

# **FIGHTEING TALK**

*Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.*

Vol. 16. No. 4.

Price: 5 cents (6d.)

MAY, 1962

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**REPORTS FROM**

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## **ALGERIA**

BASIL DAVIDSON

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**THE FRONT LINES**

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## **ANGOLA**

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**OF THE BATTLE**

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JACK WODDIS

## **KENYA**

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**TO FREE AFRICA**

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# FIRST PEACE—NEXT INDEPENDENCE

I am writing about Algeria at a moment when Fascist thugs of the so-called Secret Army Organisation are still murdering defenceless men, women and children too, in the "settler cities" of Algiers and Oran. No words that I know of can really convey the maniacal horror that is now being endured by the Algerian inhabitants of those two cities. It is as though Sharpeville were happening every day, but on a planned and personal scale—at the hand of gunmen who boast of their crimes and shout loudly in the cafes and the streets of their intention to begin again tomorrow.

All the same, these ruthless killings and woundings are the last mad actions in a settlers' battle that is irrevocably lost.

One should be clear on this point. While Algiers and Oran undergo their martyrdoms, the rest of Algeria prepares quietly for independence and with little disturbing of the new-found peace.

Even in Algiers and Oran it was fairly clear as early as the end of March that the Secret Army could not win, and that its political allies on the French right had after all backed the wrong horse. Algeria will soon be free. In what follows, accordingly, I should like to discuss the conditions under which this great act of liberation will take place, and offer some remarks on the future of relations between a free Algeria and the rest of the world.

## THE FRUITS OF BATTLES

The terms of the peace settlement that was signed by the French Government and the Algerian Provisional Government — "provisional" because, although it represents the overwhelming majority of all Algerians, elections have still to be held — were the best that the latter could get. They undoubtedly provide the substance of what countless Algerian men and women have fought for, and perhaps as many as a million have died for, during the past seven years of bloody colonial war. They secure full and unqualified French recognition for an independent Algeria. They extend this recognition to the whole of the territory of Algeria and thus include the oil-rich Saharan regions which the French have tried hard to retain as a separate French colony, apart from the rest of the country, or at least as a "special area" of their own. They give Algeria the right to make its own future.

On this basis the leaders of the National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale, or FLN for short) — Algeria's "Congress" — had to make a number of concessions. Some of these are of little real importance. But one or two seem likely to bear in no small degree on the kind of economic reconstruction that will now be possible, and on the extent to which the French Government may still be able — by skilful use of the economic weapons of neo-colonialism — to slow up the pace of revolutionary change in which the leaders of Algeria see their only real hope of building their country on a sound foundation.

### Military Bases

Let us first deal with the military agreements. On their side, the French committed themselves to reducing their huge army in Algeria to 80,000 men within a year of the French national referendum on the peace settlement (this referendum was held on April 7); and these soldiers must all be out of Algeria within another year. So that after April 1964 the only French troops in the country will be those who man four military bases to whose temporary existence the Algerians have agreed.

France is to retain her naval base at Mers el Kebir, on the western Algerian

coast, for fifteen years (the French negotiators had asked for thirty years or more). She is also to have three other bases for a period of five years (the French side had wanted much longer): at Colomb Béchar near the northern fringe of the Sahara, far inland from the coast, and at In Ekker and Reggane in the desert itself. Here, of course, the French have their nuclear testing grounds. They want to be able to go on using them, at least for a time.

The Algerians are against any nuclear testing on their soil. Should France be allowed to make such tests in the Sahara? Long and hard-hitting arguments took place over this point. The outcome is unclear. There is no

## BASIL DAVIDSON'S REPORT ON

specific provision in the peace agreement that allows France to use the Algerian Sahara for testing nuclear devices, and official Algerian statements have suggested that no such permission will be given. But the argument over nuclear tests is certainly not yet over.

### Minority Peoples

Sensible arrangements were made about the future of the non-Muslim population. The local European, including a Jewish minority which has largely thrown in its lot with the settlers from France and Spain who form most of the European tenth of the total population, are to have three years in which to decide whether or not they will opt for Algerian citizenship. Those who prefer to retain their French citizenship will then be protected against discrimination by a special convention. There are some obvious and reasonable provisions for cultural and religious freedom. Europeans who take Algerian citizenship are to be assured of proportional representation in all the political institutions of the country (although it is not clear, at least to me, exactly how this is intended to work).

## FIGHTING TALK

Vol. 16. No. 4.

MAY, 1962

Price per copy 5 cents.

Annual Subscriptions:  
75 cents (7s.6d.)

Overseas subscription: 15s.

Published by

FIGHTING TALK COMMITTEE  
P.O. Box 1355, Johannesburg

Registered at the G.P.O.

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One of the most remarkable and admirable aspects of the Algerian fight for freedom, one should add, is the way in which the Algerians have kept themselves free of blind hatred, even in face of appalling provocations. There seems to be no great reason even today, why most of the non-Muslims now in Algeria should not go on living where they are; but the fact is that the race-hatred which they have engendered in themselves will probably drive many Europeans out of the country, whether from fear or guilt or squalid calculation.

### The Control of Wealth

It is when one comes to the economic clauses of the agreement that the full pressure of French ambitions for a future hold on Algeria may be seen. On all these points the Algerian negotiators had a tough struggle. Their negotiating weakness lay in the fact, well understood by the French, that Algeria has been run as a colony and, as such, is economically dependent on France. A long period may have to pass before this dependence can be thrown off. The Algerians, accordingly, had to give ground.

In exchange for winning French recognition of the Sahara as an integral part of their country, the Algerians have accorded a special position of privilege to French economic interests there. Here I cannot do better than quote from *The Economist* which reported on March 24th that: "All concessions and permits granted up to now (in the Sahara) remain valid. The French oil law remains operative. A mixed Franco-Algerian body (with both partners equally represent-

agreed compensation". Here again I should like to quote from *The Economist*. Commenting on this aspect of the peace agreement, it pointed out that "from the French viewpoint, this is the basis of the whole edifice. In its present structure, Algeria is dependent on foreign investment for its development. Its exports do not pay for imports and they are tied to the French market. It is in this dependence that the French see 'the guarantee of guarantees'. The principle of non-discrimination would not be enough to protect the privileged European minority. What the French hope is that they will be able to slow down the process of transition in return for financial aid." (my emphasis).

### The Land and the Future

If we now turn briefly to the actual situation of this ravaged and misgoverned country, and look as well at the intentions of the Algerians themselves, we shall at once glimpse the full force of this "slowing down" idea.

Perhaps more clearly than any other African country except Egypt, Algeria shows the effect of impoverishment that a ruthless colonial regime can exert. During the past century (the French invaded Algeria 132 years ago), the whole basis of the economy has been changed to the direct and often terrible disadvantage of the mass of the people. Thus the growing of wine for export has increasingly supplanted the growing of cereals for home consumption. While the production of cereals is little higher today than it was eighty years ago — and the same stagnation applies to livestock

change of structure means a radical land reform.

### Towards New Life

The FLN have every intention of introducing a radical land reform. They have often said so. Their official organ, *El Moudjahid*, declared only last December that the reconstruction of Algeria could take place only on the basis "of a genuine land reform which will allow the introduction of a progressive structure of land ownership." This land reform "must banish capitalist forms of production by decisively limiting the size of individual property." And the paper went on to explain that: "Whether within the framework of family holdings, or within that of much larger properties taken in hand by the community, or by the State, we must prepare for the collective organisation of farming — alone capable of improving the productivity of the land by the use of modern methods and means of farming."

How far will the Government of France prove able to oppose this kind of post-colonial reconstruction? How far will rightwing Frenchmen succeed in "slowing up" the pace of social and economic change? These are questions for the future. For their part, the Algerians will have plenty to say in the matter. They have had time in these past seven years to work out their peacetime programme, and they know what they want. Nobody who has watched their struggles, even from a distance, can believe that they will rest content to accept the undermining of their plans.

But the answers will partly depend, of course, on the sort of political powers which now become dominant among the French themselves. So far as one can tell at the moment, the crypto-Fascist threat from the right (the regurgitation of the old ideas and ambitions of Vichy France) has been parried. But not yet, as many believe, defeated. Beneath the tall shadow of de Gaulle the old gang of rightwing plotters have penetrated deeply into the machinery of the State; and it remains to be seen whether they may not yet succeed in totally subverting the democratic structure of French political life.

Whatever the answers may turn out to be, however, I think myself that one thing is already sure. No matter against what opposition or obstruction, the Algerians will rebuild and reconstruct their country. They understand very well the challenge of the peace they have won. With youth and hope and high self-sacrifice, they have come through fearful trials and tests of character. They will continue with what they have begun, basing themselves on their three central ideas of socialism, neutralism and unity with their African neighbours. All this will have its profound impact on the whole continent. The achievements of free Algeria open a new phase in the renaissance of Africa.

# ALGERIA

ed) will supervise the management of the Sahara's mineral wealth. For the next six years French companies will have priority over others when applying for exploration permits and other concessions. Finally, shipments of oil into France and the franc area will be paid for in French francs." While this means that Algeria will benefit from large and rapidly expanding oil revenues — Saharan oil production may exceed 24 million tons this year and top 50 million tons by 1965 — it is clear that the French will continue, at least in the critical early years, to have a considerable influence both on the pace of development and the rate of exportable profits from oil operations.

This oil agreement is tied to a wider settlement on Franco-Algerian economic co-operation. Algeria is to have her own currency and run her own economic affairs. But she will remain within the franc area. Imports from France will benefit from preferential terms, and, subject to some limitations, the Algerian Government will allow the free transfer of funds from Algeria to France. Any expropriation of French property will be accompanied by "a just and previously

— the Algerian people has become three or four times more numerous. This means that the amount of food per head has suffered an enormous reduction, one result of which may be seen in the huge annual migration of Algerian workers to France. Consequently, the first step towards a healthy economy must be to cut severely into the production of wine and put the land thus liberated back into the service of producing cereals and other foods.

But most of the wine is produced by European settlers, and it is these settlers who have formed the heart of resistance to a free Algeria. It is their privilege and position that the French Army and Government have been trying to protect. They occupy the best land in the fertile seaward plains, and about one thousand of them possess more than a third of all the property in European hands. These thousand landowners have about one million hectares, while, at the other extreme of poverty and near-starvation, close on 400,000 Algerian peasant farmers have to make do with less than double that amount of land. Obviously, a change of structure is vital. This



# BRITAIN TRIUMPHS — FOR NOW

After more than seven weeks discussions in London, the British Government has succeeded in doing what it set out to do — to put off the date for Kenya independence, and to create fresh problems for the national liberation movement of Kenya.

When they were compelled to concede the right of elections in Kenya in 1960, the British Government introduced a franchise which eliminated a large section of the workers and peasants, hoping that 'better-off' and 'more educated' Africans would vote for more 'moderate' candidates. Their calculations came to naught, and KANU, with some 500,000 voters, emerged as the strongest party, KADU, pet of the British Governor, obtaining only 150,000. Both parties had pledged not to take office until Jomo Kenyatta was freed — but KADU, with British encouragement, jumped the gun and formed a minority government with the inclusion of Sir Michael Blundell (a leader of the settlers who had only been elected to the Legislative Council with the support of KANU which he then immediately deserted,) and supported by other 'members' nominated by the Governor.

In August 1961 the British Government was compelled to release Kenyatta and to gradually remove all the restrictions on his political activities. Kenyatta strove to unite the two parties, refusing at first to join either in the hope that by doing so, unity would be more easily attained. All his efforts failed because KADU, under British influence, was not concerned with forging anti-imperialist unity but only with maintaining its privileged position as a minority government and with preventing Kenyatta and other militant leaders of KANU coming to the leadership of the government.

Despite these manoeuvres, the British government could not postpone indefinitely talks with the Kenya leaders who, with the backing of their people, were pressing for an early date for independence. In fact, already last autumn, Jomo Kenyatta, who had accepted the leadership of KANU in October, was demanding independence by February 1962.

## Time to Talk

It was in answer to this challenge that the recent constitutional talks have been taking place in London between the British Government and representatives of KANU, KADU, of the European Settlers' parties, of the Indian Community, and other groups. In preparation for these talks British imperialism took a number of steps, all of them calculated to put off the fixing of a date for independence and to promote disunity within KANU itself. The essence of these steps was: first, to foster regionalism in Kenya; next, to create a sense of insecurity, crisis and division in the country; finally, to work for a split within KANU.

For the past few months British propaganda has been working full blast to create a crisis atmosphere. There has been a flight of British capital from

Kenya (rumoured at £1 m. a month) and constant panic-calls of 'economic breakdown'. Stories of 'Mau Mau' revival have gone along with anti-communist hysteria and rumours of 'secret communist funds'. Tales have been spread that KANU is breaking up and that a new party is about to be launched. The British press has had a spate of articles about the 'impending secession' of the Somali peoples in northern Kenya, or the 'crisis' over the Kenya Coastal Strip and the claims of Zanzibar. The future of the British base in Kenya, and the question of the fate of land at present in the hands of the European settlers — these, too, have been utilised by British imperialism to place further difficulties in the way of Kenya's independence.

It is against this background that one has to examine the proposals of KADU for a regional structure for Kenya, as well as the efforts to disrupt KANU.

## Unity — or Federalism

KANU, with mass support from the various peoples of Kenya, stands for a united Kenya, for the formation of a strong central government with adequate powers to enable it to plan for the country's development and to stand up to imperialism. KADU, with the full backing of the Governor, has proposed a regional federation which would give full scope to tribal, separatist and parochial tendencies, lead to disunity and leave Bri-

But the British government seized hold of the regional idea — which it undoubtedly had a hand in sponsoring — and has used it as its main weapon to hold up the date for Kenya's independence. The British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Reginald Maulding, visited Kenya in November and, on the very day of his arrival, stated that "there could be very great advantages in a federation"—thus straightaway giving backing to the KADU plan. A week later, in a fuller statement, he rejected Kenyatta's proposed date of February 1962 for independence, and came out specifically in support of the KADU's regional proposals, favouring the idea of regional "governing authorities" with "their own defined rights which do not derive from the Central Government."

These statements foreshadowed the aim of the British government — to use KADU and its 'regionalism' as a battering ram to force KANU into concession after concession — even without a date for independence.

## The London Talks

The talks began on 14th February, 1962. Already in the opening days the first crisis loomed. KADU, falsely claiming to speak for "the minority tribes", refused to put forward its detailed proposals unless the principle of regionalism was conceded. It was part of KADU's case that KANU represented only the main peoples, Kikuyu, Luo and Kamba, and that the 'minority tribes' feared being dominated by these peoples through a central government under the leadership of Kenyatta and KANU.

KADU refused to budge from its basic position, Mr. Martin Shukuku, general secretary of KADU, going so far as to threaten that his party were prepared

# KENYA

tish imperialism in the background but with decisive control in its hands.

It was at the beginning of October that KADU first put forward its plans for a "regional government system" which would establish five (now increased to six) regional governments in a country of some seven million people.

"The details of the plan" said *The London Times* "were worked out by KADU's European associates."

The launching of these proposals was quickly followed by threats of "civil war" by KADU leaders if their proposals were not accepted. In reply, Kenyatta rightly warned: "Regionalism leads to a Congo situation and we don't want that to happen in Kenya."

to do without national independence for another ten years (!) if it did not get its way over regionalism. KADU, clearly inspired by the British Colonial Office, maintained this attitude of obduracy throughout the talks — in relation to regionalism, to the question of a bicameral system of parliament, to control over land distribution, and to control of police.

The aim of this stubbornness on the part of KADU was two-fold. First, to compel KANU to make concessions; and, secondly, if that failed, to produce a situation in which the British Government could claim that since there was no agreement between the main African parties themselves, the question of a date for independence would have to be set



aside. Beyond this, British imperialism was hoping to isolate the most anti-imperialist forces in KANU and to produce some new form of alliance between KADU and the less resolute forces of KANU.

### The Wrecking Crew

It is significant that, on the eve of the discussions and during the first critical week, a number of apparently inspired articles and comments appeared in the British press, all of them advocating and talking of the possibility of a new coalition of forces based on the 'healthy' and 'moderate' elements in both KANU and KADU.

Thus Sir Michael Blundell, Kenya Minister of Agriculture, wrote a special feature article in *The Times* (12.2.62), in which he referred to "many men in both parties who think alike", singling out such men as Mr. Ngala and Mr. Muliro in KADU, and Mr. Tom Mboya and Mr. Gichuru in KANU, as being of this character. Then, after a number of attacks against the militant Mr. Oginga Odinga, and warnings against the "danger of communism", Sir Michael made an appeal for "a regrouping together of the political forces dedicated to the creation of a modern country."

The following day the *Daily Mail* carried an article supporting Sir Michael Blundell's argument, and stating "No

## JACK WODDIS REPORTING

firm date for independence will be mooted unless guarantees of responsible government are forthcoming." (In English political terms, "responsible" means "ready to co-operate with British imperialism"). On this day, too, the *Daily Telegraph* carried a feature by Eric Downton, stating that Mr. Mboya "is considering a walk-out from KANU" and adding that "Mr. Ngala says he would welcome such a move, and has hinted he is prepared to discuss a political realignment."

This, and the talks which followed, made it clear that the British Government was working for such a new alignment, in place of independence — such a coalition government ostensibly to be 'on trial' but, in fact, intended to give KADU a longer lease of political life by allowing it to maintain governmental status. There is no doubt that the formation of the coalition government under these conditions — and formed in London, too, under the auspices of the British government (a completely unprecedented action) — could pave the way for the sort of political alignment of KADU with compromising elements in KANU, for which the British ruling class is obviously working.

### No Holds Barred

It is significant that Mr. Fenner Brockway, the Labour M.P. sang the same tune in the *Tribune* as Sir Michael Blundell did in *The Times*, calling for a "temporary coalition" which would "bring new alignments within the parties."

The *London Times* launched an extraordinary attack against Jomo Kenyatta in the final days of the talks, at a time when the difficult questions of land control and police were still unresolved. Headlined "Kenyatta as Obstacle to a National Government", the article not only opposed the idea of Kenyatta becoming Chief Minister, but even called for his removal from the leadership of KANU. "It is suggested in official quarters that there can be no solution until Mr. Kenyatta has been removed from his present position." The article ended with the significant remark that "Mr. Tom Mboya, who is the only man who could lead the necessary breakaway from KANU, would be willing to serve in such a Government" (i.e. one led by Mr. Ngala of KADU).

This incredible threat — which in fact had been disclosed to British correspondents at a briefing session on the eve of the conference — was the trick card which the British Government kept up its sleeve all the time. On the one hand, KADU threatened a walkout from the talks and 'civil war' at home; on the other, there was the threat to pull out Tom Mboya and tear KANU into two, the latter threat having the aim of forcing KANU's leaders to make concessions in order to avoid disunity.

### The Pay-off

As a result, the British Government, through its puppet KADU, has achieved basically what it set out to do. This is clearly seen if one examines the final proposals put forward by Mr. Maudling "to break the deadlock" — proposals which have been accepted by both KANU and KADU. On the question of Parliament: KADU wanted a two-chamber system, KANU one chamber. Mr. Maudling's proposal is for two chambers. (Any constitutional change affecting the regions will have to secure 90 per cent of the votes in the upper chamber, which is based on regional representatives. In effect, this means that a mere 11 per cent of the upper chamber representatives could block legislation affecting the regions as a whole.) KADU wanted regionalism, KANU was against. Mr. Maudling's proposals are for six regions deriving their powers from the Constitution, not from the central Government. These regions are to have their own exclusive legislative, administrative financial and executive powers, and will have a decisive control over land and police.

The details on the latter two questions are of interest and significance. All Crown lands and trust lands come under the regional authorities. Scheduled land

(including the valuable White Highlands) comes under a special central land board; but this board is composed of six regional nominees and only one from the central government, plus an 'independent' chairman.

The police force, too, (which is a paramilitary force, greatly outnumbering the army) comes under regional control. True, there is an Inspector General appointed by the Head of State; but each regional contingent of the police will be under a Regional Commissioner, responsible to the regional authority. The Inspector General will not be able to post any of his central reserve forces into a region except at the request of the Regional Commissioner; no Central Government Minister will have power to give directions to the Inspector-General; and even the central national security council will be dominated, like the land board, by regional nominees.

### Not the End — Not Yet

And this is the basis on which it now proposed to set up an interim KANU-KADU coalition government. No wonder the British press remarks that Mr. Maudling was smiling on the final days of the conference, and that Mr. Ngala said that Mr. Maudling's proposals "give us a very high percentage of what we set out to fight for."

Commenting on Mr. Maudling's proposals, Jomo Kenyatta said: "We were very disturbed that there was no mention . . . about a date for independence. All we want is our independence. That's my only song, and I sing it every day."

That is the song that the people of Kenya are singing, too. But they will find little satisfaction in the outcome of the London talks. British imperialism has scored a temporary success. It has delayed independence for Kenya, and produced the framework of a constitution which will prove a real handicap to the government of an independent Kenya.

But the last work has not yet been spoken. The people of Kenya — whose real wishes were set aside by the British Government in the recent talks — will continue their struggle, determined to have real independence at the earliest opportunity and not be fobbed off with its shadow.





# FOR UNITY AGAINST TERROR

It was on February 4, 1961, that the great people's uprising against Portuguese fascism, for the national liberation of the country, broke out in Angola. For many years the main liberation movement, MPLA, headed by Mario de Andrade, had vainly sought discussions and negotiations with the Salazar regime, to bring about a peaceful transition to independence, the release of innumerable Angola patriots from Portuguese jails, the withdrawal of Portuguese troops. The only reply of Lisbon was to intensify repression and sending masses of troops and PIDE

(Salazar's Gestapo) men into the territory.

Since then the people of Angola have been engaged in a life and death struggle. With sickening brutality, fascist Portugal is waging a war of extermination against men, women and children. Flying NATO planes and using NATO napalm bombs they systematically ravage villages. The MPLA newspaper *Unidade Angolana* estimates that "in two month's operations there were 50,000 Angolan casualties.

## ANGOLA

The Angolan people have been plagued by internal disunity. Repeatedly MPLA has called for a common front of struggle for national liberation. Every time their appeals have been ignored by the UPA (Union of the People of Angola) headed by Holden Roberto. UPA organised its own army in the northern area — ELNA the National Liberation Army — backed by assistance from Kasavubu in the Congo and Bourgiba in Tunisia. It would not co-operate with the forces led by MPLA militants in other areas.

But recently significant developments have taken place, which open the way to unity of the Angolan people with prospects of speeding victory over the Portuguese imperialists and the liberation of Angola.

Sickened by the tribalism, corruption and outright treachery of the Holden leadership the General Staff of ELNA has denounced it and withdrawn all support from it, and appealed for the formation of a national front of liberation "that would correspond sincerely to the aspirations of the Angolan people, who are impatient to free themselves from the domination and slave exploitation of the Portuguese and the traitor leaders of the UPA."

The immediate cause of the break was the assassination of Commander Joao Baptista of ELNA by "elements of the Mokongo people under UPA leadership." Baptista deserted from the Portuguese colonial army in 1960 to join the national liberation struggle, and according to a communique from his colleagues issued from Bembe Barracks, Angola by the Committee of the National Revolution, he "always led military operations with great heroism from the moment when the armed struggle was launched up to the time of his death by treachery . . . He has received as a reward a horrible death."

At a press conference in Leopoldville on March 3, the ELNA Chief of General Staff, Commander Marcos Kassanga, unveils many sinister and treacherous acts of the Holden Roberto leadership of UPA, charging it with turning the Angola revolution into a fratricidal strug-

### THOSE LETTERS AT A GLANCE

**MPLA** — People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola. Based mainly on workers in Luanda and other towns but supported widely in the countryside. President: Mario de Andrade; secretary: Viriato Cruz. "The MPLA, by far the most powerful in numerical strength, organisation, historical links and ideas, is clearly not a movement to which can be attached any of the traditional cold war labels." — "Politics of a Revolt", by P. M. Pinheiro, London, Oxford University Press.

**UPA** — Union of the People of Angola. President Roberto Holden. "UPA is largely a peasant party and its strength is confined to the northern area of Angola, its ties with the people of these areas being tribal rather than political." — Pinheiro, the same work.

**ELNA** — National Liberation Army of Angola, originally supported UPA but has now broken away.

**LGTA** — Trade Union movement mainly of Angolan workers employed in the Congo. Formerly sponsored by UPA but has now broken links with Holden leadership.

gle in which "a figure approaching 8,000 Angolans were savagely massacred by tribal elements of the UPA."

"Holden did not want to fight sincerely for the liberation of Angola, but on the contrary to impose a struggle on the people to facilitate his pretensions to impose the supremacy of his tribe, his religion — protestantism — and the French language."

In this statement, for the first time, Kassanga revealed that Holden was res-

ponsible for the murder of a MPLA squad by UPA members under Holden's orders.

"During the internecine struggle he introduced into Angola, among the 8,000 Angolan nationalists massacred on his secret orders, we must distinguish the case of Commander Tomas Ferreira and his squad of 21 men sent into the interior of the country by the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) in order to strengthen national liberation. Commander Tomas Ferreira and his companions were captured by UPA militants and barbarously hanged."

In the same statement, Commander Kassanga accuses Holden of converting money collected abroad for arms for the ELNA to his own personal use. He produced forged receipts "to prove that the supply of Tunisian material was acquired by him at the cost of thousands of francs" — whereas in fact President Bourgiba and the Tunisian government had supplied the material free of charge.

The statement concluded by calling on all genuine patriots to unite in a national liberation front, and on all African and other friendly countries to withdraw support from Holden and instead to support genuine liberation movements.

Kassanga's statement was followed immediately by a similar policy statement by LGTA, the trade union organisation which had hitherto supported UPA.

### True Unity Brought Closer

These events, which have isolated and exposed the Holden clique and resulted in the loss of its army and its trade unions, have in fact brought Angolan unity closer than ever before. For it was Holden and his associates who have all along hindered and opposed unity; just as it was the MPLA which all along has been calling and working for unity, even at the cost of maintaining silence on the many disruptive and harmful activities of the UPA leaders.

It is deeply significant that the present  
(Continued at foot of next column)



# The Resistance in the Countryside

By BEATA LIPMAN

The people of Sekhukhuniland, of Pondoland, Nongoma, Zeerust, Middelburg, Brakfontein, have been settled on their land for generations. It is doubtful whether more than half a dozen of them had ever heard such slogans as AWAY WITH PASSES or AFRIKA MAYIBUYE before 1956. They were concerned then, as they are now, with wresting a meagre living from the soil and with trying to feed, clothe and educate their children; a people who still treasure

their cattle as a sign of wealth and who knew the dignity of a limited freedom in the past.

This freedom was certainly greatly circumscribed in pre-Nationalist days; but a man who ploughed his own fields and had some say in the running of his tribal affairs could still hold up his head. He was not forever running the gauntlet of the police, as in the cities, and treated like a criminal offender against one of South Africa's myriad 'anti-African' laws. He could still feel like a man.

## The Old Order Passes

But the Government's determination to organise and tidy and to rule with the whip has changed things fast. The people of Sekhukhuniland revolted against Bantu Authorities, those of Zeerust against passes for their women and the deposing of their Chief, those of Brakfontein, the Mamagamatlala, against removal from a 'Black spot' of rich farming land in a predominantly White area. They learnt that it was no use trying to talk to the Government, because the Government, like any crude cowboy, talks first with a gun. But at the same time they learnt how to struggle for their few precious rights. They used the law, expensive lawyers; they disappeared into the hills; they even crossed the borders. A bitter struggle, bringing ever greater poverty and hardship, but not always an unsuccessful one.

Today the people of Sekhukhuniland still have no Bantu Authorities; the Bafurutse are still on their land, and they have learnt much about political struggle — the vital need for unity, organisation, how to withdraw in good order when necessary — the immediate gaining of small successes and the postponement of the basic issue. They are alert and disillusioned about this Government as never before.

In the past tribalism had many democratic features. Although the women did not participate in the kgotla discussions that were the prelude to all important decisions, each man was able to say his piece; the Chief was finally expected to adhere to what all had decided in unison. The voting system was not used simply because a thorough discussion usually resolved outstanding differences. The land was shared out in this way, communal work allocated and tribal levies decided on. The Chief was not an autocrat.

## The New Dictatorship

Today the old system changes before the background of large-scale absenteeism by the men who leave the land that cannot support them all or pay the taxes, and look for work on the mines, the

farms and in the cities. The system had already decayed a lot in the natural course of social change. But the insistence of the Nationalists and the Bantu Affairs Department that a Chief must support their policies has hastened its ruin.

The kgotla is now used for telling the tribal group what decisions have been taken on high for their supposed welfare; those Chiefs who have refused to co-operate, or who have supported their people's opposition, have lost their jobs.

Many, like Chief David Moilola of Zeerust and Chief Mhlabuvelile of Pondoland, have been ordered to leave their homes and go to some alien corner of the country because they were 'deemed a threat to peace and security'. They have been joined by dozens of ordinary tribesmen.

Left alone at home, the families of the banished men have suffered acutely. Their land has been taken away, often their huts have been burnt down, and they have become dependant on what little help they can get from friends and relations.

**But despite all privation the basic hostility of the people to Government bullying has not changed.**

By force, as in Pondoland, and by the show of force, as in the recent Middelburg removal of the Baphedi tribe, the Government has achieved outward acquiescence for the moment. But the mood of opposition is unaltered, the determination to achieve a basic dignity and freedom is greater than before, and a loose alliance with the liberation movement has become an important new factor.

## Fighting Back

Pondoland is the prime example of this solid development of peasant resistance to autocratic dictate. Passes and the Betterment Schemes were old enemies; but in 1960 they were coupled with growing poverty, increased taxes, and the new despotism-from-on-high found in the Bantu Authorities. The men of Pondoland decided that they had had enough. They came together in their thousands, using the old tribal methods once again in their democratic form.

We reject Bantu Authorities, 'Betterment', Bantu Education — we will no longer pay taxes, they said. **We will now govern ourselves.**

The struggle that followed is already a part of our liberation history — the first real peasants' revolt. It required an army to subdue it, the imposition of Emergency rule under which people could be detained (and still are) for months without a trial, the arming of Government appointed Chiefs and headmen, the spreading of terror by ruthless

(Continued overleaf)

## ANGOLA

(Continued)

denunciation and exposure of the Holden clique comes not from the MPLA but from within the ranks of UPA and its military and trade union organisations.

In a last desperate attempt to retrieve a situation which has become critical for them, the Holden clique has announced the formation of a so-called "Provisional government" with himself as Prime Minister. The UPA itself has dissolved and merged into a new body which calls itself the "Front for the National Liberation of Angola". But the name itself is designed to deceive, since the "cabinet" is restricted to Holden supporters and does not include either the MPLA or even ELNA and LGTA leaders.

According to Contact — April 19 — basing itself on a report in the New York Times — the Minister of Information in Holden's cabinet is one Rosario Neto. According to the ELNA communique of March 8, the same Neto is well-known as a propagandist for Salazar.

"Everybody knows from countless articles that have appeared in Angola and Mozambique in Portuguese newspapers and journals, the activity of this Rosario Neto as a propagandist and fierce defender of the colonising work of the Portuguese and the fascist dictatorship of Salazar. We have these newspapers and journals in our possession."

A clue to the real nature of Holden's "government" may be sought in the nature of the journals which back it — the New York Times and Contact, which supported Tshombe and approved the murder of Patrice Lumumba.

However, following the recent exposure of Holden and Neto it is very doubtful whether this latest manoeuvre will meet with any success in deceiving either the Angolan people or well-informed circles in Africa and elsewhere.

The likelihood is rather that full agreement will soon be reached between MPLA and all other patriotic Angolan forces, including ELNA, which must have the effect of raising the national liberation struggle to new heights and hastening the downfall of Portuguese rule in this key African territory.

# YOU COULD DIE LAUGHING... An American Debunks the 'A' Bomb Shelter Racket

By ROBERT E. LIGHT

## RESISTANCE . . .

(Continued)

tactics including the destroying of 'oppositists' camps, and attacks on women and children.

The consistent of this brutality has been the promise of early 'aid-rule' for the Transkei. Sham and fake as the whole move is, it is still the result of the obstinate resistance of the people of Bissau, Flagstaff, Mount Aylliff and all the other areas to unjust rule. Resistance pursued even Government Chiefs like Kaiser Matanzima into some sort of action.

### The Road to the End

The newest battle-line chosen by the upholders of White superiority is the 'tidying up' of the countryside. The attempt to remove 'black spots' from White areas has gone on for years, but in the past six months the methods have changed and the mood has become much tougher. Cases of groups who have refused to move for many years, have suddenly been 'rescued' by the use of armed police. In Brakfontein recently, the counting of families prior to removal was accompanied by the sound of shots fired into the air, and Chief Mangena was told what to do with a machine-gun pointing at his stomach. (In this case, where the Press was not present, Bantua Administration flatly denied that the police had been present, although the police themselves admitted it.) In Middleburg a week later, with the Press there, armed police stayed in the background, and the people were only forcibly moved a few days later when the newspapermen gave up. Many have been moved already; but those who are still fighting have had their schools closed and suffer a hundred daily snipricks and difficulties.

But all, whether moved or not, whether banished or jailed, retain their stubborn, tough sense of pride and resistance. These are men who have ploughed the same piece of land for generations, who are strong from their annual battle with wind and weather, men who cannot be bluffed or pushed around.

From the outside it may seem as though the liberation struggle in South Africa is a thing of the cities. But the men of the countryside who are battling for their own immediate rights are being driven, by the Nationalists themselves into struggle against the government into an unwritten alliance with the struggling people of the cities. Thus the road to liberation opens for them all, as the Nationalists will find to their cost, when the day of reckoning comes.

When Premier Khrushchev predicted that they would "bury" us, it was generally accepted that he was forecasting the victory of socialism over capitalism. But the fervour of Washington's fallout shelter campaign raises the suspicion that a Soviet agent in the White House has taken the premier's dictum literally. The Kennedy Administration seems determined to bury us deeper and faster than Khrushchev ever dreamed.

By the end of the month, 60 million American mailboxes will be filled with pamphlets from the Defense Department explaining what citizens can do to protect themselves in the event of nuclear attack. The pamphlets would have gone out earlier, but the Administration shifted its strategy from family to community shelters, causing revisions in the manual.

The pamphlets are bound to be attractive and optimistic, since they are being prepared with the help of an editorial team from Life magazine. Life kicked off the shelter craze in its September 7 issue with a 14-page spread asserting that shelters can save 97% of the population.

To arrive at optimistic statistics, shelter hoopla has rated fallout as about as serious as a bad cold. A man, it seems, is not a man until he's had a good dose of radiation.

### Libby's Wonder

The Administration's shift to community shelters may have been speeded by Dr. Willard F. Libby's experience with a family shelter. The former Atomic Energy Commission member wrote a widely syndicated series extolling the virtues of the backyard shelter. On a national TV show, Libby showed off his ultimate weapon: a \$30 family fallout shelter in his Bel-Air, California, home. It consisted of a "hole in a backyard hill, haps of dirt and some railroad ties."

On the same day that Libby's article on his \$30 wonder appeared in papers around the country, a trash fire swept Bel-Air. The Libby family were y evacuated the area. When they returned they found that the railroad ties had caught fire and collapsed into the hole below.

William Kennedy and Robert Moore of Hampton Beach, N.H., also found shortcomings in the family shelter. In October they descended into Kennedy's new \$2,000 shelter for a five-day test. Nineteen hours later Kennedy complained to his wife through an intercom that his head felt as if it were exploding. Police evacuated the pair to a hospital just in time to save their lives.

The town's CD director explained: "They had a dehumidifying system and a canned heat stove that used up the oxygen. There was a hand-operated blower to replenish the air, but somebody

had to turn the handle for 10 minutes of every hour. They went to sleep and did not turn the handle . . . They should have slept in relays."

### It's A Howl

Undaunted, Kennedy tried another test a month later. This time he took along his son Ricky, 12, and a friend, Adrianus van Hoojdonk. The oxygen held out but their morale collapsed. When they came up after two weeks Kennedy said: "Do you know what I feel like doing now? I'd like to go to my bedroom, shut the door and cry for an hour."

He also questioned the CD specifications marking the shelter for eight persons. "If eight people had to stay in the shelter for two weeks, containers for body waste and garbage would take up half the room in the shelter," he said.

Robert D. Meyers of Chathamoga also had reason to believe that CD officials might be the main enemy. His family agreed to live in a shelter for 10 days in a test sponsored by the local CD office. The cylindrical shelter, eight feet in diameter and 18 feet long, was placed on the site of an urban renewal project. In accordance with CD instructions, three feet of earth were piled on top of the cylinder.

### Swift Deduction

Meyers was the first to climb down, but he climbed out immediately. He found that "the shelter had buckled by about two feet for a length of six to eight feet along the top, and the floor had buckled by about two inches." Meyers concluded, "I am convinced that the shelter is structurally unsound."

Thomas Gerrity of Springville, N.Y., thought he was doing what was expected

but it turned out that he built a fall-in shelter. While he was digging his family shelter, parts of his house and an adjacent diner he owns collapsed into the excavation. Repairs were estimated at \$2,900.

Economic, moral and psychological considerations weighed heavily in the Administration's shift from family shelters. The boom covered the sagging construction industry, but profits went to fly-by-night operators. One outfit sold 500 "fallout suits" a week at \$21.95 each. A Boston businessman advertised "shelters" for \$4.00. They turned out to be creosote to open manhole covers.

### A Man's Castle

One of the selling features of shelters built by an Orchard Park, Pa., firm is "portability." The firm says, "If you move, the shelters can be disassembled and moved to your new basement." Dr. Frank B. Caprio, a psychiatrist, teamed up with Shelters for Living, Inc., to offer nucleus-free shelters. Caprio said: "Most important is to have the family take pride in their shelter, as they would in their own home."

Pat Smith, daughter of Bell Lake City's CD director, takes great pride in the family shelter. She painted a large mural of an outdoor scene on one of the shelter walls. She could have saved herself the trouble if she had bought Pittsburgh Corning's latest offer — transparent solid glass bricks for shelter picture windows.

For those who want to go out in style, an Arizona company is offering a "Gourmet Survival Kit". It includes imported broiled octopus, champagne jelly and French-fried grasshoppers. But not all survival items are indulgences. The

Washington Post reported a run on cans of Navy surplus Emergency Drinking Water. Some wise veterans spread the word that they make excellent steaks with south or bouffon.

### Neighbourly Touch

The deep moral questions raised by family shelters are not yet resolved. To shoot or not to shoot an intruding neighbor is still the question. Another problem is what to do with squatters who get to the shelter first. A Los Angeles man resolved the problem by building a secret chute. If someone gets to his cellar first, he plans to drop a tear-gas pellet down the chute.

Politics may also have figured in the Administration's decision. In the original draft of the Defense Department pamphlet, the dimensions of a recommended family shelter are 11 feet long and 4 feet high. With Texas showing signs of going Republican, the Administration may have feared the wrath of the tall patriots who might object to living on their knees for two weeks.

Community shelters are not without problems either. In Winter Haven, Fla., Hag Zachery tried to organize a mass shelter for the 300 families in the Elbert Heights area. Enthusiasm was high at first, but dwindled as problems arose. One man complained about the price (\$270 a person). "Let's cut out the luxuries," he said. He didn't think air-conditioning or a deep well for water were needed. "I'm not even sure food is a necessity," he said.

### A Dog's Life

An elderly woman wanted older persons separated from noisy children. Another wanted to include pets. "I just couldn't leave without my dog," she said.

One woman asked: "What if it should happen at Christmas with my relatives here. How could I leave them?" Another said: "My family are finicky eaters. We'll have to bring our own food."

One woman refused to join, arguing, "The government got us into this mess. Let them get us out of it."

Family-style or in mass, no matter how the nation chooses to survive, there will be many post-attack problems. The Behavioral Division of the Air Force Office of Scientific Research set out to determine if mass panic would follow an attack. For the study, it assumed a 5,000-megaton attack over major metropolitan centers. Such an attack, it calculated, would spread lethal radiation within 24 hours over 75% of the country. Duration of the contamination would vary "from place to place, from hours to weeks, averaging about three weeks."

In a city of 1,000,000 persons hit by two 10-megaton blasts, more than 1,000,000 would be dead or dying after the first

two weeks and 300,000 would be injured. But, the study said, the survivors would not panic. Rather, they would be docile and responsive to control by persons in authority.

### Who's Sad?

The study also noted that priority of values will change. Private property, it said, would have almost no significance just after the attack. But later, values will swing back to pre-attack standards.

Satisfied that survivors will be docile CD officials were also concerned that they might be too grief-stricken to want to continue living. But, according to the Christian Science Monitor, they concluded that mass grief would not persist. They believe that "while collective grief will be massive, grief is itself almost always family sized."

Adam Yarmolinsky, special assistant to the Secretary of Defense, also believes that the American Way of Life will survive. In an interview with the Washington Post, he said: "Some people may find that they'll have to scratch pretty hard to find uncontaminated water before fresh supplies are brought in. Others may discover that power can't be restored overnight and if they want to stay warm they'll have to start rubbing two sticks together."

### Money Goes On

Those who are sure they will survive are planning to insure that their money survives with them. The Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago has built headquarters 18 feet below ground in West Lafayette, Ind., where "key personnel" will be sheltered for post-attack operations.

The bank already has its post-attack instructions from Washington. The regulations stipulate that there will be no general moralism on the payment of post-attack debts. But it concedes that limited moralism may be granted in cases of hardship.

Another plan will raise the capital gains tax from 20% to 40% and establish a 20% tax on unrealized capital gains. To clarify the new tax, U.S. News & World Report explained: "Say you owned 300 shares of X company, bought at \$10 a share. Say this stock is worth \$300 a share two years after the blast . . ."

U.S. News also advised persons to keep financial records in survival kits, fallout shelters "or other safe place."

There may be extra copies of the shelter pamphlet for those who want them because a group of Berkeley women plan to return theirs unopened to President Kennedy. A New York woman coined a slogan to counter life's that might be written on the returned manuals. It is: "Peace will save 100% of the population."

A REMINDER TO MEESRS. CARP AND DE ALVA,

## THIS IS WHAT YOU ARE HERE FOR

To seek

- The evacuation of all South African military forces in the territory of South West Africa.
- The release of all political prisoners in the territory.
- Preparations for general elections as soon as possible on the basis of universal adult suffrage, and under the supervision of the United Nations.
- To advise and assist the government which is set up by such elections to prepare South West Africa for full independence.
- To work with United Nations specialised agencies to help promote the peoples' moral and material welfare in the territory.

THESE ARE THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE UNITED NATIONS TO ITS SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON SOUTH WEST AFRICA, TWO OF WHOSE MEMBERS ARE AT PRESENT VISITING SOUTH AFRICA AND HOLDING TALKS WITH THE VERWOERD GOVERNMENT.



# DEMOCRACY AND THE ONE-PARTY STATE

Some people are astonished to discover that, in Guinea, there is only one party, a national party: the Democratic Party of Guinea, the P.D.G. It must be emphatically asserted that political unity is not a final objective; it is only a means of creating and sustaining a progressive movement, a means taken to serve the general interest.

This unity can be maintained, can be developed, can effectively serve the national cause only so far as it means unity of action by all the populations, mobilised in a dynamic manner, in support of positive objectives and dedicated to the constant reinforcement of the democratic character of the evolution of the country. We can say immediately that the life of a society, a community, a nation, is not fundamentally regulated by laws, decrees and decisions. The life of a society is regulated by habits, customs, historical traditions and the necessities of its maintenance and its development.

The most progressive, most revolutionary law will remain impotent if it has not been understood by the people, if the mentality and the customs of the people are opposed to the spirit and the letter of the law.

Likewise, if the principles of the Party have not been grasped by all the members and, above all, by the leaders, the party can only recite a list of its principles without being able to translate them into the realities of the day to day life of the nation.

When we say that the Party struggles for democracy, that the Party struggles against colonisation, that the Party struggles for unity of the country, all this constitutes only a frame, a spirit which must be taken into account in the daily activities and in the definition of future actions.

## The People's Interests

There are two ways of looking at everything. You can assess a thing in relation to yourself, or in relation to groups of things or to the public interest.

Our Movement, which is a democratic movement, must assess supporters, leaders and things only in relation to its political line and the interests of the masses. You know that Africa has always been a country with democratic practices, but democracy is not an end in itself, it is also a means to the end. Each day, it transforms itself, it evolves, advances and retrogresses, all the while conserving its democratic form.

Let us say that all men and women in Guinea who are fifty years old will be electors, and that they — and only they — shall elect the deputies of the National Assembly. That would be democratic because no discrimination would have been made. If we said, likewise, that the members of parliament should be elected separately by the various parts of the population, civil servants, private employees, women, peasants etc., that

would also be democratic because no form of discrimination would have been used. Taking for granted a few inherent principles, all men are equal. Therefore, democracy is not an object of a unique quality, which you create. On the contrary, democracy is a weapon, a tool which you use in different ways to serve ends no less different than the ways.

## From Our Own Tradition

Africans are used to certain democratic forms because, in Ancient Africa, it was the older people who spoke for the country. One observes that when, in the village, you explain the programme of the party, it is generally the eldest man in the village that answers first, he then yields the floor to the older Keita, then to the older Camara, then to the older Bangoura etc. But democracy, in our party, is not a democracy of clan or

This is the last of a series we have published on this subject. It's author is SEKOU TOURÉ of Guinea.

of family. It is a fundamental democracy in which the whole population directly and freely contributes to the activities, to the enrichment of the values in the country. Though we are all in agreement about the democratic principles fixed by the party, the former expressions of the social democracy which are rooted in the life of the village, very often influence supporters who believe themselves to be authorised thus to violate the new individual forms prescribed by the P.D.G.

Indeed, democracy really has various natures and can be interpreted in different ways according to whether it is inspired by such and such a trend of thought, such and such an objective or such and such a social force. It is not necessary to go very far to discern the various social conceptions which lay claim to being democratic. Christianity operates politically in the name of Christian democracy, the middle class in the name of middle-class democracy, certain social groups preach social democracy. In other words, if democracy represents a conception of the organisation of societies and of peoples, its real content can be distorted or interpreted in different ways.

As far as we are concerned, we have declared ourselves for as real, as complete a democracy as possible, based on the exclusive interests of the people. This is the only democratic form we recognise, the only interpretation that we give to the word "democracy."

## Form — and Content

Where does the difference between the several governments of the various countries in the world lie?

The States differ by their significance, their real spirit, their specific nature and role they play in economic, social, cultural and political fields. There are democratic States and non-democratic States, which can be distinguished from each other by the importance of the part played by the masses, by the extent of the participation of the people in the affairs of state.

But whether we have to deal with a democratic or a non-democratic nation, both are led by a man or a group of men who exert power over the population as a whole. This is dictatorship.

Dictatorship is a concentration of powers in the hands of one man or a group of men, exerted over the people as a whole. If we subscribe to this definition, we can say the driver of a vehicle imposes his dictates on the passengers of the vehicle. In a trade-union, in a youth league, in a women's association or on an athletic team, such a dictator rules.

Therefore, we should bear in mind that nations are democratic or non-democratic but that, no matter what their nature be, their trying to achieve purposes which have been fixed in advance necessarily implies dictatorship.

## Democracy

To define the nature of this dictatorship which exerts itself differently in democratic and non-democratic nations, we must consider the objective conditions of the practice of dictatorship in order to determine the democratic character of the nation.

If the authority of the State, the powers it holds, in a word, if the dictatorship exerted by the government is the direct emanation of the whole of the people, dictatorship is of a popular nature and the State is a democratic State — democracy being the exercise, by the people, of National Sovereignty.

Democracy is the power of the people exerted by the people and for the people. A democratic State is based on the will of the people. Its programme is therefore necessarily consistent with the interests of the people. Likewise, its force, the powers it holds, the authority it wields, the discipline it imposes, in one word the dictatorship it exerts, are based exclusively on the interests, the needs and principles of popular sovereignty.

For each human society, democracy always corresponds in its form, to given



conditions, even exigencies, which depend on the economic and social level this society has reached. That granted, democracy can be more or less advanced. Democratic dictatorship, that is to say the concentration of the powers of popular sovereignty on the level of the people, can be more or less complete, more or less perfect.

### The Many — Not the Few

Thus, a state in which the programme of work, the power exercised, is determined not by the interests of a class, of a fraction of the population, but exclusively by the interests of the people in its entirety, is a democratic state.

This creates, at the level of the administrators who exert the power, an obligation to ensure a direct and free representation of the population without any sort of discrimination.

In a democratic state, the powers of sovereignty are held directly by the representatives whom the electorate has freely chosen.

Now, if the dictatorship is exerted by a king, by a fraction of the population, by a coalition of interests, by an economic feudalism, and if any other interest intervenes instead of the general interest in the exercise of the powers of sovereignty, the dictatorship ceases to operate in the interests of the people.

The State ceases to be democratic when the dictatorship it exerts is based exclusively on the interests of a king, a social class, or any other group that is not the direct and free emanation of the whole of the people. The difference in the aim and in the structure of a State, the different ways of exerting the powers of national sovereignty, determine in the end the democratic or non-democratic form of a state.

### Our Dictatorship

Why has the P.D.G. chosen democracy, why has it endowed the state with democratic institutions, why does it exert on the national level, a dictatorship of the people?

In the history of nations and peoples, we find States which have neither democratic forms nor structures, and yet the interests of the people are safeguarded as effectively as if they possessed democratic forms and structures. The man or men exerting the powers of sovereignty can easily exert them for the real and exclusive benefit of the people.

In history, we find leaders that placed their own fortune at the disposal or at the services of the populations they administered, in order to bring them more happiness, to improve their living conditions. Without being of a democratic nature, the sovereignty had, in that case, effects similar to those of the sovereignty which is exercised in a democratic State.

But, and this is the important point, the popular quality of the sovereignty exerted by a man or a group of men is necessarily precarious because it can be radically modified by the sole will of the

man or group of men who exert it. What is important is that, in such a case, the people do not possess the right to exert their sovereignty: they are subjected to it without exercising it or controlling it.

We therefore see that democracy cannot be defined in terms of the effects of the exercise of Sovereignty. It can be defined, as we have stated it already, in terms of conditions in which the power is exerted.

### The People Rule

In a democratic State, sovereignty belongs to the national community. Thus the sum of intelligence, the sum of values, all the energies are mobilised for the benefit of the whole nation, in order to obtain as many means as possible to further the evolution, create the best conditions for the development of the nation, ensure the maximum guarantees with a view to the progress of the society and the security of each of its members.

Consequently, each person feels himself responsible because each one, in every field of activity, has a share in the destiny of the nation.

On the contrary, in non-democratic States, and whatever may be the personal qualities of the leaders, whatever their wish and determination to bring everything into play to promote the happiness of their people, the experience is circumscribed by themselves: once these men have passed off the national scene, the experience have passed off the national scene, the experience comes to an end because it did not spring from the nation itself, it did not proceed from the will of the people.

On the other hand, you have democratically organised States which are led by Ministers, members of parliament, Government people or officials who have been elected according to various and sometimes very complicated methods.

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## THE LAAGER . . . (Continued from page 13)

### STANDING FIRM?

Considering that the Government is pressuring its White opponents at every turn, by withholding permits from businessmen and passports from its critics; by reserving plum jobs for those who declare their support for apartheid; by pumping race hatred into the children at school; by threatening the Jews and the Christian churches; there is still a great deal of opposition both open and covert to Government policies.

We look back to the vast numbers of voters who opposed the Nationalist Republic at the Referendum in 1960; at the large number of Whites who unexpectedly came out in support for a National Convention in 1961; at the sizeable number of votes that the Progressive Party has won at various elections for its radical policies; and one's perspective remains optimistic. Even in the United Party, a party which votes for every ma-

But the dictatorship which is practised by these states is not democratic for the reasons that it is exerted by a feudalism or a coalition of particular interests, or else by a clan or social class. It is a kind of dictatorship that you might call clannish or factional.

### Democracy and Freedom

The first condition required by democracy is freedom. In order that men should be considered as equal, in order that they should be able to participate with equal concern and equal feeling in the life of the nation, they must first be free. Without effective liberty, there is, for men and societies, no possibility of freely determining anything themselves.

But having won our freedom, we have freely chosen a particular form of state. It is the nature and the spirit of this state that must be perfectly understood and safeguarded by the leaders.

First, we state that our nation is democratic. This means that an office or position that exerts a portion of the popular dictatorship, does not belong to anyone in his own right. Nobody can claim possession of it because of his name, his family, his birth, his wealth or the degree of his education. Those who are to exercise a part of the popular dictatorship will be designated by the people. It is the People who by democratic methods, will invest them with authority, will grant them the power to administer the whole or a part of its property.

It may happen that a man who has not been elected is more efficient than one who has; but it is the elected man with political title to office who interests us, because it is he who has the most power, because it is he who comes from the will of the people.

Thus, then, the only actual holder of power is not a king, it is not a government: it is the people itself.

For reactionary measure in Parliament, there are still many elements who support the party line for tactical reasons, not from conviction — they believe the U.P. is the only party able to replace the Nationalists, but fundamentally they favour concessions rather than outright repression.

There are many other indications that despite the fear and panic the Nationalists have sown among White South Africans, there yet remains a substantial section of Whites who are opposed to Government resorting to a military solution rather than a political one. Such people may not be very vocal at present but they are nevertheless to be found in many walks of life, in many organisations, political and others, and it is still possible that they will yet come out in the open.

Whether they do so or not depends to a large extent on what we do to encourage them.



# THE TITANS - LOCAL AND FOREIGN

By G. FASULO

This is the second of a series of articles. At the end of the series the relations between the various groupings will be discussed. Readers will therefore find it useful to keep the articles for future reference.

The March, 1962, Economic Newsletter issued by the Government's Information Service reports a speech by Mr. M. D. Banghart, vice-president of Newmont Mining Corporation of New York, who said that the economic advantages of South Africa are greater than the risk. That is why an investment programme of R18 million for Tsumeb Corporation in South-West Africa and R5 million for the O'okiep Copper Company in the Cape has been decided upon. Both of these companies are administered by Newmont and financially controlled by Newmont and American Metal Climax Inc. with the Union Corporation having a finger in the pie. "We know the people and the Government and we back our conviction with our reputation and our dollars." Banghart also pointed out that American firms which do business in South Africa make an average profit of 27% on their investments.

This is much higher than the profits such companies could hope to make at home in America. So long as the rate of profit remains high and the government seems able to keep the people under control many foreign capitalists will continue to come here. This is not only true of the frankly money-grubbing Bangharts, either. For example, Rubery Owen from Britain is too pious to let the cars of British Racing Motors which he finances run on Sundays. He also claims to run all his businesses on Christian principles. This did not stop him from opening a R2½ million car parts factory in Port Elizabeth in co-operation with the state-capitalist firm Vecor recently.

## Cash and Conscience

The hard and the soft capitalists do differ in their reactions to "unrest", however. The working capitalists who are often hard, robber-baron types keep their eyes fixed on the profits and don't scare easily. The soft ones, the conservative financiers and the small investors, are relatively insulated from the harsh facts of life as experienced by those of their class who do the dirty work. These timid people, especially the small ones, took fright at Sharpeville and the departure from the Commonwealth. None of the capitalists-on-the-spot seems to have withdrawn, however. Engelhard, the precious metals king, for example, cannot give up his holdings in platinum and gold mining without losing control of a part of his raw material supplies, and many others have other technical reasons for staying even if things get a bit rough.

The loss of confidence of many overseas investors in the S.A. government in 1960 and 1961 caused a major drain on the country's finances. This forced the

government to introduce a ban on the withdrawal of foreign share holder's money. This has seriously damaged the credit of the government and business with private overseas investors. The economic strength of the government and the economy, however, is so great that in every three month period during this time production was either maintained or increased.

In December, 1961, the S.A. Reserve Bank published a supplement to their Quarterly Bulletin of Statistics entitled "The Foreign Liabilities and Assets of the Republic of South Africa, 1956-60." This gave the following figures for foreign capital invested in S.A.

	end of 1956	end of 1960
Sterling Area (Britain, etc.)	R1,870 million	R1,972 million
Dollar Area (America, etc.)	504 m	623 m
OEEC Area (Western Europe)	402 m	469 m
Other Areas	16 m	13 m
<b>Total</b>	<b>R2,792 m.</b>	<b>R3,077 m.</b>

No others are significant although Japan just recently has begun to be important.

## Foreign Capital

This capital is concentrated in certain sectors of the economy. Banking and insurance are dominated by mainly British capital, and foreign capital is dominant in certain branches of industry. For example electrical engineering is dominated by American, British and Dutch firms. The Instrument Manufacturing Co. is the only S.A. firm of importance. Transportation equipment too is foreign dominated: cars, tyres, petroleum and railway rolling stock. However the state-capitalist firms Sasol and the S.A.R. & H. are becoming big producers, here. In mining there are large foreign holdings although S.A. capital is becoming much more important. The Reserve Bank's figures show a decline in total foreign investment in mining from R907 million in 1956 to R871 million in 1960 due to declines in British, American and "other" investments and despite a 13% increase in OEEC investment. In contrast foreign investment in manufacturing, commerce and in financial organisations increased while it decreased in the remaining branches of the economy from 1956 to 1960. The distribution of foreign capital in 1960 was: mining R871 m., manufacturing R699 m., commerce R371 m., finance R511 m., "other" R181 m.

In 1960 S.A. capitalists had invested R899 m. in foreign countries. Thus S.A. capitalists had investments in other countries equal to 29% of all foreign investments here and this was greater than

total foreign investment in S.A. mining. This is an aspect of the situation which has led some people to describe S.A. as a secondary imperialist country. The total net outflow of capital in 1960 was R140 million and in 1961 it was R83 million according to the Reserve Bank Bulletin for December 1961. This is a measure of the foreign investors alarm at Sharpeville.

Some idea of the policies being followed by foreign capital in this country can be gained by observing the behaviour of certain of its prominent representatives. Sir Francis de Guingand heads the S.A. Foundation and periodically brings his old chief, Montgomery, out to pronounce

all things to be well here. Engelhard in his annual reports to share holders mentions the need to adopt policies which shall be acceptable to the world, but is considered to be a good capitalist by the Nats and he brings capital into the country. He too is on the S.A. Foundation which strives to make the S.A. government and its policies appear more attractive especially in Britain, America and Western Europe. Sir John Maud, the British High Commissioner has achieved the remarkable feat of making it appear that Britain is afraid to antagonise the S.A. Government. This is of no great consequence except that it helps to maintain the Nat politicians' insanely exaggerated idea of their power in the world. Altogether the picture presented by foreign representatives of capitalist countries in South Africa is of men who are a bit perturbed about some things but who are prepared to go along with the Government so long as it is successful. How these attitudes will change as the struggle develops remains to be seen.

In the meantime there is a rapid growth of co-operation between foreign firms and state capitalist enterprises (Fisons and Sasol for the production of fertilisers and chemicals, Vecor and Rubery Owen for the production of car chassis and wheels, Vecor and Babcock and Wilcox for the production of boilers, Sasol and several tyre companies for the production of synthetic rubber, etc.) This development is strengthening the co-operation between foreign capital and the Nats.



# "Will You Come Into My Laager...?"

By BEN TUROK

The Nationalists came to power flogging their slogan of the "Swart Gevaar" and promising that only they could bring security and peace of mind to White South Africa. The years have gone by, one Prime Minister and Volksleier succeeding another, and their promised millennium is as remote as ever. White South Africa is far more insecure than it has ever been, and fear and worry is turning the fruits of White domination sour.

To cover up their failures, the Nationalists have chosen Dr. Verwoerd as the confidence man to play on the minds of White South Africa, to befuddle them and drive them to bewildered helplessness. Dr. Verwoerd's technique is a familiar one, yet nonetheless effective. He uses the typical Hitlerian tactics of war talk, tough suppression of the opposition, interspersed with occasional mildness which catches his opponents on the wrong foot.

## THE 'PLAN'

In the last few years in particular, as the 'promised land' of white safety has receded further and further, and the weakness of the white man become more and more obvious, the Government has turned increasingly to shock tactics to keep the patient under control. It has thrown the country into election after election, it has come forward with one scheme after another, all in an effort to maintain the bluff that 'Dr. Verwoerd het 'n plan'.

The most recent bombshell that they threw among the voters was the suddenly urgent threat of war announced so dramatically by Minister of Defence Fouché in the Senate recently. The effect of the speech was to throw White South Africa into a panic and to intensify the 'last ditch' mentality that is slowly enveloping the majority of white South Africa. Dr. Verwoerd's later attempt at lowering the temperature (meant mainly for overseas consumption?) had little effect, as everyone knew that whatever the facts of the military situation, a large increase had been voted in defence expenditure, and the militarisation of South Africa had been given a sharp prod forward.

It would be silly self-deception to underestimate the effect that the constant warnings of approaching danger have had on white South Africans. The incessant political legislation since 1948, the toughening up of the Police Force, the linking of police and military commands, and a steady stream of propaganda has pulverised wavering Whites, and the doors of the laager are becoming inviting. Here, perhaps peace of mind can be found even if at the expense of one's democratic beliefs, one's civil liberties,

one's home language and one's self respect.

## THE HANDS-UPPERS

English speaking South Africa, which not so long ago was showing signs of putting up a fight in Natal, is crumbling before the Nationalist juggernaut. In recent weeks — perhaps as a result of the Fouché speech — one organisation after another, has gone out of its way to invite a Nationalist leader to address them, or to open their conference or their meetings. The 1820 Settlers Association, a body which should be licking the wounds of insult which have been heaped by Nationalists on their members and supporters, chose Dr. Verwoerd to address them. The Natal Chamber of Commerce feted Eric Louw — lifelong racist and expert mudslinger — and warmly welcomed him to their annual dinner. The Johannesburg City Council, over whom the Government and Nationalist Provincial Council maintains a watchdog committee, now wants to grant the Freedom (only Nats are now entitled to Freedom) of their City to Mr. Swart, President of the Republic.

We can go on and on, enumerating instances of people who should be glowering with anger, steadily sinking their pride and seeking to make their peace with the fearsome Dr. Verwoerd. Yet, such a cataloguing of cowardice will not help us evaluate truly the political situation, nor will it help us to adopt correct policies. It could lead us into defeatism and perhaps passivity in relation to the Whites as a whole, instead of guiding us to a useful and constructive policy.

In other words we ought not allow ourselves to be depressed and overwhelmed by the fact that the Nationalists are succeeding in smashing the White opposition — far better to do even more to counteract their influence.

## FIGHTING BACK

Our first thought is that the advance of Fascism is hateful, and we must oppose it wherever it rears its head and more particularly where it shows signs of making headway. Even under the most hopeless conditions (and ours are far from hopeless) the Hitlers, Salazars and Verwoerds of our epoch must be hampered at every turn, thus preparing the way for their eventual defeat. In the South African context this means that not only must the main forces of opposition — the Non-Whites — be mobilised, but that the reserves of Fascism, the White public, must be discouraged from following the reactionaries.

Dr. Verwoerd knows the importance of lining up supporting forces, hence his constant pleas for White unity. He also

knows that the existence of a critical White opposition has severely hampered the Government in the past, and could be a great obstacle to the further militarisation of South Africa. So we find that constant attacks are made on the White opposition to force it to fall into line. This is not an easy task for the Nats, for if they go too far their attacks may actually consolidate the opposition instead of weakening it. Hence, the hammer blows are alternated with soothing noises, so that the Whites, punch drunk, drop their defences and slowly gravitate towards the Nationalists. But for many, conviction is still absent, and their support for Verwoerd is rather that of a patient who is being conditioned than that of enthusiastic follower. Such support may yet prove to be unstable and vacillating when put to the test; it is our duty to see that it does so.

## WHITE DIVISIONS

The Congress movement has always held that the Whites of South Africa are far from being a homogeneous group. This being the case, it should be possible for us to find some sections which will co-operate with the Non-Whites, both while in opposition, and, more likely still, when the Non-Whites hold political power. We recognise that the bulk of Whites have their permanent home here, and that even after liberation, they will remain here. In that event, there will be tremendous problems of readjustment; it will be vital that a political organisation of Whites is in existence which can set an example in co-operation with Non-Whites, thus easing the tensions that are certain to exist.

We can expect too, that a Government of Liberation will also have to deal with pockets of resistance perhaps not too dissimilar from the Algerian O.A.S., and that tremendous efforts will have to be made to isolate these elements politically from the rest of the White population. Already some Nationalists are saying that they will ensure that even if defeated they will see that no Government of Liberation is able to rule. Minister Fouché may have been hinting at this when he said in Parliament (Hansard p. 3415, No. 10), "I want to tell anyone who wants to attack us: They may overwhelm us with their superior force, but those who tackle us will suffer extremely severe losses if we stand together."

I started out by pointing to indications of a decided swing towards the Nationalist laager. Yet there is also a contrary movement, which though not anywhere near as large, is nevertheless most significant under the present circumstances.

(Continued on page 11)



# THE DECLINE OF EDUCATION

Wherever education is free to develop, a country makes rapid progress but, when the educational system is backward, the country stagnates or declines. In every country where the government has interfered with education or has tried to tie education to a reactionary ideology, the country has been severely handicapped. Nazi-Germany, Italy under Mussolini, Franco-Spain are vivid examples of the maxim that education collapses when tied to the ideology of a fascist party.

How does South Africa stand up to the test of education? In this, the first of two articles on the subject, a prominent educationist deals with

## "THE STANDARDS GO DOWN"

All education in South Africa is directed towards one end — the continued supremacy of one section of the population.

In an advanced technological society (the most advanced in all Africa) a small section of the community is trained to provide all the technical requirements of a population of 15 millions.

Up to the present time the whites, who constitute only one-fifth of the population, have provided all the engineers, nearly all the scientists, all the dentists and pharamsists and nearly all the doctors.

And for the whites there is compulsory free education, which allows every white child the opportunity for advancement in an economy where the matriculation certificate is a compulsory requirement for advancement in commerce and industry.

But even here the standards are false and we must pause to look at these, because, in facing the bigger (and more pressing) problem of African, Coloured and Indian education, we often tend to overlook the fact that all is not well even in the white section of education.

### The standards of "White" education

As comparisons of educational standards in South Africa always refer to the standard reached by the white child, it is necessary to say at the outset that white education is sick and choking to death.

At no time has education in South Africa achieved a very high standard. The products of our schools have always lagged badly behind those of Western Europe or of Russia. The average product of our school system has been dull and incapable of further advance. As the aim in South Africa has always been to maintain white supremacy, the white child has been pushed beyond his capacity. Many who should have left school at an early standard were kept at school, pushed into higher classes, pampered on a diet of sport and low educational requirements in order to prepare them for their life in a ruling group. They learned to despise manual labour and to aspire to positions that could be guaranteed only by skin colour and not by merit.

Our white educational standards are twenty years behind the times (or maybe even more). Our average matriculant has no cultural background and no heritage of achievement through solid work. More often than not he is mentally lazy and fails to show the initiative that could

be expected after twelve years of schooling. It is almost as if our educational requirements are kept low to allow a maximum number of whites to achieve a standard of education that "proves" a false superiority.

In some respects the backwardness of our educational system stems from the nature of capitalism. Our schools are not worse than many in America and Europe. Our universities have produced many top-ranking graduates. But our best students often lag behind when they go to Europe for further training, because the foundation they received here has been so poor in so many respects.

### Recent events in "White" education

Events over the past ten years have led to a decline which is accelerating. Education of the whites has gone from bad to worse. With the infiltration of Christian National Education into the schools there has been a continuous drop in standards, partly due to changes in the curriculum and partly due to the drop in teaching standards.

The introduction of CNE has been preceded by the foisting of 'Race Studies' (a pernicious system designed to bolster the feeling of white superiority) and of 'Social Studies' (a course for primary schools that builds narrow patriots of the type, "my country right or wrong").

This is being followed by the proposed 'Education Advisory Council' Bill which will regiment every teacher and child and see that narrow parochialism is ensured. There is no doubt this will be followed by laws determining what should and should not be taught. How long will narrow Calvinism allow teachers to instruct students in those 'pernicious' subjects that allow possible discussion of evolution and other ungodly subjects?

The list can be added to endlessly. Married and experienced teachers are being displaced, despite the drastic shortage of qualified teachers. Afrikaans teachers are taking over in English medium schools, bringing with them the ideologies of white nationalism. Teachers with lower qualifications than ever before are being trained; locally-written books (that display an amazing illiteracy in their subjects) are prescribed to replace better written 'foreign' products; library books outside official restricted lists are forbidden and so on ad nauseam.

Three years ago the so-called 'open Universities' were ordered to close their

doors to non-Whites and tribal colleges were set up.

The problem of the 'open Universities' is a chapter in itself. These universities were never open in the fullest meaning of the word. They allowed only a limited number of Africans into some of their faculties. They barred open social mixing, keeping all the prejudices of white South Africa by disallowing the use of the swimming baths, sports facilities and social entertainments to the African students. But, partial as it was, the opening of their gates to the non-whites was a step forward — even if a very timid step. Their philosophy was suspect — that of 'taming' the non-white intellectual, of making him a respectable member of the given society and of curbing his possible radicalism.

Since the closing of the gates, the universities have suffered in many ways. Not only has the best of African students been debarred, but there has been no arrival of lecturers or professors from overseas to help build up local standards. On the contrary many of our best lecturers and professors have migrated to find personal relief from the stultification that has accompanied the closing of the doors.

The lowering of standards of appointment to the universities has led to a real lowering in many branches and faculties. Second grade professors — and their number will grow — inevitably mean second grade students. It means the lowering of the concept of pure study, of unfettered investigations and probings.

The standards are going down at all levels, though the results will become obvious only over a period of years, since there is not yet full control over all the teachers and all the lecturers. Many will try to maintain the standards, some will even try to raise them. This, however, is only a rearguard action which must fail if Nationalist party control continues for any lengthy period.

The overall effect will and must weaken our entire education system. There must be no illusion: the powerful influences behind the government (the Broederbond, the Church etc.) will eat away at any remnants of the existing system. They will force their policy on the system, controlling the teaching and the subject matter, until their ideology is fully implemented.

It is only a matter of time — and time is running short.



# ANDREW . . . An Excerpt

By RICHARD RIVE

Andrew arrived in the brightly-lit but now empty foyer of Milner Court and briskly mounted the staircase to the second floor. He felt much better after his talk with Abe. Rejuvenated to a certain extent. Andrew hummed "De Little Black Bull" to himself. A real dependable guy. One felt fresh after speaking to him. De Little Black Bull went down to the meadow. At the same time it was advisable to be cautious of the other white tenants. Coloured men just didn't visit unmarried white girls at ten in the evening. De little black bull went down de meadow. Long time ago. He reached her flat, 19, and was disappointed when he found it in dark-

ness. He brightened however when he found a note pinned to the door. Dear Andy — he wondered why she always called him Andy — see my letter box in the foyer. He tore off the note then crumbled it in his pocket. In her box he found an envelope addressed to him. Andy, I've been visited by two members of the Political Branch who asked me a lot of personal questions. I waited until 9 and then decided to try and find you in Grassy Park. This note is in case we miss each other. Enclosed please find the key. Let yourself in and wait - Ruth.

So the bastards had already been to her. What the hell was all the fuss about? His gaiety was suddenly dampened and he was back in the world of charges, and gaolings.

He let himself into her flat when he saw that nobody was watching, and switched on the light. Her bed-sitting room was tastefully furnished with Sekotos and Irma Sterns on the wall. Her books ran the length of one side. Dr. du Bois, de Maupassant, Gorki, Steinbeck, Howard Fast. The record player was positioned next to a comfortable couch, almost smothered with coloured pillows. The room led through French doors to a balcony giving a view of the University and the mountain. A kitchen and blue-tiled bathroom made up the rest.

He decided firstly to freshen up and have a shower. He felt a pleasant warmth creeping over him as water poured down his neck and over his tired body. He raised his head and allowed the stream to splash in his face. He wondered what they could have asked Ruth. They were really hot on his trail. First Grassy Park then here. What the devil for? Having the wrong friends? The wrong ideas? Being in love with a white girl? A security risk? A progenitor of the P.A.C. Campaign? Whom the Gods wished to destroy they first make mad. He dried himself vigorously, and then felt extremely hungry. Even ravenously so. He hadn't eaten all day. Unskilfully he cut bread, warmed the coffee and heated the pan to fry eggs. He decided to have two, no three. He found some tomatoes in the refrigerator and sliced them up, then settled down to his meal. A Congress notice, faded and brown, was pinned behind the door, calling for a boycott of Nationalist-controlled products. The list of goods not to be bought followed.

He felt much better after he had eaten. Feeling fresh and contented he went back to the main room to wait for Ruth. Through the door he could see the lights of the University set against the black mass of Table Mountain. He could make out Jamieson Hall and the Residences, little dots of light against the mountain. Andrew poured himself a brandy and mixed it with soda. There was an unread Argosy on a couch but he felt in no mood to read. Music. That was it. Her record cabinet was at the side of her

Richard Rive, is a Cape Town writer who has had short stories published locally as well as in countries such as the United States of America, England, Australia, Italy, Germany, Sweden, Switzerland, Nigeria. These have appeared in at least five different languages. His collection, "African Songs" which contains many prize-award and best-recommended stories, is to appear at the end of the year in English, Swedish, and Italian.

This piece, titled 'Andrew' is an excerpt from his first novel, recently completed, "Emergency", which has already been accepted for publication in English, Swedish and Italian. Richard Rive will be better known to Fighting Talk readers under the pseudonym, Richard Moore, which he has used in contributions to this magazine in the past.

player. Smetana. He knew the work backwards. Moldau from Ma Vlast. My Country. Patriotic music, the stirring of national consciousness. A firm favourite of his. He opened wide the French doors and a slight breeze smelling of pine blew in. He positioned and started the record and switched off all the lights. Then he settled back comfortably on the couch with his brandy. He had always played it at Abe's place. He had read somewhere that Smetana, like Liszt found a bold solution, showing that music might also be brought into touch with the intellectual movements of the time — and enabled to play its part in the fight for progressive ideas which could give a better, freer impulse to the life of Europe. How erudite and learned. Yes sir, as Abe would say, what we need in this country is the development of all indigenous cultures for the furtherance

of a truly South African art form. Two solo flutes descriptive of the River Moldau starting from its source high up in the forests of the Sumava. Yes, he knew every part of it, recognised every instrument, every note. Hell, waiting for the strings to take up the motif in the middle of pass-burnings and rioting, while on the run from the Special Branch. Fiddling while Rome burnt. The swelling of the mood indicative of rustic revelry. Country folks dancing and singing at a rural wedding. The green banks of the Moldau strewn with the dead of Sharpeville and Langa. And waiting in a flat for a white girl he loved passionately and sensuously. Then with Ruth through Prague to Vysehrad where the river broadens into a wide, majestic stream. Flooding like the crowd at the Langa funeral. Black faces stretched from bank to bank. Dignified but dangerous under the unruffled stillness. Like the water at the deep-end of Hanover Street swimming baths. And then the increase in vigour and tempo as the Moldau shoots over the St. John's rapids. A sudden eruption from placidity. Startling and ominous, like a crowd suddenly turning dangerous. Defiantly burning their passes. Uncontrollable like the South Easter whipping around Tennant Street corner. Or his mother's temper. Controlled anger for which he could not be held responsible. Which could bring death 13 years before on a windy day. Long time ago, long time ago. De little black bull went down de meadow, long time ago. With the smell of sweat and wine and decaying vegetables in his nostrils. District Six. Ma Vlas. My country. Based on National stores and a grand, spacious, heroic theme which runs through the music. The brandy needed more soda. Why the hell wasn't Ruth back yet? Wonder what Mrs. Carollisen would tell her? The music becomes enriched harmonically and melodically and passes into a long coda, and is carried forward to a last view of the distant river as it sweeps unrelentingly forward to the sea. Down to de sea. Long, long time ago. When de little black bull went down de meadow, long time ago.



# TIME FOR AN ALL-OUT ATTACK ON THE COLOUR BAR STAGE

By L. N. TERRY

It is time the curtain went up on South Africa's theatre colour-bar. And what we need is a straight presentation of the facts and rather less behind-the-scenes prompting.

It is true that we have had many gestures of protest — by individuals and groups — but what we need is a concerted heave to lift this race-bar: up to now we have only had rehearsals.

There have been several try-outs, pioneering and even courageous, at lifting the racial pall which asphyxiates our theatre — King Kong, King of the Dark Chamber and Blood Knot were each, in a different way, an attempt to break through — but until we have an organised campaign and a concerted effort, we shall not achieve a great deal.

To most of us, the facts are familiar. There are regulations forbidding mixed audiences, others forbidding mixed casts, and still others insisting on separate black-white toilet facilities! The result is that most overseas artists and productions are seen by whites only, or can only be seen by non-whites under conditions of the strictest apartheid. And most South African productions are confined — with or without regulations — to all-white audiences.

## EQUITY AND RIGHT

The outside theatre world is aware of some of this (it will only know all when we make that concerted effort to lift the curtain on our colour-bar) and, in the case of Britain at least, has shown its disgust. Equity, which controls the great majority of British artists, has insisted that its members perform in South Africa only if performances could also be given to non-whites. (The original text of the resolution was stronger, but was watered down by some of our own misguided do-gooders). Now it is preparing, this month, to adopt a stronger resolution — and one that should have the backing of us all. It will insist that all performances by Equity artists in South Africa must be before multi-racial (unsegregated) audiences.

Since South Africa's racial policy will not — for some time yet — alter on the question of segregation, this condition will not be met and we will be driven further into the cultural desert. It is the logical end of apartheid in this, as in all other spheres.

This raises the question: should we provoke this isolation? Must we stop trying to salvage what little we can, even if only for a section of our population?

The answer can only be YES. Unless we are ourselves prepared to condone this racial policy — while making hollow gestures of protest against it. Unless we are prepared to be labelled hypocrites who protect white privilege while yelling condemnation of it.

For the arty types who talk of saving some of the cultural enrichment for those who at least are still permitted to benefit from it, the answer is that art belongs to us all, and those who profess love for it should be the first to fight for its sharing. And art which must be rationed out to the privileged is not worth having.

## NO KIDDING

There is another smarmy argument: that white South Africans can be reformed, can have a change of heart, if only they get the message. Let's not kid ourselves with that one.

As for having to "show them what the non-whites can do": we have shown

them, King Kong and the Tagore and Blood Knot showed them. And a fat lot of good it did.

Two factors indicate that the time is ripe for a real fight on this issue.

The considerable thought non-whites are giving to the problem — evidenced by the articles of Richard Rive (Fighting Talk) and Morris Hommel (Star) as well as — in a different fashion — the frosty reception given to "Mr. Paljas."

The willingness of British Equity to take the strongest—and soundest—line on the issue.

And perhaps most important the very serious questioning by innumerable people — white and non-white — of the rightness of running segregated shows in our country however laudable the motives.

The South African Indian Congress set the pace by adopting a strong resolution at its last Conference calling for an end to segregated shows — it reflects the hardening of attitudes on this question. It is for us to enunciate our policy clearly and then to stand by it.

Apartheid in the theatre must go, and we must be the first to reject it.

## BOOKS

# THE AFRICAN IMAGE

It is hard to think of anyone better equipped than Zeke for an undertaking like this — to project an image of the African as seen from various viewpoints — his own and that of both white and black in literature. The images he gives us are crisp and detailed. Their accuracy is a matter of opinion (we all know so many different South Africa's) but they certainly are revealing and there is a great deal to be learnt from them by both Black and White.

After some initial clearing of the ground — his incisive analyses of concepts like "The African Personality", and "Negritude" swiftly expose their meaninglessness — and an exploration of his own roots and those of other black peoples' (he is hard on West Indians, but more understanding of American Negroes) he gets down to his well-documented studies of the literary images: the black man in fiction as seen by the white man and by himself. He ranges through most of the important writing on the subject and his comments are acute. I particularly liked him on David Karp, Doris Lessing and Sol Plaatje — and without the straining for vividness found in some other parts — starting with the dedication.

There is, of course, another image that comes through — that of Zeke himself.

He is, as much as anyone can be, the image of the modern African we have — some of us at any rate. For this is the baffling thing (and Zeke has to wrestle with it as much as anyone else) that not only are there many images of the African but that each of us may have several images. Yet his own attitude is probably the one that will prevail: in the last resort: we will settle for being simply PERSONS.

This, and his sane pronouncements on many vexed issues — not least Pan-Africanism—are among the prime values of the book. But there is another: without belabouring our politics he has succeeded in giving a vivid and readily intelligible picture of South Africa. It is done principally through images of himself in particular situations: interviewing the feature editor of the Star (who wanted to know if "Post" was printed in English!), his refusal to go to the Lyric Bioscope and others. He projects these with intensity and some indignation but without rancour.

And out of them he distills the sanity and understanding which are among the finest elements of the African image.

D.A.B.

THE AFRICAN IMAGE by Ezekiel Mphahlele. (Faber and Faber: 1962)

FIGHTING TALK, MAY, 1962