

FIGHTING

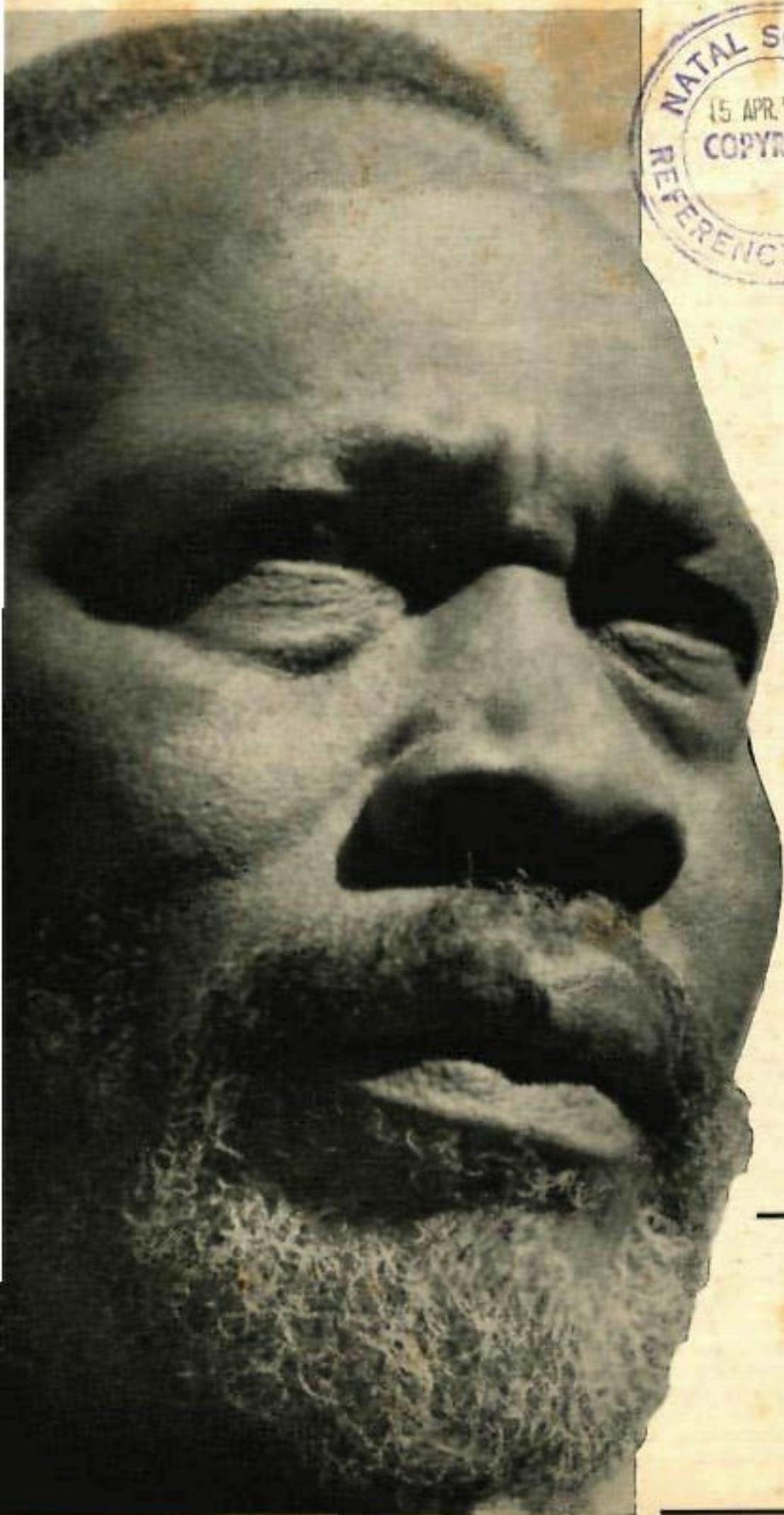
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TALK



NELSON MANDELA
ON THE
PIETERMARITZBURG
ALL-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

OUT OF THE COMMONWEALTH

'The Mantle of Nonquase'



FIVE YEARS OF BANTU EDUCATION



LEWIS NKOSI
on
APARTHEID

KENYATTA OF KENYA

PAGES 8-10.

FIGHTING TALK

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PAGE TWO

SOUTH AFRICA

'No Constitution or Form of Government Decided Without the participation of the African people — who form an absolute majority of the population — can enjoy moral validity or merit support either within South Africa or beyond its borders.'

The Full Text of the Resolution of the Pietermaritzburg All-In African Conference, held on March 26 & 27, 1961

A grave situation confronts the people of South Africa. The Nationalist Government, after holding a fraudulent referendum among only one-fifth of the population has decided to proclaim a White Republic on May 31, and the all-white Parliament is presently discussing a Constitution.

It is clear that to the great disadvantage of the majority of our people such a Republic will continue even more intensively the policies of racial oppression, political persecution and exploitation, and the terrorisation of the Non-White people which have already earned South Africa the righteous condemnation of the entire world.

In this situation it is imperative that all the African people of this country irrespective of their political, religious or other affiliations should unite to speak and act with a single voice.

For this purpose, we have gathered here at this solemn ALL-IN CONFERENCE, and on behalf of the entire African nation and with a due sense of the historic responsibility which rests on us,

1. WE DECLARE

That no Constitution or form of Government decided without the participation of the African people who form an absolute majority of the population can enjoy moral validity or merit support either within South Africa or beyond its borders.

2. WE DEMAND

That a NATIONAL CONVENTION of elected representatives of all adult men and women on an equal basis irrespective of race, colour, creed or other limitation be called by the Union Government not later than May 31, 1961; that the Convention shall have sovereign powers to determine, in any way the majority of the representatives decide, a new non-racial democratic Constitution for South Africa.

3. WE RESOLVE

That should the minority Government ignore this demand of the representatives of the united will of the African people

a) We undertake to stage country-wide demonstrations on the eve of the proclamation of the Republic in protest against this undemocratic act.

b) We call on all Africans not to co-operate or collaborate in any way with the proposed South African Republic or any other form of Government which rests on force to perpetrate the tyranny of a minority; and to organise in town and country to carry out constant actions to oppose oppression and win FREEDOM.

c) We call on the Indian and Coloured communities and on all democratic Europeans to join forces with us in opposition to a regime which is bringing disaster to South Africa and to win a Society in which all can enjoy FREEDOM and SECURITY.

d) We call on democratic people the world over to refrain from any co-operation or dealings with the South African Government, to impose economic and other sanctions against this country and to isolate in every possible way the minority Government whose continued disregard of all human rights and freedoms constitutes a threat to world peace.

4. WE FURTHER DECIDE

That in order to implement the above decisions, Conference

a) elects a National Action Council;

b) instructs all delegates to return to their respective areas and form local Action Committees.

FIGHTING TALK, APRIL, 1961.

The Struggle For A National Convention

"I am attending this conference as delegate from my village. I was elected at a secret meeting held in the bushes far away from our kraals simply because in our village it is now a crime for us to hold meetings. I have listened most carefully to speeches made here and they have given me strength and courage. I now realise that we are not alone. But I am troubled by my experiences during the past weeks. In the course of our struggle against the system of Bantu Authorities, we heard many fighting speeches delivered by men we trusted most, but when the hour of decision came they did not have the courage of their convictions. They deserted us and we felt lonely and without friends. But I will go away from here refreshed and full of confidence. We must win in the end."

These words were said at the All-In African Conference held at Pietermaritzburg on the 25th and 26th of last month. The man who said them came from a country area where the people are waging a consistent struggle against Bantu Authorities. He wore riding breeches, a khaki shirt, an old jacket and came to conference bare-footed. But his words held fire and dignity and his remarks, like those of other speakers, indicated that this conference was no talking shop for persons who merely wanted to let off steam, but a solemn gathering which appreciated the grave decisions it was called upon to take.

The theme of conference was African unity and the calling, by the Government, of a National Convention of elected representatives of all adult men and women, on an equal basis, irrespective of race, colour or creed, with full powers to determine a new democratic constitution for South Africa.

Conference resolved that if the Government failed to call this convention by May 31, countrywide demonstrations would be held on the eve of the Republic in protest against this undemocratic act.

The adoption of this part of the resolution did not mean that conference preferred a monarchy to a Republican form of government. Such considerations were unimportant and irrelevant. The point at issue, and which was emphasised over and over again by delegates, was that a minority Government had decided to proclaim a White Republic under which the living conditions of the African people would continue to deteriorate.

Conference further resolved that, in the event of the Government failing to

accede to this demand, all Africans would be called upon not to co-operate with the proposed republic. All sections of our population would be asked to unite with us in opposing the Nationalists.

The resolution went further and called upon democratic people the world over to impose economic and other sanctions against the Government. A National Action Council was elected to implement the above decisions.

Three other resolutions were passed in which the arrest of members of the Continuation Committee was strongly condemned; and in which Conference called for the lifting of the ban imposed on the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress. The system of Bantu Authorities was attacked as a measure forcibly imposed by the Government in spite of the unanimous opposition of the entire African nation.

These resolutions were adopted unanimously by more than 1,500 delegates, from town and country, representing 150 political, religious, sporting and cultural organisations.

Members of the Liberal Party, the Inter-denominational African Ministers' Federation, the Eastwood Advisory Board, the Zenzele Club, and of scores of other organisations from all over the country, spoke with one voice and jointly faced the political challenge thrown out by the Nationalist Government.

For 13 hours they earnestly and calmly considered the grave political situation that has arisen in South Africa as a result of the disastrous policies of the present regime.

Now and again, discussions were interrupted by stirring tunes sung with intense feeling and tremendous enthusiasm by the entire conference. The favourite song was "Amandhla Ngawethu" composed by the freedom fighters of Port Elizabeth during the recent bus boycott in that city.

The gathering was a moving demonstration of comradeship and solidarity and was acclaimed by the South African press as an outstanding success.

This success becomes even more striking when we consider the confusion and uncertainty created by the resignation of members of certain political organisations, the arrest of almost all the members of the Continuation Committee, the fear that the Conference might be banned and the way in which the ban was reimposed on the A.N.C. and the P.A.C.

The main resolution showed that delegates visualised much more than a token demonstration on certain specified dates.

Discussion revealed that people contemplated a stubborn and prolonged struggle, involving masses of the people from town and country, and taking different forms in accordance with local conditions, beginning before May 31 and which would continue unabated until democratic reforms are instituted.

Delegates fully appreciated that the above decisions were not directed against any other population group in the country. They were aimed at a form of government based on brute force and condemned the world over as inhuman and dangerous. It was precisely because of this fact that Conference called on the Coloured and Indian people and on all European democrats to join forces with us.

It will indeed be very tragic if, in the momentous days that lie ahead white South Africa will falter and adopt a course of action which will prevent the successful implementation of the resolutions of conference.

In the past we have been astonished by the reaction of certain political parties and "philanthropic" associations which proclaimed themselves to be anti-apartheid but which, nevertheless, consistently opposed positive action taken by the oppressed people to defeat this same policy. Objectively, such an attitude can only serve to defend white domination and to strengthen the Nationalist Party. It also serves to weaken the impact of liberal views amongst European democrats and lays them open to the charge of being hypocritical.

All the democratic forces in this country must join in a programme of democratic changes. If they are not prepared to come along with us, they can at least be neutral and leave this Government isolated and without friends.

Finally, however successful the conference was from the point of view of attendance and the fiery nature of the speeches made, these militant resolutions will remain useless and ineffective unless we translate them into practice.

If we form local action committees in our respective areas, popularise the decisions through vigorous and systematic house to house campaigns, we will inspire and arouse the country to implement the resolutions and to hasten the fall of the Nationalist Government within our life time.

S.A.'s Break with the Commonwealth

"The mantle of Umlanjeni now descended upon a young girl called Nonquase, and her uncle Umhlakaza, who began to dream dreams and to see visions of revenge. In the course of this year, inspired by these two national enthusiasts, the leading tribes 'went into training', killing their cattle freely, and squandering their stores of grain, to eat and make themselves strong against a day in February 1857 — a Great Day of the Lord — when grain was to spout, cattle were to spring out of the ground, and warriors to come back from the dead; then, with the help of a 'great hurricane', they were to sweep the white man into the sea. The Day came and the sun went down as usual; but 'when the chiefs called upon their warriors, they were answered by the wail of a starving people.' This was nearly the end. The Amaxosa were now a humbled and decimated people."

W. H. Macmillan. "Bantu, Boer and Briton."

THE MANTLE OF NONQUASE

There has been something sinister and spine-chilling about the atmosphere in South Africa since Dr. Verwoerd's return from London. It is hard to put a finger on it; outwardly everything has gone on much as normal — the same inconsequential Tweedledum-Tweedledee debates in Parliament, the same parrot-wise newspaper editorial about 'national unity', the same platitudes about the record-breaking achievements of the Rand Easter Show. But beneath the surface, something has changed. Irrationality, hysteria and a flight from reality have been a constant undertone in White — and especially Nationalist — South Africa. Now, for the first time since the days of Nonquase, they have come to the top.

Mafeking Night

In a sane country, South Africa's break with the Commonwealth would have been an occasion for sobriety if not for gloom. Here it had all the crazed recklessness of Mafeking Night.

The government had precipitated the country into the great unknown. Would our export trade survive? Would the springs of mining capital dry up at their source? Could we still count on a few friends or even a few abstainers in the rising hostility of the world forum at Lake Success? Are we stripped of our defence treaties? Have we seen the last of our cricket and rugby internationals?

No one knew; no one cared. The prophet was coming home! This was all that was important. White South Africa prepared to meet him like a modern Caesar — a triumph with massed brass bands, an imperial salute of twenty-one guns, an air-borne escort and a rejoicing mob. For a week, there was no news fit to broadcast, save the news that "The prophet is coming! Let the people rejoice!"

Into this mad edifice, Dr. Verwoerd fitted like a cornerstone. He had gone on a mission to keep South Africa in the Commonwealth; he had failed. He

had spent untold hours trying to sell apartheid as the epitome of justice and liberty in South African conditions; he had failed. A crowd of fifty-thousand hysterical, vierkleur-waving citizens, assembled from all over the country by the efforts of the entire Nationalist Party machine and the S.A.B.C., cheered his 'victory.'

Fresh from the most disastrous diplomatic essay in South African history, the prophet stepped off the plane to proclaim his own "triumph!" The mob cheered. He foretold the collapse of the Commonwealth, now that he was no longer with it. The mob cheered.

Isanity Spreads

The atmosphere of insanity and hysteria spread. The S.A.B.C. described this most carefully prepared and organised assembly to be "spontaneous." In Cape Town, students of Stellenbosch University paraded with placards: 'Verwoerd is our leader. We follow where he leads!' In Johannesburg, Pretoria University students joined a Black Sash protest procession, with slogans like 'Support Black Sash for a Black Country.'

In Parliament, an Opposition attempt to discuss the break with the Commonwealth as a matter of urgency was quietly quashed by the Speaker; the only urgent matter, it seemed, was to hear the prepared speech of the prophet, three days later.

If sanity survived anywhere amongst White South Africans, it was difficult to note amidst the irrational ravings.

The Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr. F. H. Odendaal, set the new Nationalist Party line in education; since South Africa had been forced out of the Commonwealth, it was important, he said, that university teachings ". . . should be tested against their practical application in a multi-racial country, and those that threatened the survival of the white race should be discarded."

In religion, the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk branded opposition to

church apartheid as heresy, and followed the prophet into the wilderness of international isolation by breaking with the World Council of Churches, which some described — the worst possible swearwords in the bigoted clerical vocabulary — as 'the spiritual wing of U.N.', and others as the spokesmen of 'the so-called oppressed Afro-Asian nations.'

The Federal Council of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk declared "emphatically that the policy of differentiation is based on the Scriptures", and added, somewhat contradictorily, that is "the only realistic solution of race relations in our country." To this, it added its special piece of irrationality: "This Conference wishes . . . to profess its belief in the . . . unity of the faithful, with the firm conviction, however, that integration in the Church in our country is not a demonstration of this, but will rather harm than promote this unity."

It too followed the prophet into isolation; the Federal Council has recommended that its Cape and Transvaal synods withdraw from the World Council of Churches.

Power-Drunk

The madness seemed contagious. Nationalist fellow-traveller Daan Ellis, secretary of the Mine Workers' Union, refused a R1,000 challenge to hold a miners' meeting on the war West Rand. "If they really want me there" he said, "they must increase their challenge to R4,000. A lion does not accept a challenge from a mouse."

On the Johannesburg City Hall steps, after a Black Sash meeting, gangs of White youths attacked Africans — presumably as a demonstration of support for the prophet.

For two days — the days of the Sharpeville anniversary, meetings throughout the country were banned without proclamation or public announcement; only a single Nationalist newspaper received the notice before the

ban became effective; Mr. Erasmus blandly told Parliament that "The legal requirements in connection with publication were complied with."

In Parliament, Dr. Diedrichs, Minister of Economic Affairs, announced that exporters suffering loss as a result of the break with the Commonwealth would be compensated. For how long? At what cost? Nobody knew. Nobody cared.

Nationalism was having its Mafeking Night, drunk with its own self-importance and its own power.

Reckless; uncontrolled; secure in the shadow of the great prophet, whose last statement as he left London in defeat was typically arrogant, typically certain of the divinity of his role. "Our opponents who wanted us out of the Commonwealth have won their wish, but lost their cause. . . The present government will still remain in power, with me as Prime Minister."

Only in South Africa was there applause, cheers from the clique. Even the Opposition took up the mood of the moment. Withdrawal from the Commonwealth, it was said endlessly, was 'the only honourable path', the 'course of honour.'

The same has been said of the clubman who resigns when caught cheating at cards; of the gentleman officer who welters on his debts, and shoots himself.

In the atmosphere of hysteria, no one seemed to notice that it had never before been said of a Prime Minister; that it had never been said of anyone except a petty cheat or a minor unconvicted criminal. No one cared. White South Africa was too busy "dreaming dreams and seeing visions of revenge".

Visions of Verwoerd

Dr. Verwoerd saw the clearest visions. He foresaw the 'eventual disintegration of the Commonwealth itself'; he dreamed the dream of the disappearance of the White man from Kenya and of the collapse of the Central African Federation — not as the working out of history, and the rise of the African to reclaim his own, but as an apocalyptic stroke of judgement against those who had gainsaid Verwoerd, the prophet. He dreamed the dream of the great hurricane that would sweep his opponents into the sea. He saw the vision of 'The Day': "Our flag flies proudly and freely at the masthead, and under it there will be justice for all." 'The Day' when the Non-White South Africans would consider the government to be the guardian of their rights: 'Let them therefore not look elsewhere for guidance and security.'

This, as the story has it, was nearly the end.

But not quite. The end was Sir de Villiers Graaff. He too dreamed dreams. "I can see a central government in the future which has, perhaps, (!) conceded certain rights to the Black areas . . . I can see a federation in which the various groups can live together in harmony . . . and show that it is possible

for people of different races to live together in peace within the structure of one state."

Was this the note of sanity which the country so badly needed, the first glimmer that somewhere in White South Africa there were men who understood that the days of Verwoerdism are nearly at an end? Read further.

"To achieve these things there would have to be a great measure of co-operation between the two European sections . . . I appeal to the more reasonable supporters of the Nationalist Party to come together to find a common policy."

Visions. Like the cattle springing from the ground, and the warriors coming back from the dead. If ever there were 'more reasonable' Nationalists, they are gone, drowned out in the hysterical frenzy of the worship of the prophet.

Co-operation between the two White sections is now only possible on the terms set by the prophet — on the terms rejected by the Commonwealth Premiers: White supremacy, black suppression; isolation from the world externally, civil strife and civil war internally.

A momentary glimmer of sanity in this atmosphere of lunacy came from Dr. A. J. van der Merwe, chairman of the Federal Council of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk. "The truth is that Afrikanership actually has no moral value which — and I say it with all reverence — places God under any obligation towards our people."

That such things need be said — and to the Federal Council of one of the church pillars of the state — is the measure of the lunacy that is abroad in South Africa. The glimmer was rapidly extinguished by the rest of his speech: "World opinion . . . could justifiably be said to be saturated with an almost pathological partiality for the Black man in Africa." ". . . The over-hasty and unavailing granting of self-determination rights to the Congo and possibly other Black states, will stand convicted in the judgement of the future as one of the greatest stupidities — if not crimes — ever committed against humanity . . ."

Nevertheless, in the atmosphere of hysteria, there was a sentence, a single sentence of heresy. 'God is not under any obligation to our people.' If not heresy to the Scriptures, then certainly heresy to the prevailing atmosphere in White South Africa.

There is a stink of Nuremburg about South Africa, wrote a German correspondent at the time of Verwoerd's return.

A Last Prop Goes

'It is like the eve of coup d'etat' said another commentator. They were both right; and yet both wrong.

White South Africa does not live in a vacuum; it lives — outnumbered five to one — in a Non-White country.

The Non-White majority was neither shaken by Verwoerd's withdrawal under pressure, nor impressed by the hysteria and irrationality of his followers. Per-

haps better than any people anywhere, they understood what had happened.

One of the last props had been kicked out from under the South African regime. Its final collapse is that much easier, that much more certain.

There had been a spectre at the Premier's Conference; it was with this spectre that Verwoerd fought, for the allegiance of the Commonwealth's premiers. The spectre was the South African United Front, Messrs. Oliver Tambo and Yusuf M. Dadoo, the spokesmen of South Africa's Non-White majority abroad. The Premiers stood with the United Front against Verwoerd. Perhaps they understood that the day is not far away when the chair will be filled not by Verwoerd but by his real opposition, men of the United Front. If the thought did not cross their minds as they kicked a prop away from under his chair, it was never far from the minds of Non-White South Africans.

For them, a victory of substance had been scored. They have gone on from there, calmly, confidently to kick away the next prop, and to challenge the whole foundations of the Verwoerd Republic which is to be inaugurated in May. To this end, the All-African Conference in Maritzburg was a first step; the resolution taken there for massive action against the government another. Here — only here — has there been confidence in the future, sobriety, consideration. For theirs is the future, and they know it now more clearly than before.

On the side of White South Africa, there is panic, and a presentiment of doom. But reality cannot be faced now any more than it could yesterday, when already all the writing was on the wall. They are expending themselves in an orgy of irrationality, of hysterical casting about for divine intervention. In the midst of the panic, only one man pretends to know exactly where he is going, exactly what he is doing, and exactly how it will end.

Hendrik Verwoerd, with the mantle of Nonquase sitting uneasily on his shoulders, leading a people forth to their own self-destruction in answer to the dreams and the visions he sees, and the voices which he hears.

History, as Karl Marx pointed out, repeats itself; first as tragedy; then as farce.

L. BERNSTEIN.

**BRIGHTER
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ALEXANDRA TOWNSHIP

Apartheid: A Daily Exercise in the Absurd

by
LEWIS NKOSI
now in America

For a black man to live in South Africa in the second half of the twentieth century and at the same time preserve his sanity, requires an enormous sense of humour and a surrealist kind of brutal wit, for without a suicidal attack on Dr. Verwoerd's armed forces, these qualities seem to provide the only means of defence against a spiritual chaos and confusion which would rob any man of his mental health.

No newspaper report about a shooting in Sharpeville could ever convey significantly the deep sense of entrapment that the black people experience under apartheid rule. It is difficult to imagine a mode of expression that would adequately describe this sense of malaise. At best an account of what a black man goes through in his daily life sounds like an exaggerated Kafka novel.

I say this advisedly because the total effect of the apartheid laws in South Africa is to make it almost illegal to live.

Before you are through reading about what the black is not allowed to do you begin to wonder if there is anything he is permitted to do. That the blacks have been able to endure under apartheid is a measure of human ingenuity almost difficult to describe or understand. It seems that the blacks do have the required humour and wit — almost too much of it!

Sitting down to write this, I have been considering the millions of words that have been written on South Africa. You would think that the South African government should have been written to death by now. It has not been. So I am wondering if this is worth it: how does one begin to write about apartheid in a way that would be meaningful to people who have not experienced it? I don't know.

So instead of writing a political essay I thought I would simply set down some of the experiences that I and my contemporaries have been through in South Africa. I don't think there is any need to strive for effect; the situation is surrealistic enough as it is.

One Saturday afternoon, after filing my last story for my paper, I and two friends decided to drive to Pretoria, the administrative capital of South Africa which lies some miles north of Johannesburg. We were visiting a German couple whom we know. Our European friends had recently arrived in the country and were refusing to conform to social apartheid.

We left Johannesburg at two and arrived in Pretoria shortly after three. We stayed until 9 o'clock in the evening, then decided it was time to drive

back to Johannesburg. No African is allowed out in the streets after eleven o'clock in South Africa. It's curfew hour. On our way out of the apartment a white policeman and two black ones were lying in wait for us. Not knowing what the matter was but being accustomed to the vagaries of the South African police we offered little protest when we were hustled to a ramshackle of a police station around the corner.

In the charge office the air was foul with swearing and hatred as prisoners poured in. A burly police man with a thick neck demanded to see our 'passes.' All Africans are required by law to carry documents bearing witness that they do live and work somewhere; these prove that they have paid the annual tax, and also show the monthly signature of the employer. The police officer flipped through our books and finding nothing amiss seemed a bit irritated.

Presently he grabbed a telephone and called up a prosecutor whom he briefly informed that he had arrested some Johannesburg 'kaffirs' in a building where blacks were excluded. "What can I charge them with?" he casually enquired. My first reaction was to giggle. Even Kafka couldn't have bettered that one. This conversation continued for a while, and our host kept nodding his head; then, suddenly, he slammed down the receiver and equired dramatically: "All right, where are your permits to enter the city of Pretoria?"

The whole thing was no longer funny. We tried as best we could to explain that the law required Africans to obtain permits only if they intended to remain away from home for more than three days. Our host became agitated and denied we had been in Pretoria for more than three days. All explanations proved futile. The indictment was written out and we subsequently appeared before a local Native Commissioner on charges of remaining in Pretoria for more than three days without a permit.

At my own trial I brought a staff colleague to testify that he had seen me in the newspaper office on the morning of the day on which we were arrested, and that I couldn't have been in Pretoria for more than three days. The Commissioner listened patiently to the story and then found me guilty anyway and fined me. The man who had driven me to Pretoria in his car appeared before a different

Commissioner who decided we were not in Pretoria for more than three days and so my friend was found not guilty. In South Africa 'to be or not to be in Pretoria' is the sort of question that can drive a man to insanity unless, of course, he has a sense of humour.

What intrigued me most about the incident was that in South Africa any overzealous policeman can arrest an African and take him down to the station house without the vaguest idea what charges to prefer against him. If he is diligent enough he can later find something with which to charge him. There are a hundred and one laws in the country controlling the lives of black people, and at any particular time there is a fat chance that one of them is being broken.

In Johannesburg alone hundreds of Africans are rounded up every year for committing minor offences like the failure to produce a "pass" on demand by an accredited officer of the law. If you leave your passbook in your jacket in the office and cross a street to buy a cold drink you run the risk of being shanghaied to jail without any means of communicating with those outside. The result may be imprisonment for a period of up to six months.

In South Africa prisoners provide an inexhaustible supply of cheap labour for white farmers. They come to Johannesburg for truckloads almost every week. There is no immediate threat that the jails may be so overcrowded that they wouldn't know what to do with prisoners.

In these farms the treatment is often so brutal that deaths have resulted from severe beatings. Slave conditions of a medieval nature largely prevail.

One could go on, of course, recounting the morbid aspects of apartheid, but it all sounds so hopelessly melodramatic that the total effect is to undermine people's credulity. Sometimes, people wonder after reading about these conditions how the Africans are able to survive at all.

One Englishman who attended a first night of a Johannesburg opera was surprised to find well-dressed Africans who looked reasonably happy, mingling with the white audience. From that he concluded that the stories he had read about South Africa were grossly exaggerated.

To my own mind that was the highest tribute anybody could pay to the indestructibility of the human spirit, the ability to absorb hurt and injury and still maintain a semblance of human dignity.

For us in South Africa, the lines
(Continued on page 16)

'A Tree Trunk is Not a Crocodile'

Interview with an Angolan Nationalist

(with acknowledgements to 'Africa Weekly')

This interview is with ALVARO HOLDEN ROBERTO, born in the town of San Salvador in the northern province of Angola.

Roberto received his secondary school education in the Congo and he worked in the finance department of the Belgian administration in Leopoldville, then Stanleyville, then Bukavu.

Q: What made you enter politics?

A: I had to make four trips into Angola, and I noticed the difference between the living conditions in the Congo and in Angola. I realised that this injustice should not exist, and that I must work to ameliorate this state of affairs in my country.

Q: What action did you take?

A: First of all I travelled to all parts of Angola. I saw privation, forced labour. When I was living in Angola before, I was young and had no basis for comparison. After the second world war, conditions in the Congo began to change, but Angola remained in the same stagnation as before. This stagnation struck me very forcibly. I could not see this injustice continue.

Q: To what political party do you belong?

A: Our movement was founded in 1954. We were a group of seven persons who began it. We are all still alive and in action. For security reasons I will not mention their names because some of them are living inside Angola. Our movement is called the Union of Populations of Angola — U.P.A. We called it the Union of Populations to show that it was not a tribal movement, but that it was founded on a national scale. All the persons involved in its foundation came from different ethnic groups.

Q: When did the Portuguese learn of its existence?

A: They knew of it straight away, but tried not to show their emotions. In 1956 they arrested several militants — who are still in exile today. Our movement was the first nationalist movement in Angola. Our aim is — Independence. In my language they call it "Kimpanza". We are completely opposed to integration with Portugal.

The people of Angola and the people of Portugal are two completely different peoples — ethnically, linguistically, culturally, historically. Consequently to wish to consider the two peoples as one is, as they say in a proverb in my language, to call a tree trunk a crocodile. Relations between Angola and Portugal must be those between independent sovereign states.

Q: When did you leave Angola and the Congo?

A: In 1958. I left on September 12 in order to make our case known on the international level. I think that I can say without exaggeration that this aim has been realised. When I left I travelled through the Cameroons and Nigeria, to Accra, where I participated in the First All African Peoples' Conference. Then I travelled to the United States, where at the 14th U.N. General Assembly I established contact with the Afro-Asian states. My visit was then, however, clandestine, as if it had been public reprisals might have been taken against my family.

Q: What did you do after the 14th session?

A: I travelled to Tunis to attend the Second All African Peoples' Conference, where I was elected to the Steering Committee, which meets twice a year to consider African questions. Then I travelled to Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria, Togo — not to speak of England, France, Switzerland, and Italy — before going to Ethiopia as a petitioner to the Second Conference of Independent African States.

Q: What progress has been made this year?

A: I would simply like to say that the work which was begun here in 1959 has born fruit. This year, in contrast to last year, many voices were raised about the Portuguese colonies. Take the African states, for example. This year all African voices without a single exception were raised on this question—that is to say, all 24 African states. They all spoke in the Fourth Committee to make common cause with the Asian bloc. To these powerful voices were added those of Latin America. In the light of all the information that was given to them concerning the Portuguese colonies, certain European countries who formerly showed solidar-

ity with Portugal were confronted with a question of conscience. Therefore they could not avoid voting against Portugal, and Portugal found herself more than ever isolated.

Q: Where is the headquarters of the U.P.A.?

A: It is in Leopoldville. That is because of the lack of liberty in Angola. But as soon as it becomes possible we shall transfer our offices to Angola. I may add that we have a publication "The Voice of the Angolan Nation" which has a monthly circulation of 20,000 copies.

Q: What books, or ideas, have formed you intellectually?

A: I have read a good many books —including, for example, Nkrumah, Azikiwe, Nehru, and other leading writers of our times. I might also say that I was also most impressed by a manuscript that was written by my grandfather. The story is this: when the Protestant missionaries first came to Angola, he was one of the first people with whom they were in contact. He co-operated closely with them, and helped them with the translation of the Bible. He also played a leading part in combating witchcraft and domestic slavery — perhaps because he was once sold as a slave himself. He personally wrote a manuscript against the slavery practised by the Portuguese, and he wanted the missionaries to publish it. But they were afraid to do so lest it compromise their position in the country. I possess this manuscript. He was imprisoned for nationalist activities for a year. He was chained during that time with his hands and his feet tightly bound together, and was forced to eat as best he could. Nor could he see the light of day, as they were locked in a house. That was from 1914 to 1915. In reading his manuscript I have been most impressed by the tenacity with which he carried on his fight for his ideas.

Q: What is the membership of the U.P.A.?

A: Membership is already over the 40,000 mark, and day by day our numbers increase. I am taking into account, of course, those Angolans who are now living in the Congo. The U.P.A. is at the moment the principal nationalist party, and the best organised.

JOMO KENYATTA OF KENYA

PROFILE
by
NORMAN LEVY

For nearly four decades Jomo Kenyatta has conquered Kenya as surely as his enemies have tried to destroy him. Banished, jailed, isolated, outlawed from Kenyan political life, he continues to tower over the Kenya scene. As long as Kenyatta is incarcerated or exiled his people cannot feel — or be — genuinely free.

Kenyatta is the one man with the power and the prestige to lead the new Kenya; to bridge the difference between the parties; recognised by all sides as the one man to take Kenya out of its present impasse.

Yet he remains in exile, banned from taking any part in Kenya's recent elections for the new Legislative Council under the new constitution which will for the first time give the Africans political control of the Legislative Council as well as of the Council of Ministers.

KANU and KADU (the Kenya African National Union led by Tom Mboya and James Gichuru and the Kenya African Democratic Union led by Ronald Ngala) have their differences, too largely personal — but on the issue of the release and leadership of Jomo Kenyatta they speak with one voice.

Both KANU, victorious in the Lancaster House constitution elections, and KADU with whom it must share the prospect of combining to operate the African majority in the legislature, have said they will not work the Constitution until Kenyatta is released. So far both groups continue to honour the pledge, and to demand close consultation with Jomo Kenyatta, now transferred from faraway in the desert prison of Lokitung to within a few hundred miles of Nairobi.

Both KANU and KADU live and function in the shadow of Kenyatta. Essential for unity is the immediate release of Kenyatta. The new constitution and the new government will be a mockery without him.

Still the Governor refuses to release Kenyatta from exile. His May 1960 statement said: 'I have no evidence that Jomo Kenyatta will help Kenya . . . I have much evidence to the contrary. I have very carefully studied his life and modes of thought and speech and action. My concern is security, and from the security point of view Kenyatta's return to political life in Kenya at the present time would be a disaster.'

A Disaster?

Disastrous for White Settler rule? A threat to the security of the stolen land



Seen at Lodway: Standing in centre Jomo Kenyatta and fellow detainee Paul Ngei standing on left, with Jeremiah Nyagah of the Kenya African National Union and Oginda Odinga of KADU. This picture was taken when Kenyatta's voice was recorded for the Cairo Conference.

holdings in the White highlands? A threat to the advance of the new Kenya in the sense that the African people, united and strong, will set the pace for progress, and take the initiative out of the hands of the Colonial Office?

For these were the challenges that Kenyatta's leadership of the African people first threw down, and the period of his leadership brought to a head the bitter tussle over land, votes and rights that culminated in savage official suppression of the African political movement and then suddenly, the Mau Mau episode.

Who is this Kenyatta?

In 1952 at the time of his trial for managing the Mau Mau Kenyatta gave his age as about fifty.

As a boy he passed through the sieve of Kikuyu folk lore. His grandfather was a seer and a magician, and in travelling about with him and carrying his bag of equipment Kenyatta says he served a kind of apprenticeship in the principles of the art. He participated as an Elder in the Councils of his people; as a member of the warrior class, learnt Kikuyu methods of warfare; as general secretary of the Kikuyu Central Association he started and edited the first Kikuyu journal 'Muigwithania' in 1928-1930.

His knowledge of Kikuyu life he later disciplined, as a student at the London School of Economics, into his anthropological study 'LIFE ON MOUNT KEN-

YA.' He never lost his deep roots among his people, his respect for tribal tradition; and he generated a nationalism dedicated "to the dispossessed youth of Africa: for perpetuation of communion with ancestral spirits through the fight for African freedom."

The land question dominated Kenyatta's life as it has done Kenya.

Kenyatta's country, like the neighbouring territories of eastern, central and southern Africa, and unlike the countries of the West coast of Africa, is dominated by White settler interests. By Order-in-Council the Kenyan highlands, the traditional lands of the Kikuyu, were reserved for White use.

Over 16,000 square miles — 24 per cent of the land, the most fertile — and the traditional lands of the Kikuyu — were alienated for occupation by the White minority; and 50,000 square miles of the poorest countryside reserved for the five and a half million Africans.

Before the first World War there was no recognised political movement among Kenyan Africans. Their spokesmen were the chiefs. Angered by the robbery of their land, they placed their demands before impotent officials and returned with smooth promises of reform. When they became belligerent they were sacked and replaced by chiefs who were in effect paid servants of the Government.

After the War of 1918 the East African Association was formed. The new body represented the people's grievances in an organised constructive way, challenging the illegal actions of the offi-

cials. The settlers became alarmed and tried to enlist the sympathies of the chiefs against the organisation. This only served to spread its popularity. In desperation, the authorities took official action and arrested the chairman of the Association, Harry Thuku.

This led to the first general strike in the history of Kenya.

Kenyatta was no more than a sympathiser — he had not yet seriously entered politics — but wrote of this episode that it seemed that the whole African population had gathered spontaneously outside police headquarters, at Nairobi, to demand the release of their leader.

The people prayed, displayed white flags according to their religious denominations. But the strain on the nerves of the police was too strong and suddenly they opened fire. The dead and the wounded lay scattered, Sharpeville fashion, around the streets of Nairobi. Meetings were banned; the chairman and two of his relatives were deported. The authorities declared the East African Association illegal and paralysed its leaders. But the idea of the Union had caught on. The Association was driven underground but continued its work of protest and agitation.

A commission was promised to investigate the allocation of land in Kenya.

The banning of the East African Association was followed by the formation of the Kikuyu Central Association. Kenyatta was working as a meter reader for the Nairobi Municipality when he presented a Memorandum on behalf of the Association to the Hilton Young Commission. It demanded that the land be left in the hands of the Kikuyu. For the first time African demands included proposals for participating in the administration.

The report of the Hilton Young Commission was made in 1929. On the strength of its findings the Labour Party Government, newly in office prepared a document stating that "not another inch of ground should be taken from the Africans."

Two years later prospectors were allowed to dig for gold: the government tore up its pledge and deprived the Kavirondo of a large slice of their territory.

Kenyatta promptly replied to the British Government.

"It must be stated that in view of the incidents of the past not much trust can be placed upon solemn pledges and sacred undertakings on the part of the British Government. The principle of the declared trusteeship of the Natives is a mockery."

The KCA asked Kenyatta to represent it in England and he appeared before the Joint Committee on the closer Union of East Africa in 1931-32; gave evidence in London before the Morris Carter Kenya Land Commission.

"Kenya can be described as a land of Royal Commissions," he wrote in his booklet *Kenya, Land of Conflict*, "Each of them came out with high intentions and issued a report expressing lofty sen-

timents and yet after each one, more African land has been annexed."

In 1931 Kenyatta went to Britain again and remained abroad for 15 years: as a student and anthropologist; as a political worker and student of Marxism, to appear at international conferences of workers and in movements against the growth of Fascism.

By the time he returned to his home country he and the Kikuyu Association between them had won the right to establish independent schools for the education of the Kikuyu. There were 300 schools absorbing 60,000 children and Kenyatta himself became the principal of an independent teachers' training college. But he also found that the KCA had been proscribed.

Kenyatta entered negotiations with the Governor but failed to revive the organisation.

A year later he became the president of a new body, the Kenya African Union — KAU — which attracted over 100,000 members in a short time.

An orator, elder, educationist and politician, he attracted audiences of 30,000 and 50,000 strong to his meetings. For one meeting forty coach loads set out from Nairobi to hear him.

This was part of the rapid advance of political movements after the war, but as fast as the Kenya African Union and the East African Trade Union Congress grew, the more stringent government repression became.

Kenya was rapidly approaching a state of deadlock.

Then came the banning of the Kenya African Union and African trade unions; the arrest and proscription of leaders; the total ban on all the Kikuyu independent schools.

All Kenyan Africans were now denied the right of lawful political organisation; and sporadic terrorist acts broke out in parts of the country.

Followed the state of emergency and the big swoops on the towns, the mass detentions of 50,000 Kikuyu. A miniature civil war opened.

Isolated acts of terrorism grew into a state of semi-rebellion in the mainly Kikuyu areas, with army raiding parties combing jungles and townships for tribesmen suspected of 'Mau Mau sympathies.'

The Mau Mau terrorists are said according to the official records of this little war to have claimed the lives of 84 Whites and 1,500 Africans. But the army claimed the lives of over 10,000 Africans and ruthless counter-measures resulted in the arrest of as many as 35,000 people in one day, the displacement of whole communities, and the imprisonment of huge numbers in concentration camps.

On September 17, 1952 Jomo Kenyatta and his colleagues of the Kenya African Union were charged with managing the Mau Mau movement.

The first hearing lasted 5 months. Appeals and a petition dragged the proceeding out for another 15 months. Counsel for the Defence (D. N. Pritt)

charged the prosecution with having no case against the men in the dock.

In August 1952, Kenyatta had joined with other Africans in an anti-Mau Mau meeting. His words were recorded on tape and officially broadcast. His public disclaimer of the Mau Mau and the official broadcast which he made were of no consequence in the trial. Kenyatta was dangerous and the Kenya African Union best placed out of the way.

The Defence argued that the Magistrate accepted every submission, application or motion made by the prosecution . . . and rejected every one made by the Defence. He accepted as truthful every witness called by the prosecution, no matter what their character or history, however improbable their story, however often they contradicted themselves, or how badly their stories were shaken in cross examination. He rejected as untruthful every Defence witness.

The Defence said that the prosecution had never really made up its mind what the essence of the charge against the accused was; that the prosecution never really had any faith in its own case; and that there was no serious charge against them at all.

The Magistrate found all the accused guilty, though the Supreme Court later acquitted one of them.

In his final address to the court Kenyatta stated: "I wish to say that we are not guilty and we do not accept your findings, and that we do not feel that we have received the justice or hearing which we would have liked . . . We feel that this case has been so arranged as to make scapegoats of us in order to strangle the Kenya African Union, the only African political organisation which fights for the rights of the African people."

"We wish to say that what we have done in our activities is to try our level best to find ways and means by which the community in this country can live in harmony."

"But what we have objected too and shall continue to object to — are the discriminations in the Government of this country. We shall not accept that, whether we are in gaol or out of it. We look forward to the day when peace shall come to this land and that the truth shall be known that we as Africans have stood for peace . . . We feel strongly that at this time, the Government should try to strangle the only organisation — the KAU in which we leaders have been working for the betterment of the African people and are seeking harmonious relations between the races."

The trial and the state of emergency had succeeded. KAU had been damned by the shadow of the Mau Mau movement.

As in India, and in Ireland years before, a nationalist movement pursuing its policies openly and in the full face of the oppressors had been condemned as synonymous with a secret terrorist drive. Sometimes, Montagu Slater wrote in *THE TRIAL OF JOMO KEN-*
(Cont. at foot of col. 1, page 10)

Man and the Elephant

Once upon a time an elephant made a friendship with a man. One day a heavy thunderstorm broke out, the elephant went to his friend, who had a little hut at the edge of the forest, and said to him: "My dear good man, will you please let me put my trunk inside your hut to keep it out of this torrential rain?" The man, seeing what situation his friend was in, replied: "My dear good elephant, my hut is very small, but there is room for your trunk and myself. Please put your trunk in gently." The elephant thanked his friend, saying: "You have done me a good deed and one day I shall return your kindness." But what followed? As soon as the elephant put his trunk inside the hut, slowly he pushed his head inside, and finally flung the man out into the rain, and then lay down comfortably inside his friend's hut, saying: "My dear good friend, your skin is harder than mine, and as there is not enough room for both of us, you can afford to remain in the rain while I am protecting my delicate skin from the hailstorm."

The man, seeing what his friend had done to him, started to grumble, the animals in the nearby forest heard the noise and came to see what was the matter. All stood around listening to the heated argument between the man and his friend the elephant. In this turmoil the lion came along roaring, and said in a loud voice: "Don't you all know that I am the King of the Jungle! How dare anyone disturb the peace of my kingdom?" On hearing this the elephant, who was one of the high ministers in the Jungle kingdom, replied in a soothing

voice, and said: "My Lord, there is no disturbance of the peace in your kingdom. I have only been having a little discussion with my friend here as to the possession of this little hut which your lordship sees me occupying." The lion, who wanted to have "peace and tranquility" in his kingdom, replied in a noble voice, saying: "I command my ministers to appoint a Commission of Enquiry to go thoroughly into this matter and report accordingly." He then turned to the man and said: "You have done well by establishing friendship with my people, especially with the elephant who is one of my honourable ministers of state. Do not grumble any more, your hut is not lost to you. Wait until the sitting of my Imperial Commission, and there you will be given plenty of opportunity to state your case. I am sure that you will be very pleased with the findings of the Commission." The man was very pleased by these sweet words from the King of the Jungle, and innocently waited for his opportunity, in the belief that, naturally, the hut would be returned to him.

The elephant, obeying the command of his master, got busy with other ministers to appoint the Commission of Enquiry. The following elders of the jungle were appointed to sit in the Commission: (1) Mr. Rhinoceros; (2) Mr. Buffalo; (3) Mr. Alligator; (4) The Rt. Hon. Mr. Fox to act as chairman; and (5) Mr. Leopard to act as Secretary to the Commission. On seeing the personnel, the man protested and asked if it was not necessary to include in this Commission a member from his side. But he was told that it was impossible, since no one from his side was well enough educated to understand the intricacy of jungle law. Further, that there was nothing to fear, for the members of the Commission were all men of repute for their impartiality in justice, and as they were gentlemen chosen by God to look after the interests of races less adequately endowed with teeth and claws, he might rest assured that they would investigate the matter with the greatest care and report impartially.

The Commission sat to take the evidence. The Rt. Hon. Mr. Elephant was first called. He came along with a superior air, brushing his tusks with a sapling which Mrs. Elephant had provided, and in an authoritative voice said: "Gentlemen of the Jungle, there is no need for me to waste your valuable time in relating a story which I am sure you all know. I have always regarded it as my duty to protect the interests of my friends, and this appears to have caused the misunderstanding between myself and my friend here. He invited me to save his hut from being blown away by a hurricane. As the hurricane had gained access owing to the unoccupied space in the hut, I considered it necessary, in my friend's own interests, to turn the undeveloped space to a more economic use by sitting in it myself; a duty which any of you would undoubtedly have performed with equal readiness in similar circumstances."

After hearing the Rt. Hon. Mr. Elephant's conclusive evidence, the Commission called Mr. Hyena and other elders of the jungle, who all supported what Mr. Elephant had said. They then call-

ed the man who began to give his own account of the dispute. But the Commission cut him short, saying: "My good man, please confine yourself to relevant issues. We have already heard the circumstances from various unbiased sources; all we wish you to tell us is whether the undeveloped space in your hut was occupied by anyone else before Mr. Elephant assumed his position?" The man began to say: "No, but—" But at this point the Commission declared that they had heard sufficient evidence from both sides and retired to consider their decision. After enjoying a delicious meal at the expense of the Rt. Hon. Mr. Elephant, they reached their verdict, called the man, and declared as follows: "In our opinion this dispute has arisen through a regrettable misunderstanding due to the backwardness of your ideas. We consider that Mr. Elephant has fulfilled his sacred duty of protecting your interests. As it is clearly for your good that the space should be put to its most economic use, and as you yourself have not yet reached the stage of expansion which would enable you to fill it, we consider it necessary to arrange a compromise to suit both parties. Mr. Elephant shall continue his occupation of your hut, but we give you permission to look for a site where you can build another hut more suited to your needs, and we will see that you are well protected."

The man, having no alternative, and fearing that his refusal might expose him to the teeth and claws of the members of the Commission, did as they suggested. But no sooner had he built another hut than Mr. Rhinoceros charged in with his horn lowered and ordered the man to quit. A Royal Commission was again appointed to look into the matter, and the same Commission was again appointed to look into the matter, and the same finding was given. This procedure was repeated until Mr. Buffalo, Mr. Leopard, Mr. Hyena and the rest were all accommodated with new huts. Then the man decided that he must adopt an effective method of protection, since Commissions of Enquiry did not seem to be of any use to him. He sat down and said: "Ng'enda thi ndeagaga motegi," which literally means "there is nothing that treads on the earth that cannot be trapped," or in other words, you can fool people for a time, but not for ever.

Early one morning, when the huts already occupied by the jungle lords were all beginning to decay and fall to pieces, he went out and built a bigger and better hut a little distance away. No sooner had Mr. Rhinoceros seen it than he came rushing in, only to find that Mr. Elephant was already inside, sound asleep. Mr. Leopard next came in at the window, Mr. Lion, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Buffalo entered the doors, while Mr. Hyena howled for a place in the shade and Mr. Alligator basked on the roof. Presently they all began disputing about their rights of penetration, and from disputing they came to fighting, and while they were all embroiled together the man set the hut on fire and burnt it to the ground, jungle lords and all. Then he went home, saying: "Peace is costly, but it's worth the expense," and lived happily ever after.

JOMO KENYATTA

(Continued from page 9)

YATTA' terrorists are agents provocateurs, but as often as not simple, impatient men who ruin the plans of political leaders. If an open, legal, and constitutional movement brings a campaign of terrorism in its train, can the actions that follow be laid at the doors of the political leaders? This was the case in Kenya.

Kenyatta served his seven year sentence, and then was exiled indefinitely to the northern province.

Until recently few visited him — a government medical officer, a few other detainees, his daughter (he married an English school teacher before the war) and more recently African political leaders.

Jomo Kenyatta has become visibly older but there is still the same shrewdness about the eyes and confidence in his manner. He wears the old leather jacket in which he confronted his massive audiences and wields the ivory-handled stick which became the symbol of African freedom.

"I owe thanks," he once wrote, "to my enemies for their stimulating discouragement which has kept up my spirits. Long life and health to them to go on with the good work!"

His work in Kenya is far from over.

BANTU EDUCATION — 1955 TO 1960

The officers of the Bantu Education Department, and all apologists for Bantu Education are at pains to try to convince the public that much progress has taken place under this system of education. They give the following figures to prove their claim:—

Year	Total Number of Pupils.	Expenditure
1952	814,714	£6,617,668
1953	859,955	£5,904,792
1954	938,206	£8,016,247
1955	1,013,358	£7,884,775
1956	1,102,922	£8,638,830
1957	1,258,205	£9,018,175
1958	1,344,639	£8,995,063
1959	1,414,260	£9,611,128
1960	1,513,063	£10,117,400 (Estimates)

The Full Story

But good care is taken not to mention that the 1½ million children at school are out of a population of ten million and that the state spends 8 times as much per white child as per African child, and fifteen times as much per head of white population as per head of African population.

Nor does the B.E.D. tell the public that of the 50 odd African schools in the diocese of Johannesburg, only a handful situated on mines were allowed to continue after Bantu Education, the rest have had to close down, with the result that thousands of young children were thrown out of school and those children are today roaming the streets of the Rand locations and many of them are being collected as loafers and 'wont-works' to be sent to the Elandsdoorn Youth Settlement at Denilton in the Eastern Transvaal, where farmers are free to collect their quota of youthful labourers.

They take great care not to tell the world that many educational services in

places like Lovedale and St. Matthew's in the Cape, and Adam's College in Natal, were drastically curtailed, throwing many more young people out of school; that at Lovedale that fine collection of books in the Cuthbert Library, one of the finest school libraries in the country, was put up for sale and that today the Cuthbert Library building is a store-room for B.E.D. Books; that between the Kei and Umzimkulu (Cape) all the schools that trained both girls and boys as teachers were turned into single sex training schools — again depriving more African children of education.

The public is not to know that big educational centres like Modderpoort in the Orange Free State, St. Thomas (Transvaal), Stofberg Gedenkskool (O.F.S.) had to close down because they were declared by the Government to be in wrong group areas; though Stofberg Gedenkskool was converted into a prison for Africans, and as such, strangely, was not in the wrong group area; (this school gave teacher-training, secondary school

A SURVEY by Phyllis Ntantala

training and trained missionaries of the D.R.C. was bought over by the Department of Prisons after it had closed down and it opened as a prison sometime in 1959).

There are other facts kept quiet: old and established educational centres like Kilnerton (Transvaal), Tiger Kloof (North Western Cape) have had the sword of Damocles hanging over them since they were declared to be "black spots"; and every year since 1958, neither the school authorities nor the students have known until the last possible moment whether they would be allowed to continue the following year.

The Bantu Education experts dare not tell the world that of the 600 odd Roman Catholic schools whose government subsidies were withdrawn at the end of 1958, only about 150 received registration (subject to restrictions and withdrawal), and that of the Church's six teacher-training colleges only two remain and their degrees are not recognised by the State.

They dare not tell the world that many African teachers were dismissed from their jobs for the simple reason that they were opposed to Bantu Education and many of these teachers were hounded out of the urban areas where they could earn a living because their sin was to oppose this system of education for the Africans.

All this and more tells the true story of Bantu Education.

EIGHT TYPES OF BANTU EDUCATION SCHOOLS

By the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the BAD — then the NAD — took control of African education from the Provinces.

There was no programme and no trained administrative staff, and as was to be expected, the result was chaos and confusion.

Teachers worked for months without receiving their pay, salaries of teachers in one district were sent to teachers in another district, teachers did not receive replies to urgent correspondence sent to the department. Teachers were made to enter into contracts with the BAD without any regulations governing the conditions of service being laid down. Schools were dis-established only to be re-established.

It took the BAD about two years to sort out the chaos, and eight types of schools emerged.

The first: GOVERNMENT BANTU SCHOOLS.

These are mostly the Mission Board schools. The dis-establishment and re-establishment of these schools wrought havoc, for many educational services were discontinued in places like Lovedale and St. Matthew's (Cape), Adam's College in Natal, and in St. Cuthbert's (Transkei) and as a result many young people's careers were cut short.

Another drastic step was the dis-establishment of the Teacher-Training and Secondary School departments as such, making these one composite department under one principal and with the same staff. It will be agreed by all those who are acquainted with education and teacher-training that a good Secondary School teacher is not necessarily an efficient teacher for the Training School and this holds good for the principal too.

Another feature of this dis-establishment was the doing away with the maintenance staff in these schools, and making the students do all the manual work. Corporal punishment for both girls

and boys is another innovation of Bantu Education.

Spying is another. The authorities take advantage of the African's desire for education and of the fact that the Africans are poor, and they therefore offer scholarships to students willing to spy on their fellow students.

A letter published in "New Age" of May 21st, 1959, is a confession from one of these victims of corruption. His is not a unique case for in any one institution there are usually three, four or more paid spies and this holds true for the Tribal Colleges too.

Under these conditions discontent is rife in the boarding schools and mass expulsions are the order of the day.

In 1957 at the Shawbury Institution in the Transkei, over 30 senior girls were sent home for alleged incitements. Towards the end of that same year and on the eve of their examinations about 200 men students at St. John's College, Um-tata, were sent home. Early in 1957 at

the Ndamase Secondary School, Buntingville near Umtata, a student was shot dead during a disturbance and while the case of the students was still on, the principal was shot dead in his house. (No foul play was suspected). At Adam's College in Natal over 200 students were sent home during the latter half of 1958 and in February, 1959, over 300 students at Lovedale chose to go home.

BANTU COMMUNITY SCHOOLS are the second type of school.

These are the former day-mission schools scattered over the rural and urban areas, built by the African communities and handed over to the churches for management. Though the schools had been under the management of the churches on whose glebes they stood, it was the communities, irrespective of denomination and whether christian or pagan that had built the schools and maintained the buildings.

NIGHT SCHOOLS

When the Department of Bantu Education took over African Education there had been running for over ten years, well-organised night school classes under the control of central committees in Durban, Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Queenstown, Welkom and other centres. Many of these received subsidies from the Department of Education, Arts and Science. When the transfer took place, the NAD took over the administration of grants for African night schools and continuation classes and laid down that all such classes must be registered, irrespective of size, and whether or not they received subsidies.

The new Regulations for the administration of these were published in the Bantu Education Journal of November, 1957, to come into operation from the beginning of 1958. The regulations define a night school as a school for African pupils above the age of sixteen years, who are bona fide employees and who receive primary education. The definition of a continuation school is similar except that the pupils receive post-primary education.

The Regulation lays down that: All such schools must register with the Department of Bantu Education if they cater for ten or more pupils, their application for registration as private schools being accompanied by a permit from the Group Areas Board.

They must operate during normal school terms only, and be open for inspection by department officials.

All teachers' appointments are subject to the director's approval which may be withdrawn at 24 hours' notice without any reasons being given.

If the schools, classes are in a European area (including peri-urban areas), registration must be renewed annually.

In these areas and also in compounds or farms, no pupil may be admitted unless he/she is over the age of sixteen years and is an employee resident in the area, is employed on the mine, farm or factory concerned.

Now, without consulting any of these people, not even their congregations, the church leaders agreed to lease the schools to the government.

Schools in a given area were now to fall under the administration and control of a School Board with a School Board secretary. Some of the School Board members are elected by the community and others are appointed by the local representatives of the government. In the rural areas the School Boards are gradually being replaced by the Bantu Authorities whose central figures are semi-literate and illiterate chiefs.

In most areas in the Cape Province, the people, in their opposition to Bantu Education, have refused to elect School Boards, and many others have refused to serve on the Boards. All those on the Boards are appointees of the government and the people have no confidence in them.

The person in control must be a European and if the director (Bantu Education) deems it necessary, may be assisted by an advisory board consisting of Europeans only.

School fees may be charged if the department agrees and the class or school must, if possible, be conducted in the buildings of a registered day school.

If the schools or classes are in African urban areas or African rural areas, they may be conducted by African School boards or committees only; private organisations conducting such classes or schools were required to hand over the control and all their assets and liabilities by January 1, 1958. Application for registration must be made to the Department via the School Board of the area concerned. If the classes are held in the building of a day school, they will be controlled by the school board or committee. If they are held elsewhere, the school committees or a separate committee may be appointed to supervise the work. The School Boards are responsible for financing the schools and classes, they may be granted departmental subsidies and may charge school fees if the Department agrees.

The Chief Information Officer of the NAD said in a Press statement (Rand Daily Mail, 2nd April, 1958) that the Department's first aim is to eliminate illiteracy. Night schools in African areas, providing primary education only, would almost always be granted subsidies if they complied with the regulations. But continuation classes, catering for post-primary students, could, in general, only be dealt with after the first problem of illiteracy had been tackled.

There was considerable dislocation after the transfer even for those schools and classes in African areas; certain school boards were instructed to reduce teachers' salaries and to raise students' fees; for a number of months no subsidies were forthcoming; after teaching for months without any pay, a large number of teachers left and as a result of this in Johannesburg and Germiston

African townships, six schools were forced to close.

The plight of schools and classes in White areas was even worse. The Government subsidies had been terminated and furthermore, the municipal authorities were not allowed to continue subsidising the schools from their Native Revenue Accounts.

As a result of these financial difficulties and the cumbersome regulations, all the Durban night schools were closed down. There were 23 of them, catering for between 3,500 and 5,000 pupils. Many of these schools had been in existence for more than twenty years.

The only classes now in operation for adult Africans are those at the M. L. Sultan College which has been authorised to provide instruction in post-primary work and in dress-making and commercial subjects.

In the Cape Peninsula, the Cape Non-European Night School Association, had to discontinue its four schools in the African townships, but applied for registration of the six it conducts in other areas. But it was not until the middle of the second quarter, during which time no tuition could be given, that registration was granted. The organisers have managed to carry on without subsidies because most of the teachers work on a voluntary basis. The attendance, at their remaining schools is between 300 and 500 a night, but the enrolments are much higher.

Five schools run under the auspices of the Pietermaritzburg City Council have also been granted registration; these are attended by about 1,500 working Africans and provide education up to J.C. All night schools in Pretoria and other places have been handed over to the Department of Bantu Education.

Speaking in the Assembly in 1959, the Minister of Bantu Education said it was his policy: "to make night schools and continuation classes self-supporting." He continued: "This will in no way involve any curtailment of night schools and continuation classes except in so far as I am opposed to the existence of a large number of night schools in our white residential areas etc."

Following the declaration of this policy, eight schools in white suburbs of Pretoria were refused permission to carry on. These schools catered for domestic servants and other Africans accommodated in the "White" areas who found it difficult to travel out to the African townships in the evenings to attend classes.

In the Western Province (Cape Town) a night school in the "White" residential area of Rondebosch was refused permission to carry on in 1960 and was not allowed even to carry on to the end of the year. Added to this was the fact that voluntary white teachers in Cape Town were refused permission to enter African residential areas to carry on night school work and even though some of these schools were registered, subsidies for teachers' salaries were refused.

FARM SCHOOLS

Farm Schools are the third type and exist only on farms belonging to whites.

With the permission of the BAD a farmer may start a school on his farm for the children of his employees only. He may not admit to this school children from adjoining farms unless his neighbours have indicated that they do not mind the children of their employees attending this school.

The farm school is under the exclusive control of the farmer or his deputy, appointed by him. The farmer has the right to appoint or dismiss teachers. He provides the school and accommodation for the staff, may or may not have a school committee, is free to come to the school at any time and to order the children to work on his farm under the supervision of the teacher.

Speaking in the Senate on June 2, 1959, the Minister of Bantu Education had this to say: "As regards farm schools, we have made compulsory that where the farmer wants these facilities, part of the instruction of these children on the farm of the European farmer must be training in the normal activities on the farm, in order to encourage a feeling of industriousness on the part of those children and particularly to sharpen in their minds the fact that education does not mean that you must not work with your hands, but to point out to them specifically that manual labour, and also

manual labour on a farm, is just as good a formative and development level as any other subject. In order to do this we create the opportunity so that if there is any farmer who has a farm school on his farm and who wishes to make use of the school children under the supervision of the teacher, to assist with certain farm activities, this can be arranged in a proper manner to fit in with the curriculum and the plan of development which is envisaged or provided for that farm school.

If this is not free child labour or downright slavery, what is?

When a farmer no longer needs the school he may close it down after three months notice. These schools are not encouraged to go beyond Std. IV and many of them go as far as Std. II.

It is significant that this type of school has grown by leaps and bounds in the Orange Free State and that there are today more Farm schools in that Province than there are Government and Community Schools put together — 544 Farm Schools as against 312 Government and Community Schools.

The other types are:— **MINE AND FACTORY SCHOOLS, SCHEDULED SCHOOLS, UNSUBSIDISED PRIVATE SCHOOLS** (mainly Roman Catholic Schools, many of which have been refused registration).

THE TEACHER

The teacher is now a civil servant and the regulations and conditions of his service were promulgated in January, 1957 after Dr. Verwoerd had lost the case against teachers he had dismissed illegally soon after the change-over in 1955.

These regulations and conditions of service are contained in the red Handbook, "Bantu Education" which is **NOT FOR PUBLIC DISTRIBUTION**, but for distribution only to School Boards through the School Board Secretaries, to Inspectors, Sub-Inspectors and Supervisors. The teacher whose conditions of service are contained therein has no access to it.

The regulations lay down that the teacher is the employee of the Bantu School Board and "his whole time shall be at the disposal of the School Board." The teacher has now no rights of security, permanency, claim to his salary and increments — all these are at the discretion of his employers.

Even though on paper it is the School Boards who are the employers of teachers, in fact it is the BED that has the final word in the appointment and dismissal of teachers. The department as a rule appoints only those teachers who have the backing of the school inspectors, even over the heads of the supposed employers, the school boards.

Of the first teachers to be dismissed all but one were executive members of the Cape African Teachers' Association which had opposed Bantu Education from

the beginning and had carried out a campaign educating the people on the evils of this educational system. Some of these dismissed teachers had proved themselves worthy principals of Secondary and Higher Primary schools, others were teachers whose work in the classroom was beyond criticism, others still were teachers just within a year or so of their retirement. The BED was quite open about the first dismissals and instructed the School Boards to terminate the services of this and that teacher because he was "no a fit teacher for Bantu Education". But after it had lost the case, the BED effected the dismissals of teachers by withdrawing the subsidies of the teachers they wanted to dismiss, or by declaring the posts of such teachers redundant and leaving it to the School Boards to dismiss them, to retain their services if they so wished but to pay them out of non-existent funds.

Meanwhile, of the 50 odd teachers in the Cape who filed claims of salaries against the BED after the teachers' test case, only six had been paid by the middle of 1959 — two years after the case.

After this court decision in favour of the teachers, an amendment to the Bantu Education Act was passed in May, 1959, to deprive teachers of the right to take the BED or any of its officers to court.

Any teacher's post can be declared redundant; and the pattern of these retrenchments has been consistent. When

the BED withdraws subsidies, it is the subsidies of teachers who are highly qualified, or have reached the top-notch on their salary scales, or are nearing pensionable age.

Now that it is the school boards that do the eliminating, bribery and corruption are the order of the day and those teachers who do not pay up to the members of the school boards lose their jobs. It is a common occurrence for any number from 5 to 15 teachers under one school board to be retrenched in one term.

The spate of retrenchments at the end of 1958 coincided with the graduation of the first batch of Bantu Education trained teachers at the beginning of 1959 and one wonders if these teachers were not dismissed to make room for the Verwoerdian type teachers.

Happening side by side with the retrenchments is the mass transference of teachers from one school to another in the same district under the same school board. This is allegedly done in the interests of the school and the community.

In one district in the Transkei in January 1956, all the teachers — (eleven including the principal) — of one of the old established Higher Primary schools and one that had a record of good work, were transferred en masse and distributed in the various schools in the district and a new set of teachers were brought in, naturally with disastrous results to the school.

Another big Higher Primary school in East Griqualand was dealt with in the same manner some time in 1957 and today there exists in that community bitter antagonism between the new teachers who are regarded as "foreigners" and the community that built the school.

The policy of the BED is that each village should be served by its own people and so it is that teachers are constantly being changed about to achieve this end — a system that is depriving some areas of the services of experienced teachers who had worked well with the communities.

In the urban areas, this is brought about by forcing the school boards to give the local urban authority, guarantees of good conduct to any teachers imported from outside; should the local authority find such teacher an "undesirable" person, the school board must undertake to "repatriate" him.

The African teacher has been reduced to a creature who must cringe to all and sundry in the BED in order to keep his post.

It is worth noting that these conditions of service affect only the African teachers and not the white teachers in Bantu Schools, the excuse being that these white teachers are on "loan" to Bantu Education and must therefore enjoy the same rights and privileges as are enjoyed by those of their own colour in white schools.

While teachers of the other racial groups have had salary increases, the African teachers' scale for male graduates is as it was in 1947, fourteen years ago. The African teacher is paid even less than clerks in industry and labourers and domestics in some areas.

PART II NEXT MONTH.

THE HISTORY OF AFRICA

This is the first in a series of four articles on early African history. This article covers the period of the ancient world, of Greek travellers and geographers, of the early mapmakers, of the Indian Ocean trade which linked Africa and Arabia to India and China. Modern geographers' disbelief in early Greek geographers obscured much material on African history. New work in the field of archaeology is today producing evidence of the ancient civilisations of Africa and is shaking some of the prejudices about early Africa.

There is a naive philosophy which maintains that things are not really there when we are not looking. In a biography of Lord Lugard, whose exploits in Africa prepared the way for Britain's conquest of her African empire at the end of the nineteenth century, Margery Perham makes this remark: 'Buganda had entered history when Speke and Grant returned to Europe after discovering the kingdom.'

The assyriologist, Kramer, who has written a popular book "History begins at Sumer", believes that Africa was first discovered by the Sumerian hero Enki, a little matter of four and a half thousand years before Speke and Grant.

This story of African discovery is interesting, as there is some evidence of an early connection between Sumer and Ethiopia. Enki came to Meluhha, the land of the blacks, says the Sumerian text, and Kramer comments: "Remarkably enough, Enki is almost as favourably disposed to this land as to Sumer itself. He praises its trees and reeds, its oxen and birds, its silver and gold, its bronze and copper, its human beings". Meluhha is believed to be the form from which the name of the city of Meroe is derived, which would therefore mean "city of the blacks". Throughout history tropical Africa has been known as the land of the blacks (Ethiopia in Greek, Beled es Sudan in Arabic).

Egypt's relation with these countries were close from the times of the Old Kingdom, as is shown by many inscriptions in Breasted's collection, "Ancient Records of Egypt."

Homer, for example, attributed the cause of the delay in the attack on Troy to the absence of the Greek gods in the land of the Ethiopians, where they used to go annually, sailing up the Nile, to be so agreeably feasted that they would not forego this pleasure even for the sake of a Greek victory.

Soon after the siege of Troy, the Phoenicians began to lease land on the north coast of Africa and these colonies soon grew into large, wealthy and powerful cities through which the markets of the old world were supplied with gold. Phoenician captains sailed around Africa from a Red Sea port, returning to Egypt via the Mediterranean three years later (c.600 B.C.). From a slightly later date we have the Periplus (seaman's log) of the Carthaginian, Hanno, which gives a detailed description of the west coast of Africa as far as a lofty volcano which was in eruption, and which cannot have been any but the Cameroons mountain. By the fourth century B.C. the island of Cerne had become an habitual trading centre with the peoples of West Africa. This we learn from another seaman's

log, by an unknown Greek author, the "Periplus of the Mediterranean Sea."

The gradual entry into the Egyptian army of soldiers recruited in Ethiopia and the eventual conquest of the Egyptian throne by the Ethiopian dynasty in 725 B.C., brought the Mediterranean peoples into closer connection with the interior of Africa. Though Egypt fell to an Assyrian attack fifty years later, Ethiopia retained its independence for a thousand years, while Egypt experienced conquest after conquest.

Greek Travellers and Geographers

Greeks began to penetrate Egypt in the seventh century B.C. The list of travellers includes a great many illustrious names but one only account, that of Herodotus (c. 425 B.C.) has come down to us. Rich though it is in information about Africa, it makes plain that the greatest wealth of knowledge could only be obtained from Ethiopia itself; consequently Ethiopia began to attract an increasing number of Greek travellers. Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander the Great, already wrote of the sources of the Nile as a geographical fact too well known to require elaboration.

But it can scarcely be a coincidence that the greatest flowering of Hellenistic science occurred when the centre of Greek civilisation was transferred to African soil and acquaintance with the flourishing Ethiopian civilisation became more intimate.

In the great library of Alexandria all the newly acquired knowledge of the world was collected and the famous school of Greek geographers set to work to assimilate the conception of a spherical earth and to adapt the old idea of simple geometrical charts to the construction of proper maps as projections of a spherical surface.

African geography was indispensable for this purpose, since the continent is the only large landmass of the old world which extends beyond the equator. The Ethiopian latitudes and their recalculation from the decimal into the Greek hexagesimal notation became the basis for the solution of the theoretical and practical problems of the expansion of Greek maritime trade.

During Roman times, after the conquest of the north African seaboard and of Egypt, confirmation of the geographical knowledge of Africa was obtained from expeditions to Garamantia and Agksimba from Tripoli, through the Saharan desert and to the sources of the Nile.

Greek mariners espyed from the Arabs the secret of sailing to the east coast of Africa and across the Indian ocean to India with the monsoon. By the first

century, 120 ships sailed to India annually, bringing back to Rome Indian spices and pearls, African ivory, tortoiseshell, myrrh and frankincense, and "slaves of the better sort".

This Indian ocean trade, which linked Africa and Arabia to India and China, appears to have been going on for centuries before Rome intruded into this great market of the old world. But as Rome did not penetrate to the sources of African gold, the expensive luxuries purchased in this market soon exhausted her coffers and, it has been suggested, contributed to her eventual downfall.

Ptolemy's Mapmaking

The distilled essence of the knowledge of Africa gained by the geographers of classical antiquity was preserved by Arab scholars in the form it was given by the astronomer Claudius Ptolemaeus (Ptolemy, 150 A.D.).

His "Instructions on Mapmaking" contains a gazetteer of the world in which Africa, in accordance with the universal practice of the times, takes a prominent place.

Since it lists the longitudes and latitudes for every place quoted, this data can easily be plotted on a modern map of Africa, and one can only be astonished at the wealth of information provided about the interior and the knowledge of basic features of physical geography.

Perhaps the most striking thing is the many cities indicated on the west coast, on the banks of the Niger, in the central Sahara and the Shari river basin (Garamantia), in Ethiopia, and on the east coast down to a line drawn approximately from the Cameroons mountain to Cape Delgado.

The most influential Roman geographers, including the romanophile Greek Strabo, had scorned this information. Much came from Phoenician sources and was dismissed, with a conqueror's conceit, as "Punic lies".

But Ptolemy's map confirms and explains the statements of earlier geographers and also the many contradictions in which Strabo became involved.

The Romans never learned to appreciate its value, and Rome's loss became the gain of Ethiopia and the Arabs. When Rome eliminated Carthage from the gold trade of Africa, this passed not into her own hands but into those of the Axumite kings of Ethiopia; it was Ethiopia which rose to pre-eminence in the Indian ocean market while Rome declined.

Axum conquered the sister Ethiopian kingdom of Meroe in c. 350 A.D. and the Yemen a century later. In alliance

(Cont. at foot of col. 1, page 15)

The Misfits in Hollywood

If (as he was quoted) Arthur Miller had "had it" so far as Hollywood was concerned when he finished work on "The Misfits", the critical reception the John Huston production of Miller's first motion picture story has received has no doubt confirmed his reported decision never to write another.

From "Time" and "Newsweek", through the New York "Times" Bosley Crowther and the local Scripps-Howardites and Hearstlings, there has been a concentrated attack on the United Artists release starring Miller's former wife, Marilyn Monroe, the late Clark Gable, Eli Wallach, Montgomery Clift and Thelma Ritter.

Now, it would be entirely possible for Miller to have written a bad screenplay, for Huston to have directed badly, and for Monroe, Gable, Wallach, Clift and Ritter to stink on ice, but it is not likely; at least, the odds are against it happening at the same time and in the same production.

But the attack is so blatant and so concentrated, and had been preceded (and has been followed) by such persistent sniping from the sidelines by such minor league idiots as Hedda

Hopper, that anyone who is aware of how these things operate is forced to look at it with a jaundiced eye.

Typical is Hopper's mendacious crowing: "Two national magazines agreed with my summation of 'Misfits', despite such stars as Clark Gable and Marilyn Monroe. They tried to protect Arthur Miller, but had to admit it's a picture without a heart. It's filled with sadism and cruelty."

That is precisely the opposite of what "The Misfits" is "filled with," but the fact of the matter is that Hollywood hates and fears Monroe and patent reactionaries like Hopper have hated Miller ever since he was pilloried by the Un-Americans and managed, on appeal, to beat the rap.

Even more so, they understand only too well what "The Misfits" is all about and what it has to say, and they do not like what it says at all.

For this is a picture filled with love and compassion for people and with hatred and contempt for a society which grinds them up into dogmeat like the "misfit" wild mustangs Gable, Clift and Wallach are hunting in the film, and for precisely that purpose.

The picture is at once an action drama, a psychological study of people displaced in their own time and country and a symbolical evaluation of the society in which we live.

On a realistic level, it examines the misfit people of the story — the former nightclub dancer (Monroe), the former bomber pilot (Wallach), the rodeo rider (Clift) and the over-aged cowboy (Gable) — and it examines them in depth. And their impact on each other is such as it would be in life.

The three men desire the newly-divorced woman, Roslyn (MM), and she "shacks up" with one of them (Gable, the cowboy). He has been a predatory male but he learns from her the meaning of affection, consideration, and love of life. And she had been attracted to him for those qualities she thought he possessed: tenderness, understanding, kindness.

The audience learns, through precept and example, what has happened

to these people: how Gable, the cowboy, has outlived his time, and, avoiding "wages", insists on living an independent life on a frontier that no longer exists. There was a point in rounding up the mustangs when they were used for riding the range and pulling the frontier ploughs. Now they are dogmeat.

Roslyn started dancing because she loved to dance but found that the nightclub audiences didn't give a damn whether she could dance so long as she showed off her body for so many bucks a night.

Guido (Wallach) spent four years in the Army Air Force as a bomber pilot and returned to the U.S. with all the skills of a killer and no preparation for anything else. He became a garage mechanic and he lost his young wife and it rootless.

At the climax of the film, after Roslyn has rebelled against the roundup of the mustangs, and induced the rodeo-rider (Clift) to cut them loose; and after Gable has fought single-handedly with a stallion and subdued it, only to cut it loose himself, he expresses Miller's point in these words:

"God damn them all! They changed it. Changed it all around. They smeared it all over with blood . . ."

These are the words you hear from the screen. In the printed version of the script (Viking Press), the speech reads: "They smeared it all over with blood, turned it into shit and money just like everything else."

The circumstances surrounding the making of "The Misfits" involved pathos and irony, with the break-up of the Miller-Monroe marriage and the death of Gable. But it is doubtful that Miller's subjective reaction to these events is entirely responsible for his expressed determination to stick to the stage, for he has also said that film is a director's medium, not a writer's, and he has a major point.

If he never writes another film we will be the losers, for in his first he has achieved a work of art and his former wife has demonstrated her genius for dramatic acting as well as brilliant comedy.

Alvah Bessie.

The History of Africa

(Continued from page 14)

with the other leading Christian power, Byzantium, it held the power of Persia in check. Its trade rivalled that of the East African coastal emporia and it remained a leading power until some time in the ninth or tenth century.

Confidence in Greek geographical science, particularly Ptolemy's work, was no less responsible than religious zeal for the success of the great Arab expansion of the seventh century — while Europe sank back into semi-barbarian ignorance and isolation. It enabled the Arabs to link the entire old world, from the east coast of China to Timbuctoo, into a system of commerce and banking, of which Africa with its gold and ivory formed a cornerstone. This system long outlived the political power actually assumed in one or another part of this world by the Arabs.

Modern European geographers, whether or not from the same motives, have generally inclined to Strabo's view that all early information on the interior of Africa was mere "punic lies". How could there have been cities on the Niger 2,000 years ago? Evidently Ptolemy's distances were exaggerated out of all proportion, and his "Niger" must have been a little wadi in Morocco. This attitude has for long obscured the value of ancient geography as source material for African history. It is only now, when archaeology is beginning to unearth more and more evidence of the ancient civilisations of Africa that prejudice is beginning to be shaken.

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by the Negro poet Langston Hughes about Negroes who "laugh to keep from crying" arouse an immediate recognition in the heart. How many times have I seen black faces passing under the shadow of the white boss at some factory gate, faces wearing enormous masks of pretence and subterfuge guilefully hiding souls that were seething with discontent, anger and hatred?

In the evenings when I saw these same faces crowded in the drinking dens of Sophiatown, their masks exploded; no longer diffident but proud, violent and bolsterous. Occasionally a situation like Sharpeville presents itself and the cauldron boils over.

Africans have learned that if they are to remain sane at all it is pointless to try to live within the law. In a country where the Government has legislated against sex, drinks, employment, free movement and many other things which are taken for granted in the Western world, it would take a monumental kind of patience to keep up with the demands of the law.

A man's sanity might even be in question by the time he reaches the ripe age of twenty-five.

So Africans have accepted the status of being outlaws from society and have evolved an elaborate system of escaping, hoodwinking and baffling the law. They know everytime a policeman encounters a black man in the street he assumes a crime has been committed: so why bother to live a legal life? Although no African can buy strong drinks in the bars and bottle stores, illicit drinking dens called 'shebeens' are thriving, sometimes with the assistance of the police, who are bribed to turn a blind eye on them. Some of the precious stuff is buried in the ground.

When I joined the editorial staff of DRUM Magazine I went to live in a Harlem-like ghetto called Sophiatown. Most of the young writers on DRUM lived in Sophiatown. It was our town and we loved it. Some of us had even celebrated it in our literature. Sophiatown was a symbol of the black man's capacity to endure the worst; it was also a symbol of his arrogance, resilience and scorn for the white suburb from which he was excluded.

The life of the black people of Sophiatown was based on the premise

that if you were black you had to live outside the law.

To stay in Sophiatown you had to get a permit from the Johannesburg City Council, but none of us had permits. It was futile trying to get one.

In an effort to keep Sophiatown's population down to a manageable minimum, the police organised persistent nightly raids. They were carried out methodically from one section of town to the other, combing for underground tenants, so that to avoid arrest it was necessary to keep moving every night. Sometimes you were caught with your pants down. A sudden kick on the door and you stumbled out in your pyjamas! A khaki uniform, police stick and glittering handcuffs: "Permit, yo ukafir" and that was that!

In the fifties, however, a period unlike any other in South Africa for its politics of racial strife, revolt and physical violence, the tendency to revolt was no longer due to a perverted sense of humour. Everywhere, members of my own generation, both black and white, were beginning to disaffiliate from a society organised on a rigid apartheid design. We began to sense that we were being deprived of a profound experience: a sense

of a shared nationhood.

Stories began to filter to the press of mixed racial couples taking part in University dances, of white youths from the rich white suburbs defying the law and roaming black townships by night, of new clubs and jazz haunts where free racial mixing took place on an unprecedented scale. Dodging the ever present police in these black townships these youths from the white suburbs encountered the rigours and uncertainties of African life almost everywhere. Adventurous students prying into filthy, nose-running shacks encountered a life that was shorn of all the trappings of official statistics. The experience was shattering. It is these same young people who have revitalised political life by organising protests and demonstrations.

Among the black people of South Africa the depth of desperation is so profound that the sixties will see no end to the riot and gunfire. The tragedy is that by the time the Western world awakens to the profoundness of this desperation it will be almost too late to do anything, and if the South African blacks look elsewhere for help the whole of Africa will never be the same again.

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