable and unacceptable when looked at in the light of South African circumstances. There is for example, a provision that everyone has the right of personal liberty except in the case of "lawful arrest and detention for the purpose of deportation . . . under the law relating to immigration, aliens or extradition."

There is a provision that everyone shall have the right of free speech, peaceful assembly and freedom of association "subject to such reasonable restrictions as are prescribed by law and are reasonably justified in a democratic society in the interests of State security and public order."

Doubtless constitution writers and law-makers in any situation would reserve certain such powers as these. But the Commission is at pains to explain that "we do not regard it as our function to draft portion of a model constitution, but merely to indicate with reasonable precision the nature of the rights and

freedoms that we recommend for constitutional protection." In South African circumstances, the "rights and freedoms" of the state require no constitutional protection; they have in fact become so vast that a Bill of Rights is required to protect the individual citizen against the state. To then include provision for the State to have entrenched rights of maintaining "security and public order" or of "arrest and detention for purposes of deportation" is objectionable. On the one hand it raises the suspicion that somewhere, at the back of their minds, the drafters wish to maintain some of the 'above-the-law' trappings of the present state; on the other, it distorts the purpose of the Bill of Rights, which is to protect the individual from the despotism of the present state.

Back-Pedalling at Conference

It should be noted again that the Conference went further to the right than the Commission. Before the words "Everyone has the right to personal liberty . . ." the Conference added in the sinister-sounding phrase: "Save in a state of war and insurrection."

It drifted the same way in the matter of education. Here the Commission recommended free, compulsory education for all children for at least eight years, and added that "schools may be established . . . for children of any specified class designated with reference to race, colour or sex." It provided, however, that if there is no school within reasonable distance of a child's home established for the particular class to which that child belongs, the child shall be admitted to any other suitably situated school irrespective of its class character. Conference deleted the last proviso.

It also deleted from the Bill of Rights the proviso that "Every person has the right to marry any other person" subject only to the common law. On this clause, the Commission had correctly contended that "In South Africa the presence on the statute book of the Mixed Marriages Act indicates the necessity for its inclusion." Conference seemingly was unimpressed.

The Bill of Rights that came in final form from the Progressive Party Conference, therefore, is a somewhat worse document than the original recommended by the Molteno Commission. But even the original was not good enough. It is a start towards the precise formulation of rights necessary in a democratic South Africa, but not the final word. There is room for much rethinking, room for radical improvement, room to bring its concept fully into line with democratic ideas and to rescue them from the muddying remnants of South African racialism which still cling to them.

Until that is done, the Bill of Rights remains something like the curate's egg — good in parts; but rotten in others.

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