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TALK

Crisis in the Saracen State



- * The Eve-of-Republic Demonstrations
- * The Economics of Siege
- * Trade Outlook in Africa
- * The Man in the Saracen

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M.R.A.

The Sugar
Pill

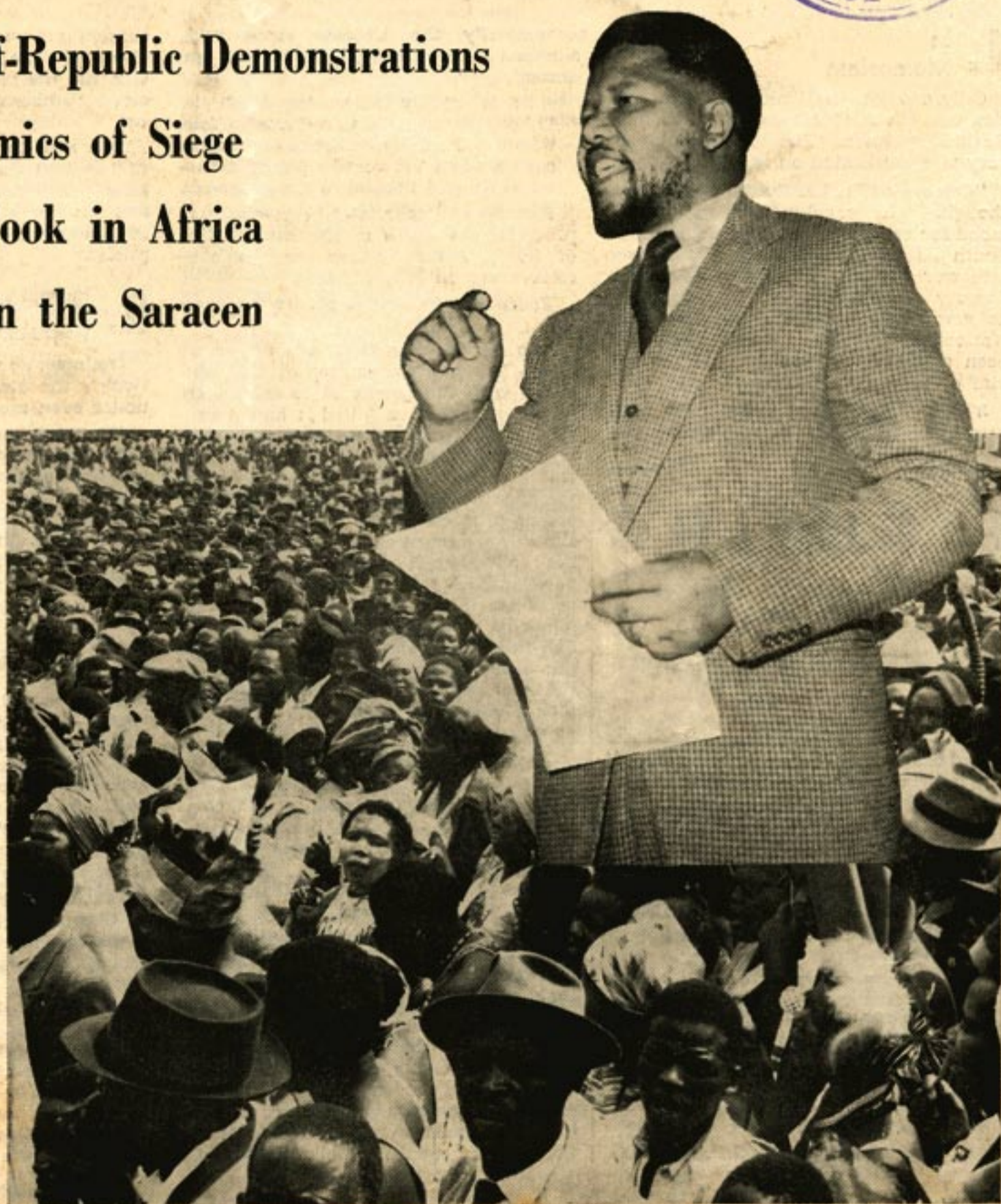
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Nigeria

by 'Zeke'
Mphahlele

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Salazar

and
the Congo

NELSON MAN-
DELA speaks for a
New National
Convention.



CRISIS ISSUE 1961, AS 1960, HAS BROUGHT SOUTH AFRICA'S CRISIS TO A NEW HEAD. THIS EVE-OF-THE-REPUBLIC ISSUE EXAMINES

- THE GRANITE-WALL AND CIVIL WAR POLICIES OF THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT — AND THE GROWING FORCES AGAINST THEM.
- THE STRICKEN ECONOMICS OF THE GARRISON STATE SETTING IN FOR A LONG STATE OF SIEGE.
- THE RESTRICTED VIEW OF THE MAN IN THE SARACEN, BUT THE WORLD VIEW OF THE GREAT MASS OF HUMANITY OUTSIDE.

The Saracen State: The Struggles Ahead

1. In Memoriam

Odly enough, the Union of South Africa was the first African State to gain its independence. The fiftieth anniversary was celebrated on May 31, 1960.

"Celebrated" is hardly the right word, though. The country was not in the mood for celebrations. Two thousand of South Africa's finest sons and daughters were in jail as political prisoners. Twenty thousand more filled the jails as emergency detainees — victims of Nationalist spite and revenge, who had been sentenced in secret trials for trivial or non-existent offences.

The Sharpeville and Langa massacres were fresh in our minds. Politically and

economically the Union's stock had slumped disastrously, at home and abroad.

It is hardly surprising that the "Union Festival" was a dismal affair, whose profoundly symbolic climax occurred when Verwoerd's pigeon refused to fly and flopped to the ground.

Exactly one year later, Verwoerd will proclaim the death of the same Union of South Africa whose birth he was celebrating on May 31, 1960.

There will be few to mourn its passing.

The Constitution that was drawn up at the National Convention of 1909 was rotten with the germs of racial discrimination that have killed it half a century later. Independence for this country did not mean, as it has meant elsewhere on our Continent, self-government for the masses of the people and the ending of unwarranted privileges for the European minorities in their midst. On the contrary, it meant that political power passed from the hands of the imperialists into those of the local White minority, who have used it over the past half-century to enhance their privileges immeasurably and to practice against the Africans and other Non-White peoples a variety of colonialism as vicious as any in Africa.

The Non-Whites were not invited to participate in the 1909 National Convention. They did not rejoice at the coming of Union. In fact they protested vigorously, through all their political and national organisations. They bitterly denounced the Cape Liberals and the British Parliament (which passed the South Africa Act) who had promised to defend African rights and oppose racialism, and had miserably betrayed their promises.

The liberals and other "friends of the Natives" said that they were acting in the best interests of the Non-Whites. Gradually, as time went on, and the Africans "advanced in the scale of civilisation," the undemocratic features of the Constitution would be eliminated. Of

course, nothing of the sort happened. Every change made in the Constitution was for the worse; until even the precious "entrenched clauses" were torn up.

1961 sees the end of the last vestiges of the 1910 Constitution. Built on dishonest compromises, rampant racialism and broken promises, it was a fitting scaffolding for Verwoerd's shabby "Republic."

2. Ill-Omened Republic

Ominous as were last year's "celebrations", the Republic is being launched under even more evil auspices.

Its proclamation follows immediately after a series of smashing reverses, any one of which would have brought about the downfall or resignation of any administration less thick-skinned and determined to cling to office than the Verwoerd Broederbond Cabinet.

There was the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which — contrary to Verwoerd's express assurances — ended with South Africa's ignominious and unwilling withdrawal.

There was the Treason Trial verdict which — after four years of police efforts to smear South African democracy, in the full glare of world publicity — ended in the complete vindication of the accused, and an epic defeat for their persecutors, the Nationalist Government.

There was the General Assembly vote on racial discrimination in South Africa in which, at last, even Britain, Australia and the United States got off the fence — and with the exception of Fascist Portugal — the South African government was completely isolated: 93 to 1.

The Broederbond Republic enjoys less support from the population than did Union in 1910. Then at least there had been, however unrepresentative, a National Convention representing delegates from the four colonial legisla-

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tures; and the Cape electorate included many Coloured and African voters.

This time the new State has the approval only of the bare ten per cent. of the public who voted "Yes" in the exclusively White Referendum — and even of those there were many who were misled by Verwoerd's solemn assurances that the Republic would remain in the Commonwealth.

The African people have solemnly repudiated the Broederbond Republic at two great All-in Conferences of the most representative character. At the Maritzburg Conference they declared flatly that they will not co-operate with it in any way; on the grounds that a new State form decided on by a minority only can have no moral validity. Demanding that the Government convene a truly representative National Convention, the African people warned that failure to meet this demand would be met by massive eve-of-Republic Day demonstrations and firm and continuous non-co-operation.

This Conference was a magnificent achievement of the African people. It was carried out in the face of every attempt, short of outright banning, the Government could think of to prevent it; arrests of the organisers and continuous intimidation. These measures may have influenced the few leaders who withdrew before the Conference; but they certainly did not affect the representatives of the masses who made their way to Maritzburg from all parts of the country, grimly and soberly determined to find a way out of the intolerable situation with which the Nationalist government has faced the country, a way that is in the interests of the people.

3. National Convention

That way, as clearly and explicitly defined at Maritzburg, is a new National Convention:

"of elected representatives of all adult men and women on an equal basis irrespective of race, colour, creed or other limitation" . . . with "sovereign powers to determine, in any way the majority of the representatives decide, a new non-racial democratic Constitution for South Africa."

The far-sighted and statesmanlike decision of Maritzburg thus not only, very properly and correctly, challenged and repudiated the Verwoerd government's plan to impose a new Constitution on the country without consultation or consent of nine-tenths of the population, and declared outright that such a Constitution would be illegitimate and unrecognised by the majority of the people.

It went further; it stated specifically just how a new Constitution for the country SHOULD be drawn up: by a sovereign constituent assembly elected by the free vote of all sections of the population. Only in this way can a stable and legitimate State be built in this country; one which enjoys broad popular support, and which derives its

authority from the people's will. And that is the only authority which, in these days when divine rights and master races have been discredited throughout the world, can ever enjoy recognition and esteem in this country and throughout the world.

Nationalist rigidity faces South Africa with a true dead end — an impasse at whose end lies death. For as Nationalist spokesmen themselves keep telling us with a sort of grim relish, and let us add, with recklessly irresponsible fatalism, the country is drifting steadily to civil war.

The African people's demand for a National Convention offers the country a road out of this fatal impasse: the road of sanity and reason. And, what is more, the more we think about it, we shall realise that it is the only possible road.

The real choice before South Africa is not whether, in the end we shall have a democracy based on the principles of the Freedom Charter. It is whether we shall achieve democracy through peaceful negotiation, or through the anguish and bitterness of the race-against-race policy of the Nationalists.

No other solution will stand up to any serious analysis whatever.

So far as the United Party's proposals for "federation" are concerned, as expressed by Sir de Villiers Graaff, one doubts whether they were really intended to be taken seriously. The vagueness of expression and perfunctory manner of what he said can only lead one to conclude that he meant to pretend to the Nats that he had been converted to apartheid, while conveying somehow to the outside world that he was proposing a radical and democratic alternative to apartheid. This feat of appearing to move both to the Right and to the Left at the same time, while actually standing still, has often been tried before by the United Party, always without success. This continued failure, after so much practice, would seem to indicate that it cannot be done.

The Progressive Party is certainly more bold. But in continuing as it does to advocate a qualified franchise — despite its reiterated declarations that "merit not colour should be the test of citizenship" — it either reveals colour-prejudice within itself, or panders to it among the electorate. However they may try to prettify their proposals, all of them amount to a voters' roll which is weighted against the Non-Whites: And it is no good the Progressives saying "You are excluded because you are poor and uneducated, not because of your colour." The Non-Whites will very properly reply, "We are poor and uneducated because we are excluded from political rights!" The whole fifty years of experience of Union has proved beyond doubt that unequal institutions perpetuate inequality. Give a privileged group the monopoly of political power — and the whole of history proves that they will use it to buttress and extend

their privileges. South Africa is the text-book example of this axiom.

Above all the Progressives and all the rest of White South Africa need to get this single fact firmly and thoroughly into focus: **NO CONSTITUTIONAL PLAN WHATEVER, ADVANCED, DISCUSSED AND NEGOTIATED BY THE WHITE MINORITY ALONE CAN EVER BE SUCCESSFUL OR ACCEPTABLE TO THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE.**

That is why what we want and need at this stage is not Graaff's plan, or Steytler's plan or anyone else's plan for a new Constitution. It is a sovereign constituent assembly, where all plans can be discussed, where all the people can have their say through their freely chosen and mandated representatives, and where the majority vote will decide the fundamental law of the country.

In other words — a **A NATIONAL CONVENTION.**

4. The Country Rallies

One of the most striking indications of the profound correctness and soundness of the Africans' demand for a National Convention has been the manner in which other democratically-minded population groups have immediately rallied and responded to it.

Perhaps the most remarkable of these responses has been that of the 1½ million Coloured people of this country. For many years now the Coloured people, especially the majority in the Southern Cape, have played a disappointingly negative role in the political life of the country. Apart from an energetic minority, they have tended to remain inactive, apparently apathetic, in the face of stirring actions by African and Indian freedom-fighters, and to leave the stage to conservative or opportunistic leaders.

1961 tells a very different story. From the advanceguard Coloured People's Congress to the cautious Ex-Servicemen's Legion, we are witnessing an almost unprecedented and tremendously exciting resurgence among this key section of the population. They are politically up and doing as we have never seen them before, united as never before, proclaiming solidarity with the Africans, unequivocally demanding not special Coloured privileges, but equal democratic rights for all, decided by all in a new National Convention to enact the constitutional framework for a new and free South Africa.

The South African Indian Congress — oldest and most representative body of the South Africans of Indian descent — has unhesitatingly thrown its weight behind the Maritzburg call. Students of political affairs will find nothing remarkable, perhaps, in this. For many years now, ever since the rise in the early forties of the Dadoo-Naicker leadership, the S.A.I.C. has stood firmly

THE STRUGGLES AHEAD

with the A.N.C. and the African majority in every major struggle for freedom. Its leaders and rank-and-filers are veterans of the Defiance Campaign, the Congress of the People and many another stirring chapter in the people's history of our country. But what is remarkable is the new hope and enthusiasm which the Maritzburg call has evoked among the community — and not only in the big towns, or among the members of the tireless and exemplary Youth movement.

South Africa's only non-colour bar trade union federation — the Congress of Trade Unions—acted swiftly to back the call of Maritzburg. A three month ban had been placed on all SACTU meetings, which was no doubt meant to prevent the holding of the projected national conference at the end of April. But the alert trade unionists beat the ban by rushing through their conference the day before the order came into operation. Naturally it was not possible to hold a full conference in such conditions; many important routine matters had to be postponed, including the election of a new management committee. But one thing the conference definitely did: it passed a resolution endorsing the call for a National Convention and throwing the weight of 53,000 SACTU members behind the Maritzburg decisions.

So far the only Whites wholeheartedly and unambiguously to back the National Convention have been those in the S.A. Congress of Democrats. It may justly be said that this is relatively only a small organisation; for the C.O.D., suffering under repeated bannings of its leaders and innumerable other forms of police repression and intimidation, and carrying on a ceaseless against-the-stream struggle against deeply ingrained racial and colour prejudice, cannot claim a large membership. But size alone is not everything. The Democrats make up in energy, courage and dedication what they lack in numbers, and — particularly at a time like this, when the thunder of event after event in South Africa and the rest of Africa, as well as the world at large, comes crashing through the cocoon of ignorance, fear and prejudice in which their political mentors seek to swathe the consciousness of White South Africa — there is no limit to the impact that can be made on the present situation of flux by a group like the C.O.D., which speaks in a clear, logical voice amidst a babel of confusion; which boldly faces the truth, amidst a welter of lies and self-deceptions; which behaves with principle, dignity and courage, when all around we see little but cowardice and opportunism in the ranks of the established political parties.

5. Straws in the Wind

The main challenge and the only real alternative to the "granite" Nationalist policy comes from the great National

Convention movement, which is growing in strength and stature with every day and every week that passes; steadily and inevitably gathering around itself the hundreds and thousands of opposition and resistance trends that arise more and more as the utterly disastrous and bankrupt nature of Verwoerd's policy affects one stratum and section of the public after another.

But of course it would be quite wrong to overlook the many other deeply significant signs of disquiet, unrest and opposition that arise all the time, quite apart from and only indirectly affected by the Maritzburg Conference and the National Action Council which it appointed.

The businessmen and investors who have expressed "no confidence" in Verwoerd, not by a formal vote at the Chamber of Commerce but by getting rid of their stocks and shares at a rate which has brought the market tumbling down to rock bottom . . . The Transkei Chiefs who shrewdly-naively took (or pretended to take?) the Government at its word and demanded immediate independence and self-government . . . The workers of Warmbaths who "voted" against Mr. van Coller in the only way open to them, a hundred per cent. strike — and were met with bullets and Saracens . . .

All of these, and many other such incidents and tendencies, big and small, in cities, dorps and rural areas, among workers, peasants, businessmen, church people, university people, sportsmen, and others taken together do not yet, perhaps, add up to a serious threat to the Government. But they are all, each in its own way, expressions of resentment and opposition — straws in the wind — a wind that is swelling into a mighty hurricane as the country approaches nearer and nearer to R-Day, May 31.

These many signs and portents, these ominous warnings and rumblings . . . don't they tell the Government that there is something amiss with its actions and policies; some changes required to mollify opposition? When the U.N. vote condemning apartheid includes not only Nkrumah and Khrushchov but even De Gaulle, Macmillan, Menzies, Kennedy . . . doesn't some faint and alarming suspicion dawn that perhaps, after all, it may be that the Nationalist Government is wrong and the rest of the world right?

That would be the sane and normal reaction to all the events outlined above. Unfortunately for South Africa we are not dealing with sane and normal men.

6. The Nationalist Reaction

The Nationalists are sick men. Major Piet van der Byl, previously distinguished only by being the best-dressed man in the House and the worst Minister of Native Affairs before the Nationalists got in, redeemed himself to

some extent by correctly diagnosing the illness the other day. He called it *paranoia* — a mental derangement marked by delusions of grandeur, pride and persecution.

Listen to that incredible man de Wet Nel, BAD Minister, after police and Saracens had done their work at Warmbaths:

"The Government will not in any way be intimidated by their strike action to take any particular decision. They must return to their work and await the Minister's decision."

Verwoerd and his henchmen regard it as an unthinkable disaster to be influenced in the slightest degree by anything Africans and other Non-Whites say or do about their own conditions of life. They won't make a single voluntary concession — "Give them a finger, and they want the whole hand," is the stock expression. And when, in desperation, the people resort to mass action, another "principle" comes into operation — to make the slightest concession under pressure from the Non-White peoples is tantamount to total surrender.

Remember Schoeman, at the time of the Alexandra bus boycott? Not a single concession must be made he said, and he went on to warn PUTCO and Johannesburg businessmen of the dire consequences. (Fortunately for all concerned his warnings were ignored.)

Remember the same de Wet Nel after Sharpeville? "Race relations," he proclaimed, "have never been better."

These men do not merely think that their policy is the best one. They know they are right, with all the lunatic conviction of the maniac who knows he is Napoleon, or that the world will end next week, or — more appropriately — that the future of their Reich depends on his murdering six million Jews.

Addressing the General Assembly last month, Mr. Agha Shahi of Pakistan pleaded for the "milder" resolution, saying that "the South African Government must be given time to pause and reflect — perhaps it may even begin to doubt its own infallibility." How little does he understand the Verwoerdian mentality! For to those who are utterly convinced that they are the divinely-inspired leaders and saviours of South Africa, or rather what they are pleased to call "White civilisation," all criticism and admonishments are either ill-informed, the result of misunderstanding and misrepresentations, or malicious. It is so plain to them that they are right and the rest (ninety per cent. of South Africans and ninety-nine per cent. of humanity) are wrong, that each new defeat at UNO or in the Commonwealth or anywhere else is merely fresh evidence of a vast, universal conspiracy against them.

One's mind keeps harking back to that fantastic arraignment presented by the late Oswald Pirow at the close of the preparatory examination in the treason trial; in which — such was the power of his conviction — he almost had one per-

sued for a moment that Chief Lutuli, Dr. Naicker, Rev. Thompson and all the others were really engaged in a vast Red Plot. As we all know, subjected to merciless defence analysis in the cool, commonsense atmosphere of the Court, Pirow's lurid nightmare was reduced to the shabby patchwork of incompetent police evidence and sick fancies it always was.

But the Nats don't accept the verdict of their own Special Court; some of them want the law on High Treason amended, and Minister Erasmus has his Special Branch hounds out on raids once more against the very same victims looking for the very same conspiracy. There cannot be the slightest doubt that if he had the authority Verwoerd would have Macmillan, Nkrumah, Menzies, Nehru and all the other conspirators of UNO up before a Special Court charged with Communism and High Treason and all the rest of it.

But if the Nats. won't bend, even an inch, if they are determined to stick to their chosen course "though the heavens fall," what is going to be the result?

They have the answer to that one, too.

7. Preparing for Civil War

It's no good telling the Nationalist Government that the course they are so grimly adhering to will land the country in ruin, violence, disturbances, civil war. They know it. And they are, quite openly and unashamedly, preparing for it.

There is a sort of loony Nat, logic about all this. It's as if the driver of the bus you were in was heading along a steep, twisty road, straight towards a precipice. All along the way are warning notices: "Danger", "Road Up," "No Thoroughfare." People by the roadside keep shouting "Stop!" "Look out!"

"Mind your own business," snarls the driver. "I'm in charge here." The passengers, too, become alarmed. They begin to argue with the driver, to plead with him to stop, to turn back. "Don't worry," says the driver, pressing his heavy foot still harder on the gas. "Everything's fine. We'll come through this all right. Fasten your safety belts. Prepare for a nasty bashing. Some of you may survive. And, for God's sake," — the conductor produces his revolver at this stage — "SHUT UP!"

Exaggerated? Alarmist? Not a bit of it! Listen to Defence Minister Fouché — reputedly a "moderate" Nat — announcing how the Government proposes to meet the political and economic crisis brought about by apartheid..

The army is to be put on a war-time "battle-ready" footing.

The permanent force will be doubled.

Whites will be conscripted into the Citizen Force and their period of training extended from two to nine months.

A local armament industry is to be set up.

Other "less obvious" steps are being taken — but these are secret.

The "Star" (April 7, 1961) points out that Fouché's plan "amounts to keeping something like a division in the field continuously."

That is the "garrison state."

Who is threatening this country with invasion, to justify what amounts to a mobilisation? The Government does not even pretend that there is any present danger of external attack.

They are preparing for war for "the maintenance of peace and order internally." (Fouché). In other words, for war against the people of South Africa.

And what is the end of this road? Mr. Fouché is hopeful.

"South Africa might perhaps have unrest and disturbances, but she would be able to cope with them and then continue normally again," he said. (Star, April 8, 1961).

What on earth makes him think that we shall ever be able to "continue normally again?"

And, more important, what on earth makes the Nats. imagine that they can "cope with" the deep-seated social ills of this country, of which "unrest and disturbances" are merely the external symptoms, by means of military measures, of preparing for shooting and bloodshed, by means of repression, banings, banishments and concentration camps?

Oh, yes, they can shoot down unarmed and defenceless Africans — they have started all over again with the first Sharpeville of 1961 at Warmbaths. They can prepare their concentration camps at Robben Island and elsewhere. They can hunt down people's leaders, close down legal democratic journals, turn the SABC into a second Zeesen radio, turn the whole country into a jail..

And all these measures will not solve a single one of the burning and urgent problems facing the country. On the contrary, they will merely accentuate and sharpen every one of them.

As the "Star" puts it: "an ever-growing proportion of the White population will stand to arms against their Non-White neighbours who have no arms of their own to speak of, whose intentions are professedly passive, whose leaders are in jail or in exile, and with whom negotiation has never been attempted anyway."

8. Forward from May 29!

Do the Nats. relish the thought of civil war? If they do — and they show no signs of repugnance from the thought — they are the only ones in South Africa who want it.

Certainly one can hardly expect the African or any other people to stand by passively forever while police shoot at them with sten guns from armoured cars; if this sort of thing goes on much

longer no one should be surprised if spontaneous acts of retaliation become the order of the day. Violence breeds violence.

But violence has never been the chosen weapon of the mass democratic movement in this country. The National Action Council's plans for the eve-of-Republic demonstrations have been publicly stated by its spokesman, Mr. Nelson Mandela, to be non-violent (for his pains he was immediately sought out by the police.) At the time of writing it would appear that the demonstrations are likely to take the form of a Union-wide general strike commencing on Monday, May 29.

In other words, united, organised and disciplined action are the true weapons of the masses of the South African people in their "war" for the realisation of their aspirations for political rights, land, education, freedom and equality. And these are potent, unvanquishable weapons, stronger than any Fouché can import or manufacture.

For, voteless, rightless, oppressed and unarmed, the people are still the majority. They are the lifeblood of the country, the sinews of its industry, its agriculture, its mines and its transport. Taken singly, they may be weak, and at the mercy of the police state which is South Africa. United and organised, acting with a single will, they form a mighty army, an army of peaceful action, against which all Verwoerd's skettkommandos and divisions are powerless.

He cannot send his armies into the factories to operate the machines, or into the fields to reap the crops, just as he and Schoeman could not force the Alexandra workers into the PUTCO buses.

The fight the Nats are spilling for, they will not get. No Non-White leader or movement is going to be so foolish as to lead unarmed masses in battle array against their stormtroopers, so they may have the pleasure of shooting them down.

The battlefields of South Africa are the factories, the farms, the townships, the mines, the reserves. It is there that the people's army is mobilising and preparing their weapon of non-co-operation; and it is there that the rule of the Nationalists will be broken.

Peace has its casualties no less than war. The struggle ahead will no doubt be bitter, demanding courage, sacrifice and iron determination. May 29 is just the beginning. It will be followed by many harder battles. The country will suffer, but the outcome is not in doubt. Sooner or later we shall reach our goal: a democratic National Convention to build a democratic South Africa.

How long will it take?

Just as long as it takes for South Africa to get rid of the disastrous Nationalist Government and replace it with an administration ready to reason and negotiate.

It is high time the passengers stopped arguing and took steps to remove the hell-driver from the wheel.

THE MAN INSIDE THE SARACEN: HIS VIEW

The eve-of-republic situation in South Africa has been described by Dr. Verwoerd as "very serious" and by Die Burger as a "crisis."

One does not know, however, whether Dr. Verwoerd and Die Burger believe their own warnings. Dr. Verwoerd may be trying to create an atmosphere in which he can take severe action against the leaders of the May 30 demonstrations, while Die Burger may simply be grinding its own axe, which at the moment happens to be an attempt to persuade the Nationalist Party to be more flexible.

The point is that one must not make the mistake of imagining that either Dr. Verwoerd or "Die Burger" have woken upon to the full seriousness of the situation. The situation can be seen in perspective only if one looks at it from the proper side, that is, from the side of the oppressed African masses. Dr. Verwoerd and "Die Burger" are looking at it from the other side.

It makes a big difference whether one is inside or outside the Saracen.

Oppressors never believe their end is near, until it is actually upon them. The Nationalist Party in Parliament, therefore, proceeds with apartheid as though nothing had really happened. The inner core of Dr. Verwoerd's supporters believe that a "plot" is being hatched to overthrow them, but they are confident it can be scotched. The ragged outer fringe of Nationalist Parliamentarians is rather more worried by the situation, but there is not one of them who thinks the end of Afrikaner baasskap, not to speak of White rule, is in sight.

Swim or Sink

In between, there is the majority group of M.P.s and Senators who swim or sink with Dr. Verwoerd, and who have given no hint that they might challenge the Prime Minister's position.

Talk of a revolt in the Nationalist Party in Parliament is premature, while the present situation lasts, or indeed until it becomes much more serious. Any break in the Nationalist caucus now could result only in the abandonment of Afrikaner baasskap. It would have to be traded in for the next best thing, White rule.

This is not a sacrifice which is lightly made. Afrikaner baasskap is not only a political idea, but materially rewarding.

It ensures that Afrikaner farmers are nursed by the State, that Afrikaner boys and girls are provided with employment (on a basis of race, not merit) by the Public Service, that selected Afrikaners get the key jobs in the Public Service, the Railways, the Army, the Police Force, the SABC, that Afrikaner businessmen are encouraged in a dozen subtle ways, that any part of Afrikanerdom which is shaky is supported immediately by a State prop.

By

GEORGE IRWIN

Afrikaner baasskap will not be surrendered easily. It is even possible that it will linger on to a point where, when it goes down, it will drag down much of White rule with it.

A break in the Parliamentary ranks of Afrikanerdom, therefore, must not be expected until the foundations of Nationalist rule receive a much more severe shaking. This does not preclude the possibility of an early crack in the extra-Parliamentary ranks of Afrikanerdom, on a small scale; but again a breakaway movement of Nationalist intellectuals would not immediately affect the Government's voting strength.

We face this position then: the Nationalists in Parliament, whether they are Verwoerd loyalists or Cape dissidents, do not seriously believe that their whole structure is threatened, and they are still united in their desire to maintain Afrikaner baasskap.

In their simple, direct way, they ask themselves what forces can overthrow them. The answer they give is: international campaigns, economic collapse, or non-White revolt.

Scale of Sanctions

As far as international campaigns are concerned, the Nationalists are utterly confident that there will never be armed foreign intervention. As far as sanctions are concerned, they are just as sure that Britain, the United States, France, Western Germany, etc., will never participate in drastic action of this kind, and in fact will act to prevent the imposition of sanctions on an important scale.

A glance at South Africa's table of exports shows how protected the Nationalists are. South Africa's big customers are the powers mentioned. One's finger travels a long way down the list before one comes to a country which might be prepared to embark on sanctions, and then it is found that the value of exports is in the region of a couple of million pounds only.

Many Nationalist M.P.s are openly contemptuous of the ability and, indeed, the desire of even the Afro-Asian world to impose sanctions. They point out that, with odd exceptions, like the Sudan, the wave of boycott talk has amounted to very little in practice. Even Ghana makes exceptions for mining machinery! And, these Nationalists ask, what has happened to the threats of air fields being closed, ports shut, diplomats withdrawn, etc. Egypt, for example, refers over Cairo radio to "White pigs" in South Africa, and enthusiastically endorses the resolutions of the All-African conference; nevertheless, it retains a legation (not merely a consulate!) in the Union, and trade proceeds as usual.

Cabinet Cadillacs

The Nationalists admit that the Afro-Asian countries one day might get around to implementing their promises, but they say that the sum total of the boycotts will be small compared with the overall export figure. This means an added measure of industrial stagnation, but there are Nationalist theorists who will tell you that it is better to have a semi-impooverished country (like Portugal or Spain) which is controllable, than a prosperous one which is not. The Cabinet, after all, will retain its Cadillacs.

The question arises, too, of South-West Africa, but even Mr. Japie Basson believes that at least two years will elapse before the International Court gives its ruling (does Britain, or the United States, want to see U.N. trusteeship in South-West Africa — not on your life!).

The economic situation is more serious. The retail trade, however, is fairly good: it is further down the line that the trouble has started. The Stock Exchange is having a bad time, but Afrikaners are not immediately threatened. As for the foreign reserves, there are devices which can be used still to keep a crisis at bay (Dr. Donges has intimated that big withdrawals may be made from the I.M.F.).

Finally, there are the Non-Whites. There is not a Nationalist Parliamentarian, however, who does not genuinely believe that the Police Force and the Army can cope with the situation. It is as simple as that.

Superficial arguments, all these? Calculations which do not take into account the most important element of all — the accidental, unexpected event? Yes, of course! This is not the point, though.

Sealed Off

What has been given here is the Nationalist point of view (excluding only some intellectuals and others). People who are involved in the day-to-day struggle against apartheid are inclined sometimes to underestimate the abysmal ignorance and non-awareness of the Nationalist electorate and of the Parliamentarians who represent it.

We see the future vividly. We expect, therefore, that the Nationalists have also caught a glimpse of it. This is not necessarily so. The bulk of the Nationalist Party, leaders as well as rank-and-file, are hermetically sealed off from reality. When they learn the facts of life, it will be the hard way.

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Economics: The Siege Sets In

by ROBIN FARQUHARSON

Politically South Africa has been in a state of siege since . . . well, incipiently since 1948 (Nationalist Government elected), perceptibly since February-March 1960 (Macmillan and Sharpeville) and intensively since March 1961 (Commonwealth, UN, Cairo and all that jazz). But on the economic front, things have remained comparatively free and easy, and even if the prospects have been dark, the Government's whistling has still been remarkably loud.

At 2.45 p.m. on Thursday, May 4, the bubble burst. Dr. Theophilus E. Dönges, Minister of Finance, stepped forward in the House of Assembly to announce measures appropriate to a country in the midst of a grave econo-

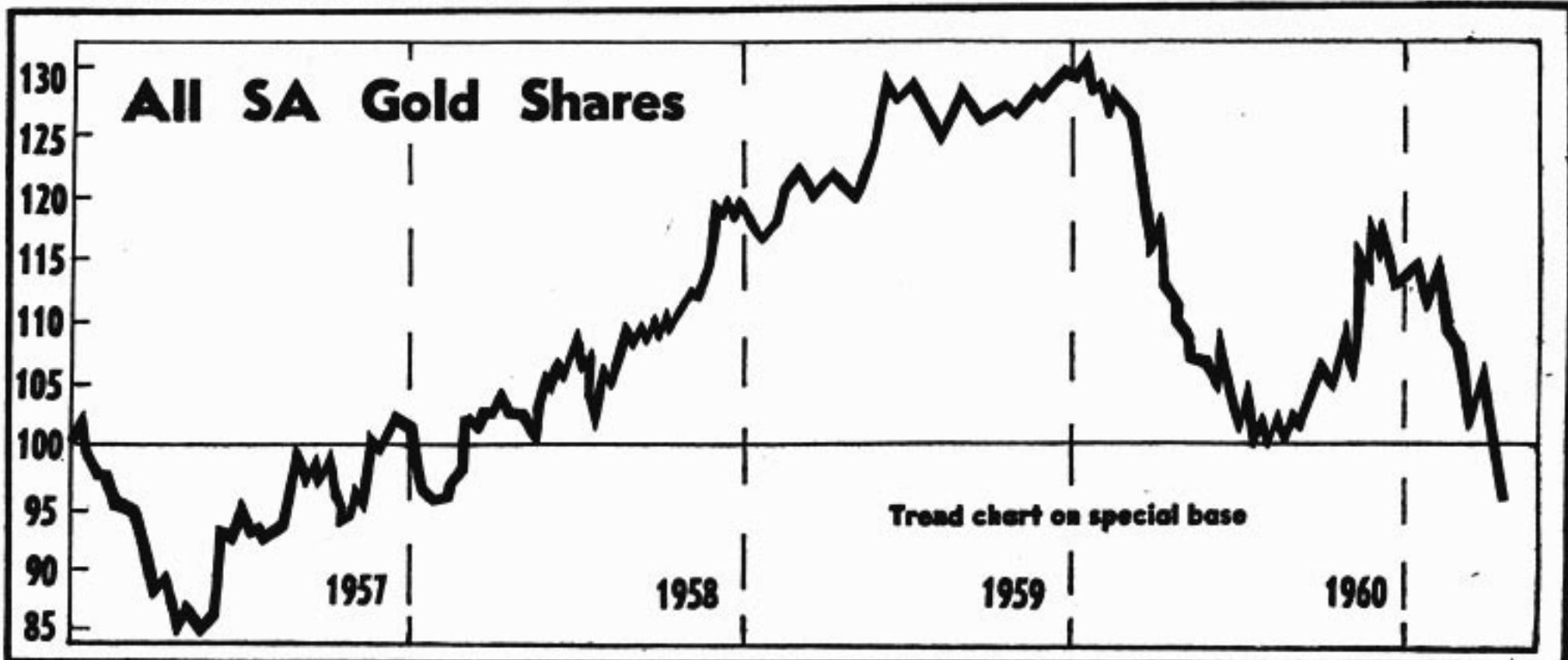
Bank from 6% to 8%, and the increase in the yield of Government stock from 5½% to 5¾% — this is an entirely unprecedented rate for internal loans, and can only be treated as evidence that the Government must now be considered substantially less creditworthy than those building societies paying 5½% on permanent shares.

The brave words with which Dr. Dönges accompanied his restrictions will deceive few at home and none overseas. "The Government has decided, in the belief that prevention is better than cure, to take certain immediate steps to arrest the decline in the reserves and to strengthen confidence in our econo-

also to avoid the possible spread of disturbances to other areas. Although the disturbances were effectively localised and settled, and orderly conditions in employment and production were promptly restored, an element of uncertainty was evidently created abroad which was in various ways reflected in a decline in confidence on the part of foreign investors, and in a substantial net outflow of of capital."

Part of this was brought about by the purchase of Union securities by Union residents after Sharpeville — in addition, Dr. de Kock observed that there were "substantial net withdrawals by foreign investors of short-term as well as long-term funds through channels other than the stock exchange."

INVESTORS' FAITH FALTERS



mic crisis. Its terms constituted the government's official admission that only a close approach to a siege economy could stem the drain on foreign exchange reserves. So urgent was the situation, his measures implied, that steps must be taken to curb internal credit even though this might intensify the existing decline in employment, investment and liquidity and thus throw the country into a genuine depression.

His external measures consisted principally, at the time of writing, of exchange curbs on transfers by residents. Emigration, holidays abroad, investment overseas — all these are now luxuries strictly rationed, and liable to be cut off entirely if the situation worsens. Imports will be much tougher, with special and drastic restrictions applying to cars and textiles. Permits already issued, for all types of goods, "may be exchanged on the basis of R3 for R1" — a cut of two-thirds. Of the internal measures, the most important are the increase in bank rate from 4½% to 5%, the increase in the required deposits of Commercial Banks with the Reserve

omy. In fact, nothing is so calculated to create confidence abroad as when a country gives proof that it is determined to put its own house in order." In fact, nothing is so calculated to undermine confidence abroad as when a country gives formal notice that its economy is leaking at all the seams, and at the same time shouts loudly that "the Rand will not, repeat not, be devalued" — a declaration which, as Sir Stafford Cripps once explained, Ministers of Finance are morally bound to make just as they prepare for such a step.

The crack has come suddenly — but it has been evident for a long time that it would have to come. On August 10, 1960, Dr. de Kock, Governor of the South African Reserve Bank, was reporting that the recent sharp reversal in the exchange position "can be attributed primarily to the repercussions of the riots which took place in certain Bantu townships towards the end of March, and which caused the Government to declare a state of emergency in order to enable it not only to deal with the situation in the localities concerned, but

Since then the indicators have gone wild — gold shares, the most important single index of general economic confidence, have plunged and are plunging down and down. The position of the banks has become more difficult, with their cash in hand dwindling while their reserve requirements are increased. Many, many firms in Johannesburg are cutting down on expansion and stocks, restricting credit, getting into as liquid a position as possible. Some are even seriously investigating the possibility of opening Australian branches. Individuals, the press reports, are markedly less ready to pay cash than they were even in February. Uncertainty prevails, deepening into lack of confidence, the prime herald of slump.

For an economy is a complex organism, not only a thing of money, goods and flesh. Its mainspring is not money, not goods — but rather something intangible and psychological, the state of people's minds. The physical preconditions for a boom or a slump are im-

(Continued on next page)

Trade Prospects in Africa? Shrinking

The March 1961 "OPTIMA" features an article by G. V. Doxey on the prospects for South African trade South of the Sahar.

The author stresses the dependence of the greater part of Africa on external trade. With the exception of the Union, and to a lesser extent the Federation there is no immediate possibility of any of the African countries South of the Sahara supplying the majority of their wants from domestic industry.

Close the Trade Gap

The Union's great concern is how her trade can be expanded and her economic links with other African territories strengthened to mutual advantage.

South Africa needs to export more not only to earn the foreign exchange essential to pay for her increasing volume of imports, but also to provide local industries with wider markets for their products so that they can operate at their fullest and most economic capacity. While earnings from gold have increased, its fixed price limits the amount the Union can earn from this basic export, and we continue to import more goods than we export. It is very necessary to increase our exports if we are to avoid an unhealthy trade gap and resulting drastic control of imports.

Mr. Doxey points out that as the most industrially advanced state on the African continent, it would appear logical for the Union to assume a leading role in inter-regional trade. The expansion of trade with African territories will re-

* Journal of the Anglo-American Corporation.

Economics: The Siege

(Continued from page 7)

portant — but it is forecasts, intentions and expectations which actuate decisions to buy, to sell or to invest. No economy in the world, strong or weak, can resist a widespread lack of confidence on the part of the individuals whose decisions constitute the working of the economy. And, by its measures, the government has given the consumer, the merchant and the investor further and powerful grounds for alarm. That the measures were called for by the situation, indeed inevitable, makes things no better: for this means that the alarm is justified.

So what of the future? It is clear that, unless by some means the lack of confidence can be redressed, the Union is in for a long hard siege — and that even without considering such direct external pressures as boycotts, or economic sanctions. The remedy is not, as Dr. Dönges has done, to proclaim crisis measures that will intensify the crisis. Rather it is to remove the root cause of the lack of confidence by steps to bring about internal peace and end outside pressure. Did I hear anyone suggesting a National Convention?

quire proof of the Union's ability to compete successfully with the other major suppliers of imports. The overall market for consumer goods is limited by the poverty of the mass of the people in African territories and there is also the likelihood that further limitations may be created as and when tariff barriers are erected to protect local "infant industries."

S.A. Markets

In 1959 South Africa's total exports were valued at £389.3 million. Of this 28.3% went to the United Kingdom, 18.5% went to Western Europe and Scandinavia and 9.6% went to North America. Exports to African territories South of the Sahara represented 18.4% of the value of all exports.

These latter exports were divided among the principal African markets as follows:—

	Million	%
Fed. of Rhod. & N.	£53.0	13.7
Mozambique & Angola	£ 7.1	1.8
British East Africa	£ 5.2	1.4
Belgian Congo	£ 2.7	0.7
Ghana	£ 2.2	0.6
Nigeria	£ 0.9	0.2
Total	£71.1	18.4

The Federation is second in importance only to the U.K. as a single market for S.A. exports. At the moment the danger of boycott does not appear very great although the future cannot be predicted with certainty. The limitations on the further expansion of trade between the two countries stem rather from the Federation's aim to protect its own industries in the interests of industrial expansion. 40% of S.A. exports to the Federation consist of metal manufactures, machinery and vehicles, and these items are still duty free. It would appear that there is still scope for further expansion of trade particularly along the above lines.

Mozambique and Angola are still safe as future markets with possibilities of expansion. The author finds that this is fully appreciated by official and business circles in the Union, and, with the actual and possible loss of other African markets, it takes on an added significance.

There is a strong anti-South African feeling in African circles in British East Africa and this may become of more consequence as these territories move towards self-rule. In the first six months of 1960, the Union's exports to British East Africa were running at approximately the same rate as in 1959.

The Congo until recently provided a useful market for S.A. products. Obviously the 'restoration of law and order' in the Congo would not necessarily guarantee the resumption and expansion of trade with South Africa as it is possible that anti-South African attitudes

would be expressed in the form of boycotts.

The Government of Ghana has announced a total official boycott not only of S.A. goods but also of South African nationals entering the country. The Nigerian market should have proved of increasing value to S.A. but here again the question of boycott arises.

On the basis of economic factors alone the Union enjoys definite advantages in relation to the rest of the African continent which should make it possible for her to increase her share of overall African markets.

The Stumbling Block

However the author's view is that in considering the whole question of S.A.'s trade it is impossible to avoid political realities. "It is not possible to ignore the repercussions that must inevitably flow from the Union Government's determination not to deviate from its present rigid race policies." Even though the Union may be the most convenient and cheapest source of supply, economic sanctions are imposed. There are always alternative sources of supply — in countries which are regarded as free from the stigma of race prejudice.

The ability of S.A. to exploit her advantages on the African continent must, therefore depend to a significant, if not predominant, extent on her ability to establish a basis for friendly and cordial co-operation with other African states, comparable with that proffered by her competitors.

Mr. Doxey finds that official policies are making it more, and not, less difficult for S.A. to fulfil this role.

At a time when the entire African continent is undergoing rapid economic change, resulting in the loosening of old ties and the creation of new economic alignments, the Union stands alone among exporting countries in that she is losing rather than gaining trade.

The Government is at the moment embarking on an all-out export drive in other parts of the world. She may be shocked to find a similar trade resistance there. South African policy has been condemned even in quarters where it was least expected, such as Western Germany.

The trade sanctions imposed by African states are of ever increasing importance in the struggle against South Africa's apartheid policy. Apart from closing off much needed markets they have a great psychological impact.

Every new boycott undermines still further the investor's confidence in S.A. With less investment capital coming into the country there is an even greater dependence on export earnings, and so the vicious circle goes on. It is a circle that the Nationalist Government can never hope to break.

M.B.

SOUTH AFRICA VERSUS THE WORLD

SCOREBOARD

Compiled by
BEATA LIPMAN

A world outraged by South African racialism has taken action on 4 fronts:— ECONOMIC, DIPLOMATIC, SPORTING AND CULTURAL.

Over the past few years the world has increasingly repudiated South Africa's vicious apartheid policies. At first countries and organisations contented themselves with passing resolutions deploring conditions in South Africa and appealing to the Government to change its policies.

Of late, however, and especially since Sharpeville, the accent has been on POSITIVE ACTION, not talk.

In 1961 the pressure has grown to such an extent that after South Africa's expulsion from the Commonwealth, the Political Committee of the United Nations, as well as the General Assembly, have passed wellnigh unanimously such strongly worded resolutions urging action against the present regime that Dr. Verwoerd speaks of 'an external crisis.'

The fight in the economic, diplomatic, cultural and sporting fields has at all times been carried on in close association

with our own South African organisations — we mention particularly the Congress and Trade Union movement, the S.A. United Front, the South African Indian Congress (which since 1946 has done propaganda work at UNO on the position of S.A. Indians), the South West African National Union, and the South African Sports Association and its various sporting affiliates.

AT THE SAME TIME, WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF THE BREAKDOWN OF THE COLOUR-BAR HAS MADE CONSISTENT PROGRESS, DESPITE EVER HARSHER LAWS AIMED AT MAINTAINING THE STATUS QUO.

With the emphasis of modern democratic practice in the world today on equal rights and opportunities for all men, and its concurrent respect for individual dignity and worth, the Nationalist Government stands totally rejected, and the forces in South Africa working for a non-racial democracy are getting maximum assistance from a sympathetic and indignant world.

DIPLOMATIC

1946-1958. The United Nations General Assembly passes annual resolutions deploring treatment of Indian people in South Africa, also resolutions asking South Africa to cooperate on South West African issue.

1959. Oct. Trusteeship Committee of United Nations calls on S.A. (by 56 votes to 5) to enter into negotiations with UN with view to placing SWA under UN trusteeship. General Assembly passes resolution expressing 'regret and concern' over S.A.'s race policies. United States, Holland and Ceylon take strong stand against South Africa. Sharp exchange of Notes between Holland and South Africa.

Dec. UN instructs Hammarskjöld to visit South Africa to discuss S.W. African issue with Nationalist Government.

1960. Mar. Security Council of the UN discusses Sharpeville. Strongest criticism from all 11 members — Hammarskjöld instructed to add apartheid to his discussion agenda. April. Brazil calls on all American nations to take joint action against apartheid.

1961. May. W. Germany cancels Eric Louw's proposed visit and officially invites Tunku Abdul Rahman, Premier of Malaya, instead.

Aug. Ghana makes anti-apartheid declaration a condition for South Africans to be able to pass through Ghana.

Oct. UNESCO 'Courier' publishes article on apartheid next to article on Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany.

Nov. Ethiopia and Liberia file action against South Africa in World Court, accuse her of not fulfilling

old League of Nations mandate on SWA and of racial discrimination and suppression of rights and liberties.

1961. Mar. Ghana and Tanganyika take strong stand against S.A.'s continued membership of British Commonwealth of Nations.

Mar. 15. South Africa expelled from Commonwealth. Commonwealth Prime Ministers adopt set of common principles, including that of racial equality. S.A. thus loses all mutual diplomatic assistance and services.

Mar. 16. Malaya states there will be no normal diplomatic relations between herself and the Union while it continues to practice Apartheid.

Apr. 7. General Assembly passes (84-0) resolution calling on S.A. to desist from its 'tyrannical policies and racial practices' in SWA. USA votes against S.A.

The resolution instructs the appointed UN Committee to visit territory 'with or without' S.A.'s cooperation to enable it to submit its report on conditions in the territory. Burma makes particularly strong speech.

Apr. 10. Special Political Committee of the UN passes (95-1) resolution condemning Union Government for its Apartheid policies.

Resolution requests all states 'to consider taking such separate and collective action as is open to them . . . to bring about the abandonment of these policies'. Only Portugal votes against resolution.

Apr. 13. General Assembly votes (78-0) unanimously against Union's treatment of people of Indian and Pakistani origin, urges negotiations.

ECONOMIC

1960. Some S. African manufacturers start to export some goods without imprint 'Made in South Africa'.

Mar. Boycott month in Britain — culmination to 'Boycott South African goods' campaign. London County Council resolves (93-9) to boycott S.A. goods 'in abhorrence of apartheid policy of Government.'

Mar. Boycott month in Denmark.

Mar./Apr. South African foreign exchange reserves fall heavily after Sharpeville. Foreign investors withdraw funds.

May. Afro-Asian delegates walk out of International Labour Organisation Conference in Geneva in protest at seating of S.A. delegates who represent only Whites and thus official 'master race' policy.

July. Malaya boycotts all S. African goods. Trade Union Congress and Associ. Chambers of Commerce both pledge complete support.

Dunlops dismiss 208 workers as result of Far Eastern boycott of S.A. goods.

Ghana imposes economic boycott— S.A. fish-canning industry loses 16% of its trade, worth R2,000,000.

* Ghana, Nigeria and Malaya stop supplying S.A. with vitally needed hardwood. S.A.'s main suppliers— wood needed for building, furniture, railway sleepers.)

Aug. 'African Lightning' returns from Trinidad with S.A. cargo (15 products) which West Indian dockworkers have refused to handle — heavy financial loss for S.A. manufacturers.

Sept. S.A. loses woollen piece goods preferential market in the Federation. New general trade agreement with Federation not as beneficial

to S.A. — economists agree that this is due to political situation.

- * Tanganyika encourages economic boycott of S.A. Tanganyikan Stevedore and Dockworkers Union refuses to handle S.A. goods.
 - * S.A. fishing industry loses African potential market because of apartheid, according to an official spokesman for industry.
 - * Cape Town candle factory loses 85% of its export trade (Nigeria, Ghana, British West Indies and Malaya).
1961. Jan. Ethiopia imposes ban on all goods of S.A. origin.
Mar. Barbados, West Indies, joins Jamaica in boycott of all S.African goods.
British Guiana imposes boycott on all S.A. imports.
- * Tanganyika announces she will stop all men from Tanganyika coming to work in South African gold mines. Mar. 15. As result of Commonwealth expulsion —
Heavy selling of S.A. shares in London and New York, followed by flight of overseas capital.
Locally gold and foreign exchange reserves fall sharply.
Loss of Commonwealth priority on London market of future overseas issues.
Present Preferential tariffs to remain for 1 year only — after that S.A. goods will no longer be sold more cheaply in Commonwealth market — customs duty to be imposed.
(50% of our exports go to Commonwealth at present—R279,000,000.)
Apr. 10. Nigeria bans all trade with S.A.

CULTURAL

1955. British Musicians' Union makes it a condition of playing in S.A. that its members must give performances for Non-Europeans.
1956. Equity, the Association of British Artists, passes resolution by large majority instructing its members not to work in any theatre in which any form of colour-bar operates unless there is a clause in the contract to ensure that a definite proportion of performances are open to Non-Europeans.
1958. Multi-racial jazz groups and audiences, united by a common love of music, follow overseas precedent and ignore the colour-bar to establish jazz-clubs in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape town.
1959. American Equity backs British Equity resolution and insists that the cast of 'The Pyjama Game' must play to Non-European audiences as well.
- * Johnny Dankworth, British jazz-musician of world repute, refuses to play in South Africa while segregated audiences continue to exist.
 - * Famous classical pianist Roslyn Tureck and Spanish dancer Antonio take similar stand. Miss Tureck speaks of "this humiliating state of affairs."

1960. British playwright Arnold Wesker ('Roots') refuses permission for any of his plays to be performed in S.A. while colour-bar exists.

American playwright Lorraine Hansbury ('A Raisin in the Sun') follows suit.

1961. Apr. British Equity passes a new resolution demanding that a definite proportion of all performances should be open to all Non-Whites, that such performances should be identical to those given to the Whites, and in the same theatre.

American Equity show themselves in favour of taking a strong stand against any type of colour-bar performance.

SPORT

1956. Table-tennis. The all-White S.A. T.T.U. is excluded from the International Table-tennis Federation, and the non-racial S.A. Table Tennis Board is admitted in its place.

1958. Campaign against Race Discrimination in Sport initiated in England — patrons include John Arlott, Benjamin Britten, Sir Julian Huxley, Stan Matthews, Rev. David Sheppard, Alistair Sim.

1959. Jan. The South African Sports Association is formed to fight against discrimination and work for international recognition of colour-bar free sport in all fields.

Sends Memorandum to International Olympic Committee and makes first representations.

July. Sewsunker (Papwa) Sewgolum from South Africa wins Dutch Open Golf Championship.

Aug. Worrell's team of West Indians calls off colour-bar tour of South Africa after strong protests both from within S.A. and from overseas.

- * Demonstrations against all-White S.A. Rugby team when it lands in New Zealand to play all-White New Zealand teams.

1960. Apr. Demonstrations in Wellington, New Zealand, against sending all-White New Zealand Rugby team to Union.

- * S.A. Cricket team meets with hostile reception at London Airport, and well-organised campaign and demonstrations take place throughout tour.

(Rev. David Sheppard, former MCC player, refuses to stand for selection against an all-White South African team.)

July. FIFA (International Football Federation) orders all its affiliates to remove racial discrimination by July 1961. (S.A. Football Federation has petitioned for this for past 5 years.)

At time of going to Press the all-White Football Association of S.A. has not yet come to a decision.

Aug. Campaign against Racial Discrimination in Sport sends letter to International Olympic Committee

at Lausanne saying that S.A.'s present all-White selection system as a breach of First Article of Olympic Charter.

Mr. Reg Honey, Sec. of S.A. Olympic Committee, promises overseas critics and SASA that any Non-European of sufficient merit will participate in future Olympic Games — but maintains separate trials.

- * England refuses to send a Table-Tennis team on tour of Union.

1961. Apr. British Empire and Commonwealth Games Federation agrees to consult SASA when the question of S.A.'s re-admission to the Commonwealth Games is discussed.

- * The Pakistan and West Indies Cricket Boards will demand that S.A. revise her race policy in cricket before she is admitted as a member of the Imperial Cricket Conference after May 31st.

- * International Olympic Committee issued statement saying that it is only a matter of time before the Non-White countries dominate the Games.

- * All-African Sports Federation decides to take strong action if S.A. is allowed to continue sending racialist teams to international events.

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Faltering Heart-Beat

The winds of change are sweeping even into the D.R.C. — and bringing new crises for Dr. Verwoerd.

The Afrikaans church is the very heart-beat of Nationalist Afrikanerdom; it is the citadel of the Volk's conscience, and — up to now — the source of spiritual justification for apartheid.

As the keystone of "Volkseenheid", its alliance with the Nationalist Party has been a major pillar of Dr. Verwoerd's power.

But the whole structure of Nationalist power has been shaken to its foundations by a "revolt" in the laager.

Leading D.R.C. churchmen have questioned the moral basis of apartheid and have demanded that the Afrikaans churches form their independent race policy.

The trouble is that some of the dominees cannot forget that they are Christians and Protestants and that they have co-religionists in other lands. The N.G. churches have for long been members of the World Council of Churches, an organisation which was so inconsiderate as to hold its annual "Consultation" at Cottesloe, Johannesburg, last December.

At this meeting certain resolutions condemning racialism among Christians were put forward, and N.G. representatives, influenced by the overwhelming opinion of the other delegates, were induced to support them.

Five members of the Transvaal Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk even went so far as to write a book, *Delayed Action*, putting forward these new ideas. This provoked a storm of denunciation from old-fashioned dominees, because it contained "liberalistic statements smacking of negrophilism." Negrophilism means "love of the blacks." If this is not exactly a heinous crime for a white Christian it is at least something no really respectable white member of the N.G. Kerk would advocate without qualification.

Attacking his fellow professors, van Selms and Geyser, for what they wrote in *Delayed Action*, Professor Dr. S. P. Engelbrecht declared in *Die Hervormer*: "The basic mistake of both these writers is that they reject the distinction of the Reformation between the visible and the invisible church and therefore support the Roman Church attitude that the church is only visible."

The implication here is apparently that if you have these two kinds of "churches", the visible one can practise apartheid while the invisible one does not, and so everything is O.K. by God.

Proceeding, Prof. Engelbrecht said: "Professor van Selms has endangered his reputation as a scientific theologian because of his theological ignorance. He

BANTUSTAN WINDOW-DRESSING

The R10 million made available to the South African Native Trust in this year's budget was an afterthought. It does not appear in the printed estimates of Expenditure for 1962 which provide for an increase of only R1,179,310, but was announced on March 15th, 1961, when the Minister of Finance gave his budget speech. This coincided with the Commonwealth Conference and can be regarded as a piece of window dressing.

Expenditure on Bantu Administration, Education and the development of the reserves for 1951/52 came to 5.9% of the total expenditure. The corresponding figure for 1961/62 is 5.63%.

Even with the additional R10 million the percentage amounts to only 7.02 of the total estimated expenditure for the year. Clearly the extra R10 million was an afterthought, but it is not without significance to the Nationalists and their supporters.

Estimates of Expenditure to be defrayed from Revenue Funds

	1951/52	1961/2	
Native Affairs	£ 3,490,000	£11,800,000	(R23,600,000)
Native Education	6,424,000	6,500,000	(R13,000,000)
S.A. Native Trust Statutory Amounts	923,000	1,982,000	(R 3,964,000)
	10,837,000	+ 5,000,000	
		25,282,000	(R10,000,000)
Total Budget	£181,800,000		R358,662,000

Native Affairs: (Bantu Administration and Development):

Money spent under this vote brings little benefit to the Africans. Much of it for the payment of bureaucrats — the administration of reference bureaux, the collection of taxes, the maintenance of chieftainship. More than 50% of the B.A.D. officials (and all the highest paid) are Whites. All this would be unnecessary were it not for the policy of 'separate development'.

Education:

State expenditure, when worked out per child, is actually less now than it was in 1951/2. The percentage of Afri-

commits such dogmatic-historical blunders as would cause a first-year theological student to fail his examinations."

The Transvaal N.G.K. has now withdrawn from the World Council of Churches. It remains to be seen what the South African National synod (which is to combine all the N.G. churches) will do when it meets for the first time next year.

In the meantime goodness knows what is happening in Supreme Headquarters upstairs. It has long been assumed that the Almighty has always taken a special interest in the Nationalist Government and its leaders. He has intervened more than once in the interests of the Chosen, as all who recall the events of March and April 1960 will readily remember. However when Christians fall out among themselves, who can be quite sure what side God will ultimately take?

can children that proceed beyond the lower standards is little higher now than it was ten years ago, and the matriculation passes have dropped from 40.3% to 17.9% since the government took over control of mission schools in 1953.

Development of Reserves:

A total of R17,500,000, including the R10 million, is allocated to the Native Trust Fund for 1962, to be divided as follows:—

Purchase of land	R 2,000,000
General development	8,300,000
Establishment of villages	4,800,000
Machinery and equipment	1,000,000
Bantu Investment Corp.	1,000,000
Electricity supply	400,000

R17,500,000

We can take it for granted that there are no blue prints drawn up for the

spending of the R10 million. Neither the Department of Bantu Development nor the Treasury could have known that this money was going to be available until a few days before the Minister gave his budget speech.

If it takes six months before these blue prints are drafted, little of this money will find its way into the reserves before the end of the year, and most of it will find its way into the pockets of the technicians — all Whites — who will be employed to draw up the plans.

Assuming, however, that this R10 m. is spent eventually on the reserves, could it improve them to such an extent as to enable them 'to lessen the economic lure of the white urban areas', as Dr. Donges hopes, or accommodate that portion of the urban African population that Mr. Botha, Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs says must quit the Western Cape?

The answer is no. An extra R10m., or even R0m. every year can never make up for ground lost during the last 30 years. Far from bringing about an improvement in the standard of living of the present inhabitants and enabling more to make their homes there, it will barely maintain the status quo. More than money is needed to change the reserves. Power must be given to the peasants, and the migratory system must end. The system of land tenure must be changed.

Purchase of Land:

The government has not yet acquired even the minimum of 7,50,000 morgen of land laid down by the 1936 Act for ad-

dition to the reserves. Only 4,810,689 morgen have been acquired either by the Trust, or by Africans, leaving a total of 2,439,311 to be purchased. At current prices, the extra R2 million plus the R1,500,000 originally estimated for this purpose, will purchase less than 10% of that still to be acquired. In the meantime, the cost of land is rising, the number of White farmers willing to sell is decreasing, and it will take many years before the total is added to the present areas.

General Development:

The largest amount — R8,300,000 — is set aside for this purpose, and includes soil reclamation, water supply, irrigation and afforestation etc. The Tomlinson Commission, whose report was published in 1955, estimated that in order to raise the carrying capacity of the Bantu areas at an improved standard of living, the amount to be spent on soil conservation alone would have to be £27 million, within a ten year period. Half of that time has gone, and the total amount spent for this purpose has been £702,722. Amounts spent on irrigation, the establishment of villages, industrial development are equally disappointing. Only in the case of afforestation has there been significant progress.

Village Settlements:

What is their function? When an area is to be reclaimed, the land is divided for residential, arable and grazing purposes. The inhabitants are sorted out into full-time farmers, the number being in relation to the estimated carrying capacity of the reclaimed area, and those who must find a means of livelihood elsewhere. These latter are to be concentrated into 'high density residential areas' or rural villages. Thousands of Africans endorsed out of urban areas, displaced from mission or company land are also to be crowded into these villages. All this is done in the interests of 'separate development.'

How they are to make their livings is not so clear. There is to be employment within the reserves themselves, on plantations, in producing sugar cane and furniture. But there can never be a surplus above the subsistence level of the community for sale outside the reserves for this would compete with produce from European areas. The village inhabitants must remain poor.

There are also to be 'regional townships.' Here the male residents will find work in towns and industries on the borders of the reserves. They will return home at night, or in the weekends, or at longer intervals. In fact, the villages will be similar to the present urban locations, the workers will earn their living by working for white bosses and the migratory system will be perpetuated, though the distance between home and work place will be shortened. Five of these townships are envisaged, but there are as yet no inhabitants.

Moral Rearmament The Sugar Pill

by A. WANNENBERGH

"Absolute Honesty, Absolute Purity, Absolute Unselfishness, Absolute Love"

Slogans advertising a patent medicine?

Dr. Frank's Moral Re-Armament wagon is back in town with a duffle-box full of tonic for Democracy. If there's a trade union bothering you, or if the peace movement keeps you awake at night, let him have a crack at keeping

them quiet with a dose of "Ideology". Not to mention his very latest prescription, just what the Doctor (Verwoerd) ordered: a long rest for African liberation.

"Ideology" is Dr. Frank Buchman's magic remedy for all social disorders because he sees them all as symptoms of the same irritant — Communism.

Hitler From Heaven

It would be unfair, though, to suggest that he was as late in specialising in anti-Communism as some of South Africa's more recently prominent politicians. In fact, as far back as 1936 he is remembered as having said: "I thank heaven for a man like Adolph Hitler, who built a front line defence against the anti-Christ of Communism." A viewpoint shared by many senior members of the Nationalist Party.

On the surface, the "Ideology" of MRA seems to be a sort of moral utopia where everyone decides to stop being beastly to each other, and they all live happily ever after.

Human nature, Buchman, "discovered", — though somewhat later than Pavlov — can be changed. Hence, MRA is the ideology of change. This "Ideology" is Buchman's formula for changing the world. It starts with the four moral standards: Absolute Honesty, Absolute Purity, Absolute Unselfishness and Absolute Love, whereby the natures of individual people are changed; and then there is supposed to be a sort of snowball of "human nature" in which people gather economic, social and national changes, finally swelling into an international change. All based on personal change.

Never-Never Utopia

Which is all very pretty. But apparently the hill chosen for this particular snowball is not very steep, and this snowball ain't going no place fast. As Stephen Foot, one of MRA's leading salesmen, admits in one of his tracts: "To create a new type of man and rebuild the world is not a matter of years but of centuries."

Few of us anticipate living for centuries, however; and, in the meanwhile, white-supremacists would get no end of a thrill seeing those who DO desire a change in the present set-up falling into line with such an obviously prolonged programme.

However, the never-never utopia appears to be only a secondary objective.

The immediate object of MRA is to fight everything in which it imagines there to be a Communist influence; and in this its imagination is at least as fertile as that of the Minister of Justice.

The Bantu Investment Corporation:

This was established in 1959, and is to get another R1 million. In 1960, only £236,000 was spent on 66 existing or new industrial, financial or other undertakings.

To sum up:

Only two-thirds of the land promised in 1936 has in fact been added to the reserves.

In spite of soil conservation and reclamation, the yield per morgen in bags is LESS THAN HALF TODAY than it was 30 years ago, and mealies have to be imported from white areas to prevent starvation.

The land is deteriorating to such an extent that the Department is now concentrating on stabilisation (prevention of deterioration), rather than on reclamation (improving land already deteriorated).

Less than one-fifth of the amount estimated by the Tomlinson Commission as necessary for the development of the reserves has been spent, and half the time in which it was to be spent has elapsed.

The African population in the major urban centres is greater than in 1951. Mr. de Wet Nel admits that "he had never advocated total segregation in South Africa: there would always be a few million Bantu in White areas."

But the Government is pushing ahead with its 'separate development' policy in spite of all its failures. If persuasion is unsuccessful, force will be used. For it is significant that along with the extra R10 million for the S.A. Native Trust, another R10 million was announced for Defence. This was also a surprise in the budget speech. At the same time the Minister for Defence said:

"South Africa must prepare for internal trouble in the same way as the major powers are continually preparing for war."

To this end the Defence Force is being organised to act as an auxiliary reserve to the Police — as indeed it did in Pondoland recently — the total for the Defence plus Police Vote is R100 million, 13% of the total budget. Defence was increased by R18 million over the 1959/60 vote even before the extra R10 million.

This has led to a distinct change of emphasis in Buchmanite propaganda. In the old days of the Oxford Group Movement, which was the spiritual predecessor of MRA, it was the Springbok rugby captain who gave up smoking and suddenly fell on his knees who was the prototype of "changed human nature."

Today, it is the wartime Resistance leaders who have renounced class hatred in favour of drinking tea with a retired Nazi general at Caux, the trade unionist who has turned from industrial war to co-operation between labour and management, the African leader who cables his political opponents to meet him at the airport, or the reformed Communist who wildly shouts: "Everyone who opposes Moral Re-Armament is a reactionary!"

No longer content with purging sportsmen of moral "impurity", Buchmanite ambitions have become more global, till now they claim that theirs is the "God-guided global ideology of Democracy."

The West must have an ideology to fight for; and MRA, labelled "Superior Ideology", is the troubled industrialist's antidote to real change — at only a fraction of the price.

Coated Pill

But when we bite through the sugar coating of Absolute moral standards we find that the pill pushed by MRA tastes very much like U.S. foreign policy. Where the State Department leads, MRA follows, and where the State Department meets bitter opposition, MRA coats its designs with the sweet prospect of a distant utopia.

The State Department consistently refuses to recognise the government of China proper, and gives recognition instead to the offshore island of Formosa. Presto — Chiang Kai-shek's National Assembly asks MRA to send regular task forces to "assist and advise" and votes to "give every assistance to the advancement of Moral Re-Armament."

The State Department decides on an American-Japanese Mutual Security Pact allowing the establishment of American rocket bases on Japanese soil. This places the Japanese people in great danger in the event of an atomic war, and crowds of 300,000 demonstrate their opposition outside the Diet buildings. With the connivance of Prime Minister Kishi the Pact is pushed through the Diet. Later, when the outcry has subsided, Kishi announces: "But for Moral Re-Armament Japan would be under Communist control today Our greatest need now is to go on the offensive and make the ideology of Moral Re-Armament the policy of our government and of our people." Forty Japanese converts of MRA have since been flown to America to apologise to President Eisenhower for their part in the protest demonstrations. Meanwhile, Eisenhower, Kishi and MRA have no apparent interest in the nuclear danger to the Japanese people.

The full-page advertisements with which MRA has recently taken to favouring the daily press provide ample evidence of the close correspondence be-

tween State Department policy and MRA operations.

In one such advertisement, which appeared in the *Observer*, we read: "Washington, clean, straight and God-directed, would be an invincible force leading mankind to its destiny." (It is interesting to note that a similar advertisement in the *Cape Argus* states: "South Africa, clean, straight and God-directed, would be an invincible force leading Africa to its destiny." Rather like a syndicated story in which only the names of places have been changed to suit local requirements.)

One result of MRA activity in the Far East has been Christ's fall from prominence in their propaganda. God has become a far more suitable cloak for policy, and saves MRA from appearing in the eyes of the average Moslem, Hindu or Buddhist as simply just another Christian mission.

Clean and Straight?

What then of the "clean, straight and God-directed" South Africa which is to lead Africa to its destiny?

During 1949 and 1950 MRA presented their "Ideology" play, *The Forgotten Factor*, in South Africa. Special performances were given to half of the Cabinet and more than half of Parliament, and afterwards three meetings were held in the Houses of Parliament.

The chairmen at these meetings were three Nationalists: C. M. van Coller, who was Speaker of the House of Assembly at the time, J. F. T. Naudé, who later became Speaker, and C. A. van Niekerk, President of the Senate. Mr. Naudé sent a personal invitation to every member of the House.

As a result of these meetings four Members of Parliament, two from the United Party and two Nationalists, visited the MRA centre at Caux and later went on a tour of Europe to see MRA in action. Addressing a London meeting one of the Nationalist Members said: "If we in South Africa want to save ourselves we must look across the seas. Our frontier is not on the Limpopo, but where the last man in the world is."

Viewing these words in the light of the Nationalist attitude to world opinion, as expressed at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and UNO, one wonders at the "speed" at which human nature changes under MRA guidance.

For the people of South Africa the change can be measured in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act, Group Areas, Job Reservation, the extension of passes to African women, and the shootings at Sharpeville and Langa.

About the full extent of MRA's achievement here is that it can now claim that its propaganda film, *The Crowning Experience*, was unanimously passed for unlimited distribution by the South African National Board of Censors.

New Road — Old Road

MRA moved into the Congo six weeks before independence at the invitation of

Kasavubu, who was later to be proclaimed the champion of the American State Department. Welcoming them Kasavubu said: "You have found the secret of Liberation for Africa. All men must now think how to give this moral basis to the country." His opportunity to do this came when his armed guards prevented Patrice Lumumba from leaving his residence and the elected government from meeting — he handed over the radio station to MRA for two hours a day.

Jean Bolikango, Kasavubu's Minister of Information and National Defence, is also quoted as saying: "Through Moral Re-Armament we have seen the way to save our country from Communism and set her on a new road."

Even if the "new road" seems very much like a return along the old road to colonialism.

From the way it continues to boost Kasavubu, MRA apparently felt no twinge in its Absolute Moral Standards for its champion's complicity in the murder of Patrice Lumumba.

On the trade union front MRA propaganda reads like a team of evangelists competing with each other for the dirtiest lives before conversion: "I hated the bosses . . . I used to call strikes . . . I was a Communist . . . Now I find that I can work together with the bosses the MRA way." To demonstrate the benefits of the MRA way long lists are produced to show increased production figures where MRA has been active. Corresponding lists of wage improvements are not supplied.

To illustrate the effectiveness of "Ideology" in industry MRA proudly presents the dying speech of one of the "five giants of American labour," John Riffe: "Tell America that when Frank Buchman changed John Riffe he saved American industry 500 million dollars." (And fancy me always thinking that trade unionists were supposed to serve the interests of the workers. But, then, MRA is the ideology of change.)

Employers are well aware of the value of MRA. Shortly before the current strike of Furniture Workers in Cape Town, employers in an effort to avert the threatening strike, bought tickets for their workers to see *The Crowning Experience*.

And so they continue to trundle their wares from the UN forces in the Congo to the NATO forces in Germany; and all the while Dr. Frank's magic remedy looks more and more like a cheap salt for keeping the "Cold War" rumbling in the belly of the world.

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FROM 'ZEKE' MPH AHLELE

Since Nigeria's independence on October 1, 1960, a few things have happened which look like the release of new allegiances, regroupings, alliances that had been predicted in the country's political life.

First, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe has been made Governor General of the Federation. Second, the Eastern Region has, like the Western Region, got its first African governor. Third, Chief Obofemi Awolowo, Action Group Opposition leader, has become in many ways a different man from the Awolowo who was Premier of the Western Region.

In 1959 Dr. Azikiwe, then Premier of the Eastern Region, made a statement to the effect that Nigeria's membership in the Commonwealth and her alliance with the West must be conditioned by the tolerance or otherwise of South Africa in that organisation. Nigeria would have to consider whether to stay in if South Africa continued to treat Non-Whites as it does and still remain a member. He favoured a policy of non-alignment, which anticipated Nigeria's present foreign policy — non-alignment with the East or West. There is of course no-one in Nigeria who has such a grasp of world events as Zik has.

Until independence, Awolowo was Britain's man in every way. He could have been a black Tory. For him the West was the only side that could be right. Even today, there is still for him and the Western Region no better institution than the British parliamentary democracy. He said little or nothing about South Africa. Came October 1 and Sharpeville. Awolowo, as Opposition leader in the Federal House of Representatives, has attacked the government's pact with Britain which allows the latter to retain military bases in Nigeria; he has attacked the government's continued ban on certain types of communist literature (a heritage from the colonial ordinances), its implied sanctions against individual communists, its sneaking refusal to consider Russia's application for an embassy (Russia has since been allowed one, with a staff not to exceed 10, as against over a hundred in the service of the British High Commissioner in the country).

After Sharpeville, Awolowo joined the other regional leaders in condemning South Africa outright and declaring that no South Africa White will be given employment in any government department in the country; those already employed would be told to leave.

And now the Opposition leader has announced that he would prefer Nigeria to be a republic, free of the present links with British monarchy, and he has criticised the government's non-alignment policy as a piece of hypocrisy: while it does not align itself either with the East or West, he maintains, it gives preference to the West in commercial and cultural dealings. The present Premier of the Western Region, Chief S. L. Akintola, is said to be much less ex-

clusive and conservative than his predecessor, and has a much broader vision. But Awolowo continues to dominate Western Region politics.

A most interesting feature in Nigerian life is the coming in of TV. Together with commercial radio, TV constitutes a terrific cultural invasion. Syndicated American and British stuff still dominates either medium. Maybe TV educational programmes will counterbalance this. But it will be interesting to watch the effect these innovations will have on the conservative mind and profound sense of authority characteristic of the Yorubas (the West) and the republicanism and outgoingness of the Ibos (the East).

The Northern Region is still plodding behind. Of the 27 secondary schools in this territory of 18,000,000 people, only 4 are for girls: Muslims are not yet reconciled to the idea of mass education for women. Women do not vote. The Western Region is always complaining of persecution of its people in the North and the latter's autocratic disregard for human rights, particularly where "southerners" (those from the East and West) are concerned.

The Northern People's Congress (NPC) is the ruling party in the north (which became self-governing in March 1959 whereas the other three regions got their independent Assemblies in 1957). The Premier Sir Ahmadu Bello, the Sardauna of Sokoto, has always been for Britain, and will continue to be, if he were to hang for it. He brooks no leftists, has warm sympathies for the Arab world. He is autocratic, coming from the ruling Fulani house. But the Fulanis, conquerors of the majority Hausa people, were more ready to educate their slaves than themselves or their children. One cannot help thinking here of other minority groups which history has elected to conquer majority groups: Afrikaners and the Watussi of Ruanda Urundi. The Afrikaners and Fulanis may still learn a lesson from the now-crumb-

ling authority of the Watussi!

The Northern Region is still very colonial, with lots of oyingbos (contemptuous oruba word for whites) in key positions. They are as stuck-up and rude as ever, a thing you never find in the other regions where, at best, Whites are accorded the noble position of servants of government who must speak only when they are spoken to.

All in all, it is quite clear now that Nigeria has woken up to the realisation that she will have to outgrow her smug insularity pretty quickly. Before the Congo, who would have thought that Nigeria would be so deeply involved in another African country's internal affairs?

Before Sharpeville, who would have thought that she would ever be so concerned for the oppressed millions of South Africa to the extent of speaking up against Verwoerd at the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in March, thus representing the bulk of Nigerian opinion which, with the help of an alert press, battered on the government's door?

Sir Abubakar Tafawa, the Federal Prime Minister, came back to report that he had stood on the same side as Ghana, Canada and the others, although Verwoerd did not mention Nigeria as one of his tormentors.

It will take time before Nigeria realises that she need not grudge Ghana for her "forwardness" in African affairs. Ghana is after all a smaller country, with a more compact population and a tighter government machinery, all which make it possible for the President to arrive at a decision swiftly and make it known with very few chances of being misunderstood.

In Nigeria, the best intentions that emanate from the regions are often dissipated or distorted before they can be crystallised into Federal policy: a price she has to pay for a federal system and her British-oriented parliamentary democracy.

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NIGERIA'S PRESS

The West African Pilot, organ of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC). Founded 1937 by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as an organ of his nationalist movement. It became one of the many "Zik Enterprises" including several other newspapers in circulation in Eastern Region. Pilot circulates in the whole of the country and in Ghana, where there is a solid core of NCNC supporters of Nigerian origin.

Pilot still sticks tenaciously to the original format and lay-out: very long, with a mass of type on each of its six pages, broken only by a picture or two. Still very intellectual, with long feature articles — one of the regular contributors is Fenner Brockway, the stormy anti-colonialist M.P. of Britain. Pilot disdains sensational stuff and popular tabloid type of news such as the other journals in the country go for. When it does go gay, it's too clumsy.

Having accomplished its anti-colonial mission, much of its material is applause for all that Zik has achieved and still represents even in his present position as Governor General. But it has more syndication of outside-world news than any other paper here. Very loosely organised, it has an untidy management. Depends heavily on articles it doesn't pay for, as in the old fighting days.

Daily Express — styles itself "independent", but leans heavily towards the Action Group, although less blatantly than the Daily Service used to before 1960. In that year, Roy Thompson, the British newspaper and TV magnate, decided to launch his millions into Africa and arrived at a 50-50 deal with Amalgamated Press in Lagos which ran Daily Service, an organ of the Action Group, and a tabloid paper. Thus was born Daily Express, which is everything in the modern style.

Daily Service disappeared, and a weekly magazine, The Service, was ushered into the world by an "independent" organisation with strong Action Group backing. The Service makes no pretences to be a popular magazine in the current sense. It has masses of text unbroken by pictures except on the centre spread. The lightest feature, the woman's page, is severe and monitor-like. Like Daily Service before it, this Saturday journal still plugs the anti-Ghana line.

In comparison with Daily Service, Daily Express is much brighter, bigger (in format) and has no parish-like presentation of news as its predecessor. An interesting crossbreed.

Like the Action Group, Express also lashes or ridicules Ghana a good deal, as when their Congo correspondent open-

ly said Ghana had unwittingly had a hand in Lumumba's murder, because Nkrumah has been trying, he alleged, to gain control of the Congo by intrigue. Ghana's President is the one man in West Africa who, even before the birth of the French Community, warned against the Balkanisation of West Africa. And indeed, this was the first thing De Gaulle achieved in Africa after he took over in France. What are Senegal, Mali (formerly Sudan), Niger, Upper Volta, Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Mauritania and Togoland but small weak states unable to stand on their own? And then there are on the east side Chad, Gabon, Cameroon Republic, Central African Republic etc. What is the French Community to them but a bloated idea that imposes a new kind of colonialism?

The Action Group saw in Nkrumah's initiative towards a coming together of West African states and practical first move in winning over Guinea and Mali

what it likes to call "expansionist ambitions". They openly said Ghana was trying to take a lead in African affairs, a place they think naturally belongs to Nigeria as the largest independent black state.

Daily Express has a sister-paper, Sunday Express, which is of a very poor standard.

Of the Daily Mirror group (London), like the Daily Graphic and Sunday Graphic in Ghana, is the Daily Times. This is a fence-sitter. Won't publish news that condemns British institutions which they regard as sacred or traditional. It is not half as sensational as its mother in London. In Nigeria, Times is everything to every man. Outside Nigeria, the feeling is that it watches first which way the bulk of the British press inclines before it takes a line. It won't publish anything that goes against the Establishment, Nigerian or otherwise. It is for it and Sunday Times embarrassing because to the other papers and their political parties they represent foreign interests.

Nigerian Citizen, which comes out twice a week, is a mysterious little tabloid which is published in the autocratic Muslim north. It is colourless.

A third Sunday paper is in the offing, due this month.

Z.M.

SALAZAR MEDDLES IN THE CONGO

The Portuguese embassy in Leopoldville is very active in securing the support of the Congolese leaders now in power in Leopoldville and Katanga. Many deputies of the Congolese National Assembly are seen fraternising with officials of the Portuguese embassy, which they visit almost every day.

The embassy has managed to get Portuguese supporters of Salazar's regime and of his colonial policy put in charge of the Congolese National Radio's Portuguese programme.

This is broadcast to Angola and other Portuguese colonies in Africa.

Not a single African from Angola participates in the preparation of these programmes, although there are many capable Angolan Africans in Leopoldville.

Frictions

In the last week of January, Mr. Nzeza Landic, a leader of President Kasavubu's Abako Party in the Congo, visited Angola.

He told a Press conference in Luanda that 'many frictions which may have taken place in the past between my

country and Angola would disappear if the two were better acquainted with each other'.

Referring to his visits to Mocamelles, Lenguela and Lobito, Mr. Lantic said that what he had seen was an authentic miracle. He had called on the Governor of Angola to thank him for the 'precious aid given to the Congo'.

'You have been our first friends', he added.

He disclosed that the Governor had agreed to his request to have Portuguese military planes fly foodstuffs to Leopoldville.

Foodstuffs

Mr. Landic bought foodstuffs worth 20 million escudos (R500,000) in Luanda with credits provided by the Portuguese government. He has now been invited to visit Portugal.

The Belgian puppet in the Katanga province, Mr. Tshombe, has constantly declared his support for Portuguese colonial policy.

With acknowledgements to "Portuguese and Colonial Bulletin".

THE CONGO: PLAYING WITH FIRE

"AGONY OF THE CONGO", by Ritchie Calder, Gollancz, 1961. (1.85).
 "CONGO DISASTER", a Penguin Special, by Colin Legum. (37½c).

These two books overlap in dealing with the early history of the Congo as the personal property of Leopold II, under whose regime the population was so much reduced that, numbering about 20 million at the turn of the century, it now stands at 13½ million. Both agree that a triumvirate of power ruled the Congo: the Governor-General, the Roman Catholic Church and Big Business. The latter controlled — (and still do) — 70% of all Congo business. The Congo became one of the most highly industrialised countries in Africa, one-third of the male population working for wages.

Many questions about the Congo remain unanswered. The gold reserve disappeared immediately before independence. The Treasury lost most of its liquid assets — from £70 million in 1957 they declined to about £3½ million in 1959.

Who produced the news-pictures of

burned and looted shops? Calder says: "Not one shop had been wrecked or pillaged, although some of them were closed in the absence of their European owners. Not one single building had been burned — and indeed in all my later travels in the Congo, the only wrecked and burned buildings were the homes and villages of Congolese themselves."

The propaganda about the Congo was as startlingly false and as brilliantly imaginative as that recently spread about the invasion of Cuba, but it has taken longer to expose.

The Belgian refugees did not only run. They took time off (in spite of their alleged panic) to damage or destroy "many essential facilities, like navigational aids at airports, police communications, telegraphs, telephones, etc." And "painful experience had suggested that administrative 'guerillas' had been left behind as well."

Legum ponders that "If the Belgians are now able to return in large numbers it is because of the security provided by the UN forces."

On page 44 Legum says "Belgian law in the Congo guaranteed equality be-

tween the races; race discrimination was punishable; the Colour Bar was proscribed. But there was no social equality . . ." On page 59 he says "In seven months, from January to August 1959 forty Acts containing discriminatory regulations were abolished or changed." One cannot have it both ways.

To sum up: Legum's book should be read for the information it holds but one should be wary of the author's conclusions; he is too naive in accepting as "mistakes" what he calls the "three crucial errors of the UN in the Congo: It made no effort to restore the unity of the Congo. It acted with equal impartiality towards the legal and the rebel governments. And it failed to deal effectively with the Force Publique."

The Congo story will not end while Tshombe, supported by a minority of the Katanga population, and by White mercenaries, holds the wealth of the entire Congo in his gangster hands, however much South African financiers may commend him while buying mining concessions from him. The returning Belgians have learnt nothing and want to resume their old way of life. They are playing with fire. A.L.

KENYA: BLOOD AND GREED

George Delf, author of "Jomo Kenyatta — Towards truth about the 'Light of Kenya'", gives the background of early White settlement in Kenya when Lord Delamere obtained an estate of 100,000 acres and the Earl of Portsmouth 350,000 acres. The best land was taken for White settlement and after the Kikuyu had been restricted to the inferior reserves they were heavily taxed to make them work on the White farms. ("By 1918 the African hut and poll-tax realised £280,000 and the 'non-native' poll-tax (there was no income-tax) brought in £12,197.") Labour was needed to produce coffee, a most profitable crop which the Kikuyu were not allowed to grow.

In 1921 came the post-war slump. Coffee prices fell and the settlers wanted to reduce the wages of their workers: from 10/- to 7/- per month. This attempt led to the formation of the Young Kikuyu Association which Kenyatta, then about 28 years of age, joined. On the 15th March, 1922, after the arrest of Harry Thuku, leader of the Association, there was a riot outside the Nairobi jail. The police opened fire and 25 were killed.

Later Joseph Kangethe and Jesse Kariuki organised the Kikuyu Central Association of which Jomo became a full-time worker in 1928. He started a monthly news-sheet.

An amusing sidelight on Kenya's history: ". . . the 'Indian Question' flared up in the early twenties and nearly led to a desperate attempt by the settlers to kidnap the Governor and carry out a

coup d'etat." This White Mau Mau came to nothing.

In 1929 Kenyatta and an Indian lawyer, Johar Dass, went to London to interview the Colonial Secretary. Their reception was chilly and their visit fruitless. Kenyatta made useful contacts however and during his absence of 18 months visited the U.S.S.R. He returned to England in 1931 and for a time shared a flat with Paul Robeson and Peter Abrahams, whom the author refers to as "the West Indian writer." In 1936 Jomo took a Diploma in Anthropology, having studied under Malinowski, and published his book "Facing Mount Kenya."

In 1946 Kenyatta returned to Kenya. The dominance of the settlers, about 30,000 strong was complete. Between the end of the war and 1948 a further 8,000 settlers arrived.

On June 1, 1947 Kenyatta was elected President of the Kenya African Union, which had been formed the year before. The most moderate demands were refused by the Kenya authorities and the British Government and the position of the people became more desperate.

The author quotes the special survey of UN (1953) of the average annual income of all races in Kenya: Africans £27; Asians £280; Europeans £660. In 1954 it was estimated in the House of Commons that the annual sum spent on primary education in Kenya was divided in the following proportions: European child £49-6-0; Indian child 18/4; African child 3/-."

The desperation and frustration of the people led to the Mau Mau move-

ment, whose "13,547 corpses were to achieve nothing final."

Yet, after the emergency, big advances were made and "it suddenly became right and proper to give African politicians as much as, and more than, Jomo Kenyatta had asked for." One must agree with the author's assessment of the trial of Kenyatta: "The Magistrate may have won a brief victory for the Queen at Kapenguria, but history will reveal its irony. In fact the British Government did nothing but succeed in convicting itself."

The book is interestingly written and informative. Its weakest point is the author's occasional use of symbolical language which descends into dreadful, meaningless gibberish as in these examples: "As if mesmerized, the African watched the furious activities of the White man as he built railways, houses and roads and tore away the bush to make his farm." Who sweated in the hot sun? Or, "Europe wanted to give, but it was too afraid of itself to give generously." A.L.

JOMO KENYATTA — Towards Truth about the 'Light of Kenya' — by George Delf. Published by Victor Gollancz. Price R2.40.

**T E L M A
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