

FIGHTING TALK

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NYASALAND and the RHODESIAS: THE REAL PLOTTERS

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Will Federation Go Through in 1960?



DR. HASTINGS BANDA



SIR ROY WELENSKY

**SPECIAL ISSUE ON THE
FEDERATION CRISIS**

First Elections in BASUTOLAND The New Parties

* * *

Back in Business: War Criminal Krupp

FIGHTING TALK

A monthly journal for Democrats

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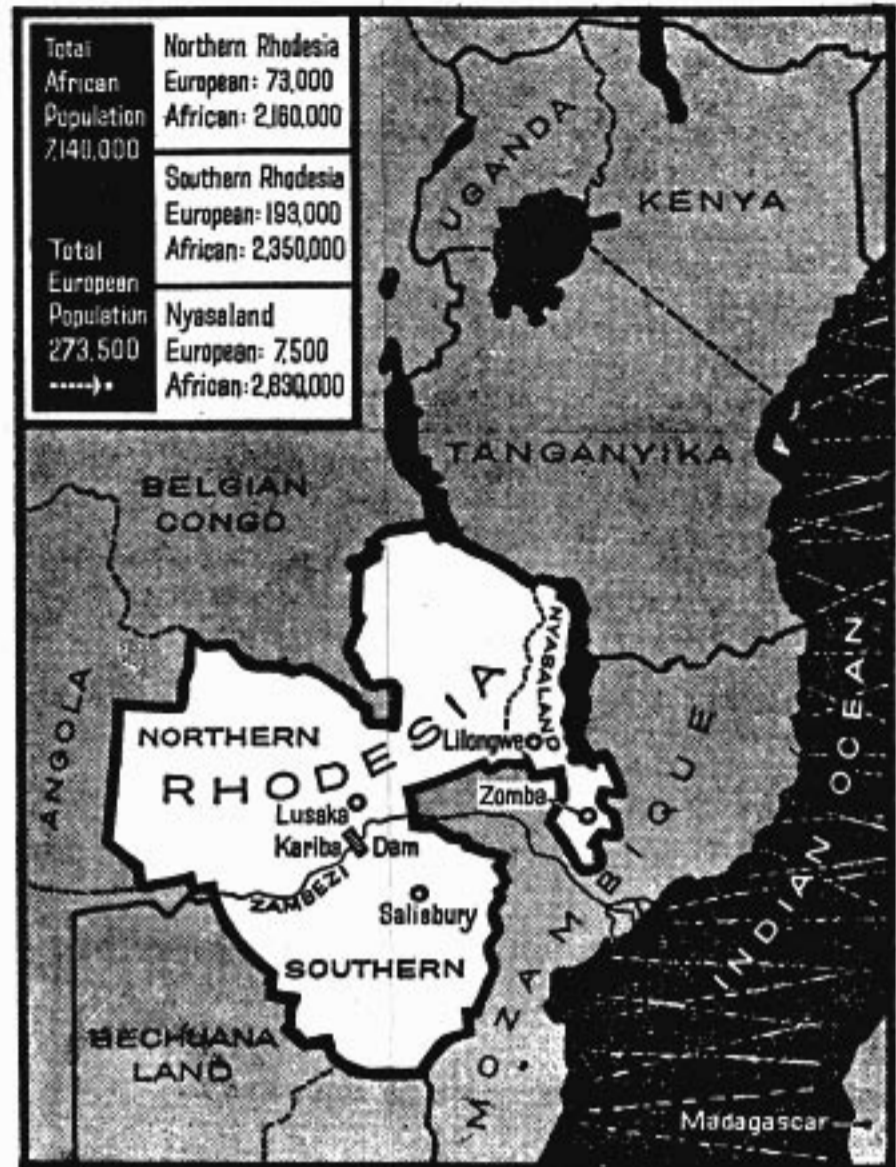
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Central African Federation

The key to the trouble is African opposition to Federation forced on the Rhodesias and Nyasaland by White settler minority Governments.



Federation Troublespot. A plot to massacre the Whites said the Federation Government. But it is three weeks since the Emergency was declared and not one White has been killed. Whose plot was it? It's a fishy business all round. Twenty-four hours before the Emergency, Nyasaland's Governor said there was no cause for alarm and no need for a state of emergency. The first news people in Nyasaland had of the plot was the radio announcement of it after a speech in the British Parliament by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lennox Boyd. Yet there is evidence that the Rhodesian Government was making arrangements to declare an emergency before Christmas, long before the Congress plotters are supposed to have met to pay their plans. The truth, writes Michael Harmel, is that there was a plot, but it was manufactured to order in Salisbury and Whitehall, and it was a plot to smash African opposition to Federation. PAGES 3-5.

FAutobiography Out of Africa. "Zeke" Mphahlele, well-known to Fighting Talk readers for his reports from Nigeria and on the Accra conference has written the story of his life, from herdboy to teacher, in a Marabastad slum, a Church school dormitory, Orlando classroom and newspaper office. "Down Second Avenue" reviewed on page 13.

FWar Criminal Krupp Back in Business. "There is no question of Krupp being allowed to resume either ownership or control of the former Krupp industrial empire," pledged Attlee in 1951, and he was echoed by Eden and Adenauer, among others. But Alfred Krupp is back at the helm making profits just short of Krupps peak year of 1939, and military aircraft for the Bonn government. The Inside Story of Krupp, page 12.

FFirst Elections Looming in Basutoland have given rise to new parties whose policies and role are here examined. Page 8.

FGuinea's Economic Problems. "We prefer poverty in freedom to wealth in bondage," said Guinea's Prime Minister, Sekou Touré. Can Guinea be both free and rich? Desmond Buckle on Guinea, page 6.

That Federation Emergency: A Plot Made to Order

by MICHAEL
HARMEL

"PLOTS Manufactured to Order" might well be the slogan of the British Colonial Office. Every time a national liberation movement tends to get "out of hand" in a colony and repressive measures are called for, the leaders are arrested, a sinister plot is announced, and a state of emergency is proclaimed. Naturally, the people come out to demonstrate against the arrests. Troops are called out to disperse them, shots are fired, people killed, more troops are sent in. The papers are filled with pictures of "our brave lads" in some corner of the rapidly diminishing empire, conducting "mopping up operations." Thousands of alleged "terrorists" are herded into detention camps. It's a sickeningly familiar pattern. No wonder angry and incredulous shouts of disgust resounded in the House of Commons when Colonial Secretary Lennox-Boyd rose to trot out the old familiar story once again — this time about Nyasaland.

The Record to Date

The story about the proposed Congress plan to massacre Europeans in Nyasaland is a particularly unlikely and far-fetched one, bearing every evidence of having been hastily concocted by Sir Roy Welensky and his Special Branch. So far they have not adduced a shred of evidence to substantiate it, though they have:

- ★ Arrested hundreds of Nyasa Congressmen — still being held without trial — and deported Dr. Banda,
- ★ Killed 44 and injured 71 Africans up to March 7 (Statement by Lennox-Boyd in Commons, March 11).
- ★ Banned the Zambia National Congress in N. Rhodesia and arrested all its leaders. (N. Rhodesia Governor, Sir Arthur Benson, reported in *The Star*, March 12).
- ★ Burnt down Africans' huts as a reprisal against alleged rioting. (*The Star*, March 17).
- ★ Declared a state of emergency in Nyasaland and S. Rhodesia, outlawed Congress in both areas, and introduced into the S. Rhodesian Parliament repressive legislation rivaling anything enacted by the Nationalists in the Union.

The 'Massacre Plot'

In response to insistent demands for details of the conspiracy, Sir Robert Armitage, Governor of Nyasaland at last released, with a great fanfare of publicity, his report on "the great massacre plot" on March 23. He claims (the source of his information being anonymous informers) that Congress delegates from all over the Federation decided in a secret conference on January 25 to embark on a campaign of violence in the event of Dr. Banda being arrested. Earlier the impression had been given that the plot proposed the indiscriminate massacre of all the White people (there are 7,000 of them) in Nyasaland. This story has now been amended: Armitage now claiming that Congress intended the assassination of himself and a number of other selected people on a "murder list" which included Africans and Asians as well as White officials, policemen, "missionaries, women and children." (*Rand Daily Mail*, March 24). He also claims the plot included sabotage of communications and power sources.

There are a great many strange and inexplicable features about the whole affair.

Twenty-four hours before he let loose a reign of terror in Nyasaland, Governor Armitage stated publicly that there was no cause for alarm, and no need to pro-

claim a state of emergency. Strange conduct for a man whose name was, as he then knew (according to his latest report) on the top of a "murder list"!

"The Drum Mystery"

The *Star* reported (March 4) that the plot had been foiled by the police and military removing, from outside Dr. Banda's house, the drum which was to have been beaten as a signal to commence operations.

But the Armitage Report now says: "By the time the reports of the secret meeting had been analysed, events were already beginning to corroborate them. The Congress plan was being put into action."

The question naturally arises, how could the plan be put into action when, the drum having been removed, the signal could not be given? Even if we forget the fanciful story of the drum and stick to the Armitage Report we are still involved in an insoluble contradiction.

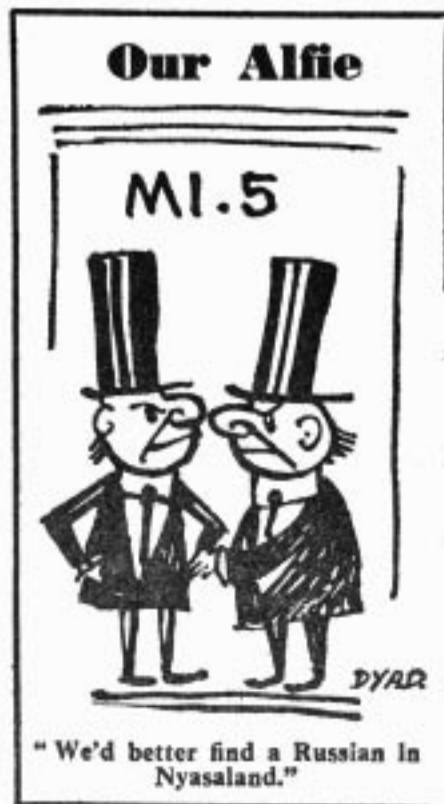
When Sir Robert says "the plan was being put into action", he is referring, no doubt, to stories we have read in our newspapers of sabotage to roads and bridges (all of which followed the introduction of Rhodesian troops, the shooting and the violence on their part.) But what about the assassinations? If, as he alleges, the sabotage and the massacres were all part of one and the same plot, it is passing strange that the only murders that have taken place from beginning to end have been those of Africans by the police and the military.

If there was a plot at all, Governor Armitage does not explain why the conspirators are not being placed on trial.

The Real Plotters

The real reason is that there was a plot, but the plotters were not Banda and the Congressmen. The conspirators will not be brought to trial because they include Armitage, Lennox-Boyd and Welensky and his gang of white baasskap fanatics. The plot was concocted not in Nyasaland but in Salisbury and Whitehall.

According to the Armitage Report, the "massacre plot" was devised at a meeting on January 25. But Sir Edgar White-



head, Premier of S. Rhodesia, has stated publicly that preparations for a state of emergency began before Christmas. The New Statesman, usually extremely well-informed on colonial matters, declares (March 14):

"There is independent evidence that, as early as mid-December, federal security officers were standing by to put the present plan into operation as soon as D-day was determined."

Long before any talk of riots or massacre plots, police in Nyasaland were going out of their way to provoke violence. The story is dramatically told in a letter to London from Mr. H. B. Chipembere, Congress treasurer in Nyasaland, dated February 26, five days before the declaration of emergency. Mr. Chipembere (now under arrest) warned people not to believe that disturbances were caused by any Congress plan. If anyone planned them "it was the police and officials and the settler politicians above them."

Africans walking the streets were set upon and beaten up, by day and by night. "They are beaten and told, 'We are beating you because you follow Dr. Banda and his Congress'."

When thousands lined roads to cheer Banda, they were dispersed forcibly by police. "A clash occurs and all sorts of deadly weapons are used, even killing people (this was the pattern in Nehau on February 20)."

"When the people refuse to move (from banned meetings) or show mere reluctance to move (or even when they ask why they must move) they are arrested for 'unlawful assembly . . .' Sometimes they are not even told to move. The police just come and beat or shoot."

Welensky's fanciful story about Congress leaders from Nyasaland meeting

"Russians" at Accra, and there presumably getting instructions for the massacre, is of a piece with the whole crude manoeuvre. Ever since he and Whitehead and their friends engineered the removal of Garfield Todd from the premiership (by means of a scandalous whispering campaign which must be hard to parallel in politics for sheer backstabbing disloyalty) they have been out to smash African opposition, especially Nyasa opposition, to Federation. And with Congress rapidly gaining ground in Nyasaland (200 branches now as against 80 last May) and the time growing nearer (1960) when Sir Roy hopes to achieve Dominion status for the Federation, more and more strident calls have been made from Salisbury for a tougher line against the Congresses.

The fact of the matter is that the Africans of Nyasaland (a population of about 3 millions, as against a White population of 7,000, about the same as Stellenbosch) do not want to be in the Federation and never have. They said "No", loudly and unanimously, when they were "consulted", ten years ago. They have continued to say "No" ever since. They are not particularly fond of government from Britain, but even less do they desire government from White Rhodesia, whose concept of "partnership" would translate nicely into Afrikaans as "baasskap."

Welensky's tough methods are hardly likely to make them change their minds. Nor for that matter are such methods likely to induce the British public to endorse the Tory plan to hand Nyasaland over permanently to the tender mercies of the White Rhodesians, in a new Dominion fashioned after the image of the Union of South Africa. (And it is this consideration, and the massive protest

which has already developed in Britain, which has no doubt influenced the hasty withdrawal for reconsideration of the Swart-like Unlawful Organisations Bill, and the unexpected promotion of good-boy Savanhu to a £2,500 a year civil service job).

Even those Englishmen who do not feel angry on moral grounds about the idea of selling out Nyasaland Protectorate to the Rhodesians, have other sound reasons for second thoughts about the whole matter. They have an uncomfortable feeling that all this has happened before, and that it didn't turn out well last time. These terrible plots the Colonial Office keeps on discovering tend to be followed by big trouble — disastrous colonial wars, in which British lads get killed and for which British taxpayers have to pay. And Britain loses every time.

"Plotter" Nehru came from jail to be Prime Minister of India. "Plotter" Nkrumah is now Premier in Accra. "Plotter" Jagan is now Prime Minister of British Guiana. And just at the very time Banda was being deported from Nyasaland, Makarios was making a hero's entry into Cyprus.

It is not too late to avoid a repetition of the whole shabby, bloody and futile business in Nyasaland. There is time — but very little time — to break the pattern. Essentials to this end:

1. Lift the ban on Congress;
2. Release Banda and let him come back;
3. Release all the detainees;
4. Put an end to Federation and enter negotiations with Congress for an independent, self-governing Nyasaland.

FEDERATION CHANCES

COPPER KINGS AND NYASA LABOUR

Apparently the odds on the Central African Federation disintegrating are shortening. Very few people seem to want it. The Africans long ago stated quite unequivocally that they were opposed to Federation; the British Labour Party, after drafting the original constitutional scheme for Central Africa has committed itself to opposing Dominion status for that territory. Even the major White opposition party, the Dominion Party, claims to be against Federation. The only groups seemingly in favour of it are the Whites who support Sir Roy Welensky, and their Tory allies in the British Houses of Parliament. It would

appear that Federation has a limited lifespan.

The Clue to Federation

Why do Welensky and his allies in Britain want to hold on to Federation? Why, in fact, was Federation formed? The answer is to be found in the enormous wealth of the Copperbelt and its indispensable labour supply — Nyasaland. The profits from the Northern Rhodesian copper mines are truly staggering. Thus Nchanga Consolidated paid out £23,847,000 to its shareholders in the period 1953-55. Over the same time Roan Antelope paid out £33,524,000. The Rhokana Corporation declared a 25 per cent dividend in 1945. By 1954 the figure had leapt to 250 per cent. The shareholders had had their capital returned 14 times.

Profits Need Labour

But the wealth of the Federation comes not only from the mines, but from the men who work them and it is from Nyasaland that the Rhodesians obtain their labour. Without the Nyasa migrants Federation would grind to a halt. The recent provocative actions by the authorities were determined to forestall not massacre plots, but legitimate agitation for African self-determination. It was for that purpose that Federation was conceived.

To the American and British financiers, White settler control of political power is a sound insurance for their investments. Hence their eagerness to establish and maintain Federation. African self-government might bring in heavy taxation or even worse — nationalisation. Copper is not only extremely

profitable, it is essential for the military build up of the Western world. Financiers and cold-war diplomats are hardly choosy about with whom they collaborate and in this case they chose to work with the White settlers from Southern and Northern Rhodesia.

The settlers, the financiers, and the cold war politicians are going to lose the battle for Federation. Nevertheless their interests in Central Africa are far too big to give up without a fight — and the cornered and wounded animal may yet lash out viciously.

When 1960 comes Welensky is going to demand Dominion status. He threatens a "Boston tea party" if he doesn't get his way. Is any British government going to stand in his way? The Tories certainly won't. Has Labour shed its concepts of Empire sufficiently to send British troops into the Federation to maintain a settlement against the wishes of the White settlers? It remains to be seen whether, once in office, Labour's present hard-hitting attacks on Welensky will continue or whether the most Labour will do is postpone discussion on the Federal Constitution.

The African Congresses

In Nyasaland the African National Congress certainly increased its following since the emergency began. There the people reacted spontaneously to the arrest of the Nyasa leaders. The Nyasa people have begun to feel their own strength. In recent weeks much of the northern part of the colony was held by the Africans. Lessons learnt will not be lost upon the British Government or upon the commission of inquiry that has just been established to investigate the recent resistance. S.T.

PEN PICTURE

SIR ROY WELENSKY

It is 1939. The scene is the steps of the Legislative Council at Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia.

Here stands big burly Roy Welensky, idolised leader of the Rhodesian Railway Workers' Union, legendary hero of all Rhodesian labour and elected member for Broken Hill of the Legislative Council. With him are two representatives of the Northern Rhodesian Mine Workers' Union. Approaching the steps is Lt. Col. Gore-Browne, a Governor-appointed Member of the Legislative Council:

"Good-morning Brother Welensky, Good-morning! And who are our Brothers?"

"You have it wrong, Colonel, it is Comrade Welensky! And these are Comrades Maybank and Hodgson!"

It is still 1939, in a conference room in the Governor's residence at Lusaka.

Seated on one side of the table is Roy Welensky together with representatives of the Miners Union. Opposite them is the Governor surrounded by his advisers;

"Gentlemen! I have brought you here to advise you of my intention to introduce in the Council a legislative measure which will in effect give the Government power to conscript all man-power in the Territory. Of course this is being done in the interest of the prosecution of the war. As you know, copper is a vital war material . . . its production should continue uninterrupted . . . in fact, the production of copper must be increased to meet the needs of our armed forces. To ensure this it is necessary that our man-power resources be controlled. The right of workers to withhold their labour must be curbed for the duration of the war. No man can be permitted to change his occupation or enlist in the armed forces without the permission of the Government. It is a time for all to make sacrifices. I ask your co-operation, but at the same time I must tell you that if I don't get it, my intention is

nevertheless to proceed with the measure."

"We'll stop every wheel in the country if you do!" The voice of Jim Purvis thunders through the room: "Conscript the profits of the mining companies if you want to talk of 'all making sacrifices' and then come and talk to us of your measure!"

"Bring us a measure that will conscript both wealth and man-power and we will discuss it!"

"Is that your unanimous view? Is there no possibility of a compromise?"

"We are unanimous!"

"You too, Mr. Welensky?"

"I stand with my comrades, Sir."

* * *

It is early 1940.

The scene is a board room of the Rhokana Corporation, N'kana, Northern Rhodesia.

On one side of the table sit the representatives of the Miners' Strike Committee, among them Roy Welensky, by invitation and as an adviser. Opposite sit representatives of the mining companies. At the head of the table sits Mr. Chief Justice Brannigan, the Conciliator.

"It is a fact that the strike is illegal, a violation of the Conscription of Wealth and Man Power Act. Yet the Government is prepared to overlook it. We are gathered here to see if we cannot arrive at some agreement which will get the mines producing again. Copper is vital to our war effort . . ."

Interjection from a representative of the Miner's Strike Committee; "Is that why the Companies are selling two-thirds of our copper to Italy?"

"Please Gentlemen! Please! We will not get very far this way . . . I understand Mr. Welensky, that the Mine Worker's representatives wish you to have the same right to address the meeting as if you were one of them?"

"That is correct."

"I see no objection . . ."

* * *

He was on our side of the table. It

seemed that he had always been there and that he would always be there. It is such a short journey from one side of the table to the other and yet such a long one. The measure of Roy Welensky is not in that he rose from the ranks of the workers to become Prime Minister of Federation. It is perhaps not even in the fact that he exchanged the proud title of Comrade for the dubious privilege of being addressed as Sir Roy. It is in the shortness of the distance between one side of the table and the other.

How did this journey commence . . . ?

* * *

It is still 1940, later in the year. The scene is the Mine Workers' Union Office, Mufulira, Northern Rhodesia.

Behind a desk sits Maybank, the branch chairman. Opposite him, I sit, the secretary.

Maybank is skimming through a Government Gazette:

"Well what do you know? Roy has been appointed Director of Man Power!"

"What do you know about that! It's a tribute to the strength of the unions."

"I wonder . . ."

* * *

It is 1942. The scene is somewhere in Libya's Western Desert.

Beside an armoured car I read two letters:

Dear Jack,

We are all well . . . The newly formed Labour Party, our old dream, is preparing for the elections in October. We can win all the elected seats . . . You ask about the Mine Workers' Union. I am a bit out of touch but I am worried. Frank has been far too aggressive. There is some scheme afoot in the Council to deal with him,

Yours sincerely,

Roy.

The second letter:

Dear Jack,

We are working like h— in preparation for the election. We are going to capture all six seats. We are

(Continued on next page)

Guinea: Economic Hurdles to Leap

When M. Sekou Touré, Prime Minister of Guinea, announced last August that the people of his country would reject the De Gaulle Constitution and choose independence from France he was well aware the cost such a move would involve. He knew that the French would immediately carry out their threat to withdraw the annual subsidy of about 6 milliard francs from F.I.D.E.S. (Fonds d'Investissements et de développement économique et social dans les territoires d'outre-mer), the French overseas development fund. M. Touré knew that there would be, inevitably, a lack of money not only for administrative purposes, but also for the country's development plans. And there was in addition the prospect of the loss of the French market for Guinea's products.

WELENSKY

(Continued from page 5)

also working like navvies to build the union to meet the probable onslaught on wages and conditions when the war is over and the bottom drops out of the copper market. The bosses are prepared to make concessions while the price of copper is so high but heaven help us when the boom is over. Roy says I am pushing things too hard. But not half as hard as the bosses will push us when their turn comes . . .

Yours sincerely,
Frank.

In 1943 I was in a military hospital in Johannesburg's northern suburbs when Chris Maeyer dug me out.

"I need your advice. You know that Frank and I have just been deported from Rhodesia?"

"No!"

"I was flown out of Rhodesia yesterday. Frank has been deported to England. The rest of the story? Well, about a week ago the Governor announced the discovery of a plot to sabotage the production of copper. While we were wondering what it was about the streets were suddenly being patrolled by South African armoured cars. Within an hour of that Frank and I were arrested. We were held in the Ndola jail for a couple of days and then flown out of the country."

"Where was Roy? Surely he did something about it?"

"We asked to see him but were told that he was unable to see us. You know of course that his post as Director of Man Power has been confirmed for the duration of the war and three years after? That was in the gazette a few weeks ago."

Roy Welensky never looked back at us from that time onwards.

JACK HODGSON.

'Rather Poverty in Freedom' . . .

Nevertheless, M. Sekou Touré and the Guineans were determined to be free. "We prefer poverty in freedom to wealth in bondage," said the Prime Minister.

However, notwithstanding its present financial and economic problems, Guinea is not a poverty-stricken country. It is, in fact, potentially very rich — for its size one of the richest territories in Africa.

Guinea is mainly an agricultural country producing bananas, coffee and pepper. But its potential wealth is in its vast mineral deposits. There are huge supplies of bauxite, and its iron ore deposits rival in size those of neighbouring Liberia and Sierra Leone. The metal content of Guinea's iron ore is comparable to that of the ores of Lorraine and Sweden.

There are also considerable quantities of diamonds and some gold.

Financial Problems

Guinea's immediate problems are, therefore, rather more of a financial than economic character.

When the French withdrew they left the Treasury bare. Guineans say they took with them even office furniture, bathroom fittings, window panes and the uniforms of the police. About the only thing the French rulers left behind were the instruments of a military brass band.

The Guinea Government approached Ghana for a loan and one of the results of the union between the two countries announced last December was a loan of £10 million by Ghana. This sum is being set aside to develop agricultural production since the Guinea Government has now discovered it can balance its budget without the French subsidy.

Crops for Food

The development of crops for food is an urgent necessity. For Guinea during the colonial period concentrated on cash crops (coffee and bananas) for export to such an extent that it was not self-sufficient in food. It is typical of colonialism to produce conditions in which Guinea, despite its expanse of nearly 100,000 sq. miles, could not grow sufficient food for its small population of 2.5 million.

Bananas and coffee are grown largely on the plantations of French settlers in the foothills of the Fouta Djallon mountain range. But African smallholders

produce more than a quarter of the banana crop and a not inconsiderable proportion of the coffee.

Last year bananas were Guinea's principal export and fetched 1,305 million francs. Most of the crop went to France where the price was one-third more than in other markets overseas.

Before independence 60 per cent of Guinea's agricultural exports to France was exempt from duty. Now Guinea bananas will have to compete with bananas from the Ivory Coast and be liable for extra duty under the terms of the European Common Market.

Industrialisation Plans

The development of Guinea's vast bauxite resources and the smelting of the ore on the spot to produce aluminium holds out the best prospects for the country's industrialisation.

Bauxite was first discovered in the Los Islands just off the coast from Conakry, the capital. Aluminium Limited of Canada became interested and began working the deposits through its French subsidiary, the Société des Bauxites du Midi, in 1949.

Because France has sufficient domestic supplies of bauxite and because she does not possess the type of plant suitable for processing the kind of ore produced in the Los Islands, the ore is in its entirety shipped to Canada. Thus last year 457,000 tons went across the Atlantic.

The Los Islands deposits are estimated at 9 million tons and are expected to be exhausted by 1970. So the Bauxites du Midi began prospecting on the mainland and soon larger deposits were found at Boké in Northern Guinea.

In November, 1956 Aluminium Limited of Canada announced that they were planning to invest 100 million dollars in building a railway to the coast and a plant at Boké with an annual capacity of 220,000 tons. To date investment expenditure totals some 7 million dollars and because of Guinea's independence development plans are being slowed down.

Even more heavily involved in investment in Guinea bauxite is an international consortium called F.R.I.A. which has already spent 20,000 million francs of a planned investment of 56,000 million francs in the country. The consortium, headed by the French aluminium producers Pechiney and Ugine, first brought together American (Olin-Mathieson), British (British Aluminium Company) and Swiss (Aluminium Industrie Aktiengesellschaft) producers. Last November they were joined by the West German Vereinigte Aluminiumwerke A.G. The shares are distributed among the

members of the consortium in the proportion 26.5 per cent to the two French firms, 48.5 per cent to the American, 10 per cent each to the British and Swiss, and the remaining 5 per cent to the West German firm.

The consortium's original plan was to build a railroad from the site of the deposits in the Fouta Djallon (estimated to contain well over a billion tons) to Conakry, 150 km. distant. The plan also envisaged the building of an aluminium plant twice the size of the Boké plant with an annual capacity of 480,000 tons, designed to permit later expansion to over one million tons. It was planned to have this huge plant in operation by 1960. Already by that date Guinea would be the third largest producer of aluminium in the capitalist world.

To process the bauxite both groups are dependent on cheap electric power to be developed from a dam on the Konkouré River at Sonapité.

Second Thoughts Now

All these plans were made when Guinea was still under colonial rule. Now that Guinea is independent there are second thoughts. Last December Pechiney shareholders were told in a statement by the directors that financial negotiations around the construction of the Konkouré dam will "have to take account of recent developments". It

was pointed out that the building of the dam depended on a substantial contribution from the French overseas development (F.I.D.E.S.) and also on a French Government guarantee without which it would be almost impossible to obtain the necessary help of the World Bank. Guinea, already excluded from any of the benefits of F.I.D.E.S., can hardly expect any kind of guarantee from the French Government.

It is worthy of note that the American, British and Canadian monopolies which were interested in the Volta River Hydro-electric and aluminium project in Ghana when that country was the Gold Coast, a British colony, cooled off when independence came. They transferred their interest to French Guinea which they expected to continue to be a colony for a long time ahead. But now Guinea has also won its independence and these powers are holding it up to ransom by delaying the investment plans they themselves made so eagerly not so very long ago.

However, the Guineans are determined to go ahead with the building of the Konkouré dam. "We shall build it with our hands if necessary," says Sekou Touré.

Guinea Government sources claim that the cost of a kilowatt hour of electricity from the Konkouré dam has been estimated at 30 per cent less than the cost of a kilowatt hour in Canada. And the

cost of processing a ton of bauxite in Guinea will be 27 per cent less than the cost in the Central American deposits exploited by Aluminium Limited of Canada. Thus Guinea aluminium will be among the cheapest in the world.

Given the financial help needed from abroad, there can arise in Guinea a new industrial society producing large quantities of aluminium with cheap electric power from the Konkouré dam, using the metal for building houses, railroad trains, cars and buses, airplanes and ships. Power from the Konkouré dam could also be used for smelting iron ore from Guinea's rich deposits.

Nowadays countries like Guinea do not have to depend solely on the capitalist world for financial aid. Significantly the first state to conclude an economic agreement with newly-independent Guinea was the German Democratic Republic. The terms of this agreement, apart from commercial transactions on a mutually advantageous scale, provide for the training of Guineans in science and technology so that Guinea nations will be able rapidly to assume full control of their own plants and industrial establishments.

Given help by Socialist and progressive states, Guinea can solve her economic problems, secure her economic independence and so consolidate and safeguard her political freedom.

DESMOND BUCKLE.

PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA

Holding Down the Lid

In our last issue we published portion of an article dealing with the forced labour system of Portuguese East Africa, based on a first hand report by Marvin Harris, assistant professor of anthropology at Columbia University. That article concluded by asking how it is possible, in this age of awakening, for Mozambique's administration to maintain that feudalistic and oppressive system without the political upheavals and ferments that are now current throughout Africa.

The Portuguese government has reached a high standard in the art of holding down the lid on the inherently unstable and explosive content of Mozambique. Visitors to the area, who generally have no contact with the Africans except on

a tourist's sight-seeing basis, come away highly impressed with the Portuguese "solution" to the problems of colonial administration. The Administrator of Lourenco Marques can boast — and get away with it — that: "In view of the numbers (of police) mentioned, it is incontestable that the peace and tranquility we enjoy is not due to "force."

Terror

Professor Marvin Harris, however, contests that "incontestable" truth. From his studies, he concludes that the peace and tranquility which are so apparent everywhere on the surface conceal a social scene based on the twin props of terror and ignorance. The terror is something akin to the kind known to Africans in remote country towns in South Africa. Mozambique law goes further than South African, even in the matter of 'Masters and Servants.' Any

so-called "indigena" — that is to say, any African who does not attain the standard laid down by the Portuguese for citizenship — is subject to punishment for behaviour regarded as disobedient, impudent or ill-mannered — or as South Africans put it, "cheeky." Every indigena, says the law, must ". . . obey orders . . . zealously watch over his master's property . . . never leave the house without permission . . . and have the maximum respect for his master and the people who live with him."

Offenders against this vague, all-embracing code are sent by employers directly to the local administration centre, and there dealt with directly by the authorities without trial, charge or hearing. Just as Mozambique law goes further than South Africa, so too does Mozambique police administration. A special instrument known as the *palmatorio* is used for summary punishment of offenders against the Masters and Servants law. The *palmatorio* is a thick wooden disk perforated with four or five holes, and attached to a short handle. The palms of the offender's hands are struck with this implement, up to twenty-five times on each palm, so that the

holes suck up the flesh and raise painful welts. "Every administrative post in Mozambique has its *palmatorio*" writes Harris, "and recourse to this instrument for punishment of minor infractions is a thoroughly routine and everyday occurrence." Scarcely any of these offences or punishments are entered in the official crime statistics; hence the apparent "absence of crime" in P.E.A. about which so much is written in South Africa.

Deportation

For more serious offences — whether against the law or merely against the rather touchy susceptibilities of the authorities — there is the weapon of deportation, for those described by the authorities as *indesejaveis* — 'undesirables'. Undesirables who present signs of becoming a threat to established order, are liable to deportation to the island of Sao Tomé, a labour colony off the West Coast of Africa slightly north of the equator. "The threat of banishment" says Harris, "helps to quiet the relatively few indigenas who are aware that alternatives to the present system exist. No one knows how many undesirables there are or how many have been deported, but mention of Sao Tomé has an unmistakable curdling effect upon the spirit of the Africans throughout Mozambique."

Even for deportation, Portuguese law makes no provision for a hearing, or for witnesses against an accused; an administrator merely submits a request for deportation to the Governor General, who acts upon it without more ado. That the whole procedure is fairly casually regarded is evidenced by a Government circular (April 1952) which complains about the scanty information given by administrators when asking for the Governor's deportation order and adds . . . "In future (!) the facts on which the proposals are based should be sufficiently precise so that he who has to judge them can do so with some reason . . ."

Ignorance

Alongside terror runs ignorance. "In the long run, security from political disturbance" Harris concludes "cannot depend upon curfews and beatings; it must be based upon an ideologically inert and stagnant mass. Colonial powers which have lost their grip because they have

permitted and even encouraged the growth of educated African elites are viewed by the Portuguese with considerable contempt. There is no place in Mozambique for Africans who have been taught to think for themselves."

A deliberate policy of discouraging education and placing it virtually beyond the reach of the Africans has been devised; it is this path which South Africa now attempts to follow with Bantu Education. Such rudimentary education as exists for Africans is largely carried out by the Catholic Missions, under a law which prescribes that "Native education will conform to the doctrinal orientation established by the Political Constitution . . . Plans and programmes will have in view the perfect nationalisation and moral uplift of the natives and the acquisition of habits and aptitudes for work . . ." As in Bantu Education schools, the major part of the school day is spent in farm labour, and "rudimentary" mission schools are restricted to a three year course. Theoretically African children passing the third year may graduate to primary school—yet in 1955, "rudimentary" education proved so rudimentary that of over 212,000 children who completed the third year, less than 3,000 graduated to primary school. From an African population of some six million, there were in 1954 only some five thousand in primary schools, 73 in secondary schools and 42 in industrial training courses! No African has ever completed the course at Mozambique's best school, the Liceu. The 1950 census figures reveal that 99% of the African population are illiterate. "Although illiteracy runs high throughout all of Africa," writes Harris, "Mozambique has the special distinction of lacking an educated African elite. At the present moment there is exactly one African with a university degree among the six million Negroes."

An iron curtain of ignorance. But still information, ideas, new concepts filter through. Even in this darkest corner of the dark continent, some ripple of the ferment of African liberation must penetrate and be felt. Professor Harris, by lifting a corner of that iron curtain, has provided the outside world, and in particular Mozambique's closest neighbours in the Union, the knowledge and information which enables them to make it felt strongly and soon.

Portugal's African Wards. An Africa Today Pamphlet. By Marvin Harris. Published by the American Committee on Africa.

KENYA

PRISON CAMP DEATHS

A medical officer described how he had found a lorryload of prisoners, with black eyes, broken teeth, fractured bones and swellings, suggesting fractures, when he had been called in by the commandant of Hola Prison Camp in Kenya. By the time this medical officer arrived, he said, six men were already dead and three were unconscious.

This testimony was given at an inquest in Mombasa into the death of 11 African detainees in the camp.

It has come out at this inquiry that orders were issued to camp guards to use batons on the legs of detainees "if violent disorder, noise or movement occurred" during working party operations.

The camp commandant was asked if he could quote any provision laying down that detainees have physical force used against them to make them work. He quoted at length from a Prisons Department circular dated September 1957, then admitted under questioning that this concerned action to be taken to quell riots.

Riot Squad

The Hola Camp contains 600 convicts and 750 political prisoners. Among these are some 230 Kikuyu. In order to try to break them the authorities decided to make them do forced labour and at the beginning of March they were put to work digging an irrigation scheme under the supervision of 120 guards. When taken out of the camp a group of 85 prisoners refused to work and the "riot squad" went to work with long clubs to "restore order." After the "incident" the camp lorry took the dead and wounded to hospital.

Prison officers reported that the men had been working in the hot sun and had drunk too much polluted water. This had subsequently been analysed and the pollution found to be not dangerous.

Another medical witness at the inquiry described how he had found cases of classical scurvy in the camp.

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BASUTOLAND

First Elections and New Parties

With Basutoland's first ever elections looming up in terms of the new constitutional proposals, political alignments in the country are beginning to sharpen, and new forces to develop. The Basutoland African Congress has blossomed out into the Basutoland Congress Party, and alongside it has emerged a new organisation — the Basuto National Party.

It is difficult to draw a clear line of separation between the policies set out by these two contending bodies in their respective electoral manifestoes. Each, though in different terms, declares its belief in the right of the Basuto people to rule themselves without constitutional limitations imposed by the Colonial Office; each declares its desire for some form of British protection, and its total opposition to incorporation in the Union; each proclaims its respect for the institutions of chieftainship, and in particular for the authority and prestige of the Paramount Chief; each upholds freedom of speech and of religion; each calls for a progressive economic policy designed to increase productivity of the land and raise family incomes. So closely in general do these manifestoes follow each other that there is more than a suspicion that the one has been based upon the other, with only such changes of style and wording as were necessary to mask the duplication.

The Congress Party manifesto says some things directly, however, which are not hinted at in the National Party document. Congress calls for direct elections for the Basutoland legislature, and opposes the 'electoral college' method of indirect election now to be used. It also calls for "accelerating the complete Africanisation of the Civil Service" — a demand which contrasts with the National Party demand for civil service posts to be filled "by no other persons than British subjects, citizens of the United Kingdom and Colonies."

Under the Skin

The facial similarity of the manifestoes, however, is deceptive. The National Party has been formed with a purpose; and that purpose is the undermining of the influence of the Congress amongst the ordinary people, and especially amongst the chiefs. And it is amongst the chiefs that it has found its real supporters.

Chieftainship is a divided institution in Basutoland. There are chiefs who

have used their powers for their own benefit, becoming petty tyrants and exploiters of their own commoners. These people have had their wings clipped by the reforms which have been fought for and won by the activities first of the Lekhotla la Bafo under Josiel Lefela, and later of the Congress under President Ntsu Mokhele and its hard-hitting periodical 'Mohlalani' edited by Makalo Khaketla. From the ranks of the embittered and self-seeking amongst the chiefs, the National Party has won support. But the power behind the scenes in the National Party is not theirs; it is that of the Catholic Church, a formidable power in Basutoland, and one which has used its press consistently to campaign against Congress.

The alliance between reactionary chiefs and the Catholic hierarchy was cemented at the time of the Moore report — the proposals for Basutoland's constitutional future which were rejected by Congress and subsequently discarded by the British authorities in the face of popular opposition. Those chiefs who now constitute the leadership of the National Party accepted the Moore report, pressed the authorities to impose its recommendations, and characterised all opposition to the report and all calls for consultation with the Basuto people as "communist inspired."

The Black and The Red

The cry of the anti-communist crusade has always been near and dear to the heart of the Catholic hierarchy in Basutoland. Every growth of political consciousness has been met with the accusation of "communism." On this moth-eaten basis the alliance has been built, the Catholic Church entering the fray on behalf of the National Party, and the National Party in its turn taking up the crusade against non-conforming thoughts, political, social or religious, under the guise of a crusade against communism. "It is the duty of the Basuto National Party . . . to wipe off any evil uprising of foreign ideologies" runs the editorial of Volume 1, Number 1 of the Party paper 'Mohlanka.' In the London Catholic Herald of October 31st of last year, there is this report, emanating it is said from two Catholic Basuto chiefs who accompanied the Paramount Chief to London: "To counter the anti-religious policy of the African National Congress which is gaining strength in Ba-

sutoland, prominent Catholic layfolk in this British Protectorate are engaged in helping other Basutos to establish the Basuto National Party . . . (which) will oppose the extremism of Congress members, who attack Christianity because they regard it is European and therefore un-African." In a similar note, Bishop Des Rosiers is quoted in the official Catholic organ "Southern Cross" as lamenting that "Up to the present (i.e. before the National Party. Ed.) the majority of the political leaders had been left-wing and anti-religious."

Winner Takes All

On this tendentious basis, the Catholic hierarchy are gathering up all their minions for a political onslaught on Congress in the election campaign. Teachers and preachers are reported to be holding meetings on church premises after services; children are reported to be taught that support for the National Party is the path of true belief, and that those who think differently are communists and therefore peddlers of falsity. The published agenda for local meetings of the Basutoland Catholic Teachers Union sets aside from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. of a one-day gathering for discussions of "The White Paper" and "District Council Elections in 1959. How they will be done. How to prepare for them."

The stakes in the campaign now afoot by the Basuto National Party are high. In the new National Council, there will be forty chiefs, selected for position by the Paramount Chief. Some, though by no means all these chiefs, will be anxious to use their positions not for the common advancement of the people of Basutoland, but for the enrichment and entrenchment of themselves. For such as these to gain command of the National Council, it is imperative that some at least of the elected members must be of the same stamp; it is imperative that the Congress Party nominees, the representatives of the common people of Basutoland do not sweep the board on election day; it is imperative that the alliance of Congress with the more advanced and democratic chiefs is frustrated in its preparations to use the National Council as a stepping stone to a truly democratic, self governing and free Basutoland.

L. BERNSTEIN.

A New Wing of the Police

by ROBERT HAMBLE

In the first two months of 1959, nearly 5,000 African workers in all four provinces of the Union of South Africa went on strike. In nearly all cases these strikes were in support of demands for higher wages. In 1958, 8,484 African workers took part in a total of 61 strikes; and in 1957 there were 112 strikes in which 4,859 African workers participated.

This is irrefutable proof of the determination of the African workers to win a better way of life. It is all the more remarkable when it is realised that by law the right of African workers to strike is taken away under heavy penalties. Our labour laws deprive the workers of the final sanction which they have to fight against exploitation, and to enforce their demands. They are deprived of their right to cease working in intolerable conditions.

New Wing of the Police

But laws made by a Parliament not representing the working-class sit awkwardly upon the shoulders of economic processes which render inevitable the withdrawal of their labour-power by workers who are not satisfied with the terms on which it is being sold to the employers. Indeed, not even the 'elaborate and cumbrous mechanism' of the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, to borrow the description used by a Member of Parliament, can alter the workings of this economic law. That Act was passed by a Parliament, at least 151 of whose 159 members, represented the 'white man boss'. It is therefore not surprising that the machinery of the Act has become a special arm of the employers and government for suppressing and not 'settling' disputes.

This is amply demonstrated by the role of the labour 'police' created as a part of that machinery, which if "effective and successful," said Mr. Schoeman, then Minister of Labour when introducing the measure, "would result in the Natives . . . (having) . . . no interest in trade unions, and trade unions (would) probably die a natural death." These words, happily, have not proved prophetic. On the contrary, South Africa's toll of strikes has thrown the labour 'police' into a new perspective.

Tilted Scales

Schoeman boasted to Parliament that his 'Settlement of Disputes' mechanism, would ensure justice to Native workers, which will enable them to channelise their grievances and bring them to the attention of the authorities . . ." We have had clear proof how in a society such as ours, methods for 'settling disputes' between workers and their bosses are not aimed at bringing grievances to light, but rather at a 'justice' whose scales tilt heavily on the side of the bosses.

How does Mr. Schoeman's mechanism and labour 'police' operate? No better description could be given than by the Labour Officer who gave evidence against the Worcester Textile Union leaders after a strike in the Hertex factory:

"Your worship", the Labour Officer said, "if the Natives have a grievance they must come to me."

"And if they don't get satisfaction?" asked the magistrate.

"They must complain to the Worcester head office."

"And if they're still not satisfied?"

"They can take it up in Cape Town."

"And if they're still not satisfied?"

"They can go to Pretoria."

"Is that the end?"

"No, then they can go to the Minister of Labour."

(Loud laughter in court).

From Labour Officer to Regional Committee to Central Native Labour Board to Minister: up these foreboding steps must the dissatisfied worker climb to press his demands. "The whole idea," stressed Schoeman, "is to get men on these committees and on the Board in whom the Natives will have confidence, not merely agitators who are out to gain their own ends but men who are genuinely interested in the welfare of Natives and in whom the Natives will have confidence." These officers, boards and committees, promised the Minister, would bring 'peace' in industry.

How have they set about winning the 'confidence' of the workers, and achieving industrial peace?

Facts speak louder than even a Minister's words. In 1957 and 1958 only nine of a total of 173 strikes were settled by

these officers, by the granting of increased wages and better working conditions to the workers. In at least 23 cases the workers were charged with illegal striking, and were convicted in 22 of these cases. In 1958, of 588 African workers charged under the Act, 453 were convicted. This is the proud record of 'justice' for the African workers achieved by the Settlement of Disputes Act.

'Agitators' — for Employers

A few examples will show the methods of the labour 'police'. At a Johannesburg canning factory 284 workers had a dispute with their employers, which started over the payment of less than was previously paid for Christmas work. This in turn led to a dispute regarding overtime, and an eventual demand for 2/- an hour more overtime pay. The bosses instituted a late shift and the Labour Officers were called in to persuade the workers to work it, without extra pay. These 'channels' for workers' grievances, instead of pressing the workers' demands to the employers, adopted the role of 'agitators' for the employers to persuade workers to accept worse conditions. Having failed in this, the Labour Officers secured the arrest of the workers on a charge of illegal striking, a charge on which they were subsequently acquitted. Not satisfied, the Labour Department saw to it that the employers refused to re-employ the workers. In addition, a number of the workers were endorsed out of Johannesburg. Other unemployed workers are being intimidated to fill the vacant jobs at the factory, by threats that their unemployment pay will be reduced if they refuse to take these 'scab' jobs.

Another case is that of the 2,000 dynamite workers who went on strike in Somerset West. After a failure by employers to keep a promise to pay higher wages, the workers held a meeting and decided that no one should work. They all stayed at home in their compound. Officials of the company together with police and officials of the Native Labour Board, came and addressed the workers, telling them to go back to work.

The workers asked: 'Are you men from the Government.'

The Native Labour Board officials replied: 'Yes.'

The workers: 'You increased our poll tax this year and you expect us to pay without any increase in wages.'

The workers were then threatened with dismissal and endorsement out of town by the officials. This led some

workers to go back to work, which was the signal for the Labour Officials to move in once again. Two of the men were arrested and charged with incitement to strike. No higher wages were paid.

These examples can be multiplied. They indicate a record of untiring action for the employers on the part of the Board and its officers. Only where the workers have ignored this mechanism have they had any success in achieving their demands. So at Hammersdale 388 African garment workers, refused, despite threats from the Labour Officials, to return to work until an agreement had been concluded between them and the employers for an immediate increase of from 5/- to 7/6 a week. The police were unable to make any arrests, because of the militancy and unity of the workers, and the support received by the workers from the local population as a whole.

Industrial Strife

Have the labour 'police' succeeded in the aims ascribed to them by the Minister? Not satisfied with the Minister's prophecy that the African trade unions would "die a natural death", they have taken active steps to stifle African trade unionism, and to hold back the tide of working-class consciousness. Will these steps succeed, or more pertinently, have they succeeded? We need no apology for replying to this question by quoting what Mr. Leo Lovell had to say when the Minister introduced the Settlement of Disputes Act:

"... all these attempts to prohibit working people from organising themselves; all these attempts to prohibit the working people from having the right to resort to a withdrawal of their labour-power if conditions should become intolerable to them — all these attempts will fail. That I know, because history has proved it. But unfortunately, in the process of making it impossible for the normal growth of trade unionism by legislating, in the process of prohibiting the right to strike, there is so much strife; there is so much bitterness, so much conflict that so far from a measure like this being able to settle disputes . . . it will have only one effect, and that is to create additional strife in industrial relations in South Africa."

Earlier in his speech Mr. Lovell referred to the right to strike as 'the right not to be a slave'. Throughout our country African workers are asserting their right to be free men.

BANTU EDUCATION

The Deepest Grave

The deepest grave the Nationalist Government has dug for the African people is the Bantu Education Act. Protesting Africans shouted a loud and prolonged "NO" to this education but some of our people heard and did not listen. Some argued: This is a new thing; let us try it.

Once upon a time teaching was an honour and a rare privilege among African communities. The teacher was a leader in many spheres. He would teach from Monday to Friday, organise sports and choral community singing on Saturday, and then conduct the Church choir and service on Sunday. Teaching was also a fairly well paid job and these two factors—respect and remuneration—gave the African teacher status among his people. It was this which stood in the way of the African teacher making a clear decision when assailed by Dr. Verwoerd's Bantu Education. The fact is the African teacher is docile, too docile for the times we are living through. The truth must be spoken: many a teacher values his monthly pay cheque more than the safety of the child he pretends to teach.

For though it is said Bantu Education is community education, for the people to control, it is nothing of the sort. The School Committees and Boards are responsible to the Minister of Native Affairs. Whosoever is chosen by Pretoria for these boards is in the Department's good books. Nominally the school committees and boards hire and fire teachers, in reality they merely recommend. The syllabuses and what is taught is supposed to be of their making, but all the syllabuses are imported from Pretoria and woe betide he who deviates one bit.

Hawk-Eyed Inspectors

Like the members of the School Committees the teacher cannot improve on Bantu Education. There is a hierarchy of officials in the Bantu Education Department who supervise the teacher in the classroom. He must teach about all the Treks, but never their causes. He is watched by hawk-eyed inspectors.

What is the African child being taught these days? That the Europeans found the southern point of Africa almost without a single human soul; that both the Africans and the Europeans are newcomers to South Africa; that the Africans did not know the use of fertil manure in their fields; that African men lie on their stomachs while the women cultivate the fields. And the structure and function of the Bantu Authorities, and the role of the chief and the Native Commissionere, the stock inspector and the agricultural officer.

New terms for teaching certain subjects in the vernacular are being invented daily and teacher and pupil are almost equally bewildered.

The African child who went to school in 1956 will be examined for the first time in 1959. All these years, despite his possibly poor class progress, he has been promoted. If he fails in two consecutive years in standard two, he will be considered unfit for further schooling and sent to some craft school where he will learn basket-making or some such thing. Those who pass the standard two examination will have smooth sailing until they are again examined in standard six. Here again, should they fail twice in two consecutive years, they will be driven from the schools to learn "the dignity of labour."

The Innocent Child

The innocent child is the sufferer. African parent and child must come together for his future. African teachers must realise they are Africans first and teachers only second. Their problems are those of the African nation. African teachers must create a committee to study and report on Bantu Education in Action to the public. The parent does not always know what is happening in the Bantu Education schools. The teacher does and he cannot remain silent to the parents whose children he is teaching in these schools.

G. M. MBELE,
ex-President of the Durban
Branch of the Natal Teachers' Society.

GERMANY'S ARSENAL

WAR CRIMINAL KRUPP BACK IN BUSINESS

The American Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, Germany, in 1947 sentenced Alfried Krupp to 12 years' imprisonment as a war criminal. Being "responsible to the victorious powers which conquered Germany," the court also confiscated the entire Krupp industry. This meant that the U.S., the U.S.S.R., Britain and France were each entitled to a quarter of the Krupp empire.

They never got their shares. In the shifting tides of international feeling, Krupp was released in 1950—and picked up where he left off. In 1956 the Krupp industries earned £250,000,000; in 1957, £280,000,000; in 1958, £330,000,000, just a bit shy of its earnings in its peak year, 1939.

Alfried Krupp—with 100 concerns in his empire and plans for expansion—is reputed to be the world's richest man.

There are bigger industrial giants in West Germany. I.G. Farben is a more widespread colossus. August-Thyssen produces more steel than Krupp. The convicted war criminal Friedrich Flick, chairman of the board of Dynamit AG, Troisdorf, last year acquired control of or swallowed whole 18 other concerns, but the Krupp industrial empire has a singular history.

Friedrich Krupp of Essen started a modest steel factory in 1811. In 1851, his son Alfried displayed the first cast-steel field gun at the International Exhibition in London. By 1864, he had become Alfried the Great, Cannon King, and indelibly stamped the name of Krupp with arms and armament.

Alfried's son Friedrich had no male heir. His daughter Bertha — the Big Bertha gun of World War I was named after her — married Gustav von Bohlen und Halbach. By that time the Krupp firm had become so closely associated with Germany's military and imperialist ambitions that the Kaiser gave Gustav the right to add Krupp to his name and pass it on to his heir.

Merchant of Death

Krupp was Germany's principal arsenal in World War I. After the war, Gustav Krupp was on the Allies' list of 895 war criminals, and the Versailles Treaty forbade him to manufacture arms and armaments. But he was never brought to trial, nor did he give up war material production. What he did was explained

in the 1937-38 report of the Krupp Directorate:

"The 'dictate' of Versailles prohibited us to manufacture armaments . . . In spite of numerous doubts it (Krupp) decided, as trustees of a historical inheritance, to safeguard the valuable experiences, irreplaceable for the strength (Wehrkraft) of our nation . . . When in 1933 we were again called upon to manufacture war material in large quantities, we were immediately ready to do so . . . Recognition for holding out and rapidly going to work fill us with pride."

Hitler's Hero

Krupp's between-wars activities were impressively described at the 1947 Nuremberg trial of Gustav's son Alfried, as witness after witness testified to the firm's contribution to the Nazi war machine and its brutal treatment of slave labour.

The prosecution noted, for example, that in 1933 Gustav Krupp expressed his "gratitude" to Hitler for establishing the kind of state in which alone "could economy and business develop and flourish." When Rudolph Hess presented him with the Golden Banner in 1940, Krupp said:

"This honour is in recognition of a socio-political attitude which, having its roots in a 128-year-old tradition, has developed organically so as to fit into the new times, into National Socialist Germany."

In 1942, Hitler displayed his fondness for Krupp in a special tax decree which provided for vast tax concessions and the regulation of the firm by its own statute, making Krupp a "State within a State." The decree also said that whoever became the owner of the firm was to bear the name "Krupp" before his own name. No other German concern was honoured by such privileges.

Slave Labour

Alfried Krupp entered the firm in 1936 as deputy director. According to the Nuremberg trial records, he joined the Nazi Party in 1938. In 1943, due to Gustav's illness, he acquired sole control of Friedrich Krupp AG, and was already constructing fuse factories in Auschwitz and Wustegiersdorf, and was in a privi-

leged position to utilise concentration camp labour. In July of that year he was allowed to take Jews from Auschwitz for the Berthawerk in Essen.

The Nuremberg trial records are filled with gruesome details of the Krupp treatment of slave labour from concentration camps and from among prisoners of war. According to the testimony of Dr. Wilhelm Jaeger, senior doctor in the Krupp workers' camps, workers were crowded in small school rooms, some lived in "ash-bins, dog-kennels, old baking ovens and in self-made huts."

Even six-year-old children and men over 80 were forced to work on Krupp projects. The Nuremberg court found that Krupp had employed French, Belgian, Polish, Yugoslav and Russian prisoners of war in defiance of international conventions. The death rate was high.

The Cold War

Western leaders had new thoughts about Krupp once the cold war started. Gen. Lucius D. Clay, U.S. military governor in Germany, overruled the International Tribunal's decision to confiscate the Krupp industry, so that the Soviet Union would be deprived of its 25 per cent share. Clay's successor, John J. McCloy, rewrote the verdict entirely in 1950 (restoring Alfried Krupp's possessions and freeing him from Landsberg prison).

In 1957, Henry Luce of Time-Life-Fortune magazines tried a massive rehabilitation job on his friend Alfried Krupp by underwriting an International Industrial and Development Conference in San Francisco and having his friend invited as an honoured guest. Strong public protest prevented Krupp's visit. But Krupp's influence is spread in the U.S. by his regent, 45-year-old Berthold Beitz, a slick promoter, master of all the tricks of Madison Avenue, and considered by many as the power behind the throne in the Krupp empire.

Full Circle

The danger represented by the firm of Krupp is not its ability to provoke war on its own but the way Western powers have treated it on the basis of their anti-Soviet obsession. After World War I, the Western powers winked at Krupp's return to war material production in
(Continued on back page)

MARABASTAD AVENUE

ZEKE'S STORY: PART I

Ezekiel Mphahlele ("Zeke" to his many friends) is a young man who has already made his mark in South Africa. A talented writer, he had his first book of short stories published while he was still at school. When he submitted his M.A. thesis to the University of South Africa, he was awarded the degree with distinction — the first time this English department had ever awarded a distinction for a senior degree to any student, European or Non-European. He is a dedicated and gifted teacher. He is a capable journalist, and worked for thirty rather unhappy months on the staff of *Drum*, mainly as literary editor.

All of which would seem to be a full enough life for anyone, and would be, perhaps for a free person living in a free country. But, inevitably, like any sensitive and intelligent person of integrity living in South Africa, "Zeke" was drawn into politics. Bruised and angered by the hatefulness of White South Africa, he was attracted first by the bitter, sterile "frustration-politics" of the "Unity" movement. Maturity and experience brought him into the broad humanitarian mainstream of the liberation movement. In December, at Accra, he was the powerful and effective leader of our African National Congress delegation.

It is a profoundly interesting story. And now "Zeke" has written it out for himself in his new book*, in his own

* "Down Second Avenue", London, Faber and Faber. Price 18s.

splendid virile prose, perhaps the most beautiful autobiography ever to come out of Africa. I hope my opening paragraph has not given the impression that his story as told by himself is a catalogue of his academic and literary accomplishments. Far from it. Rather it is the story of what has gone into the making of the man, Ezekiel Mphahlele, tribal childhood in the Transvaal platteland; boyhood in an urban slum (the "Second Avenue" of his title is in Marabastad), filled with squalor, violence, terror, grinding poverty — with, nonetheless, the joy and the beauty of life bursting through.

A familiar enough story, no doubt: the life of millions in the Union's crowded locations. Yet here it is brought to life as never before, with Mr. Mphahlele's artist's eye for detail; his poet's command of the English language; his novelist's ability to fathom and to convey character. We are not soon going to forget the Mphahlele family, or Boeta Lem or Ma-Lebona and Ma-Bottles. Always, over all, the shadow of fear, violence, shame: the White police.

"Year after year, every night the sound of the bell floats in the air at ten minutes to ten and the Black man must run home and the Black man must sleep or have a night special permit. The whistle is very near now and the hunted man must be in Sec-

ond Avenue but the bell goes on peeling lustily and so Black man you must run wherever you are, run."

Then, like many another brilliant son of Africa (among them Oliver Tambo, Joe Matthews, Henry Makgothi, Alfred Hutchinson, Duma Nokwe) to school at St. Peter's, the great school that Verwoerd murdered with his Bantu Education law. And thence — Adams College, where in comparison the spirit was poor and niggardly.

Zeke didn't go straight to teaching: he worked for a time at Ezenzeleni, under Arthur Blaxall. When he did start teaching he was soon victimised for crusading against the Eiselen Report — precursor of Bantu Education. He taught for a while in Basutoland, came back to Johannesburg to work on "Drum" for £25 a month, though he hated "Drum's" self-established "standard of what the urban African wants to read: sex, crime and love-stories." As literary editor he was told to let in the "wet sentimental sexy stories and tough crime stories," and when he tried to persuade the proprietor (Bailey) that the magazine should "produce healthy material in an original style", he was told bluntly "that wasn't 'Drum's' mission." In the end, having gained his hard-won degree, he quit and went to a teaching job in Lagos, Nigeria — one of the great trek to the north of African intellectuals that is steadily draining this country of human resources it can ill afford to lose.

Well, that's where "Zeke" ends his book. But there's one thing we can be pretty sure of: it's far from being the end of his story.

M.H.

THE DEEP SOUTH

SIX ON THE RUN

In this novel the author has gathered together a number of different stories of life in America's Deep South. These stories, authentic, human, spring straight from life, are bound together by a simple framework. Six Negroes 'on the run' stow away on a goods train, and what brought them there, what they are running from, is the substance of the book.

Without unnecessary moralising, the life-story of each one gives a vivid picture of what racialism does to human beings, Black and White. Herrenvolk and oppressed are victims of the degradations and stupidities of a racially-divid-

ed society. The Blacks suffer inhuman cruelties and injustice against which there is no redress; the Whites are poisoned, brutalised, those few who attempt to cut across racial barriers find their road bitter indeed.

This is not a depressing book, nor is the picture painted a hopeless one. What emerges is the ever-seeking mind of man, the questioning, the desire for knowledge and an understanding of the world, so that we know that these people are not so much fleeing from their past as seeking a future.

The book moves to a climax when an escaped convict, a White man, joins the

group, bringing danger to all. His story rounds off the picture of racialism. And the climax of the story is when a White railroad worker prevents complete tragedy. "It is a cruel time when policemen have to be policed on, but it is true . . . a White man who doesn't like to see Negroes beaten and killed can stop a good bit of it, and do it easy. He just needs a steady eye."

A worthwhile book, this, with enough humour, action and continuous interest to make exciting reading.

HILDA WATTS.

THE BIG BOX CAR, by Alfred Maund. Longmans, Green and Co. Price 14/-.

IMMORALITY ACT THEMES

PLAYING WHITE

The Population Registration Act, as well as bringing humiliation and misery to thousands of South Africans, seems to be inspiring something of a dramatic renaissance: it is a case of an ill wind blowing a pretty tune among the broken reeds.

Following Lewis Sowden's "The Kimberley Train" in time, but leading in quality, comes another play on the is-she-really-Coloured theme, "Try For White" by Basil Warner, which was first produced at the Hofmeyer Theatre, Cape Town and is now on tour.

While Sowden took the obvious—and since "Deep Are The Roots" rather hackneyed — plot about an upper class young man who discovers his girl friend is Coloured, Basil Warner managed to find a more complex and interesting situation.

His play starts with an ageing dressmaker and her White customer ranting against the Coloureds who are moving into their seedy suburb on Cape Town's Signal Hill. The dressmaker lives in sin with a normally-prejudiced White bus conductor. She is expecting her 21-year-old son, who has been brought up in the Transvaal, down for his first holiday in the Cape.

Of course, in the second act she is revealed to be Coloured — her servant is really her mother. The bus conductor walks out in disgust, as her husband had walked out years ago. Her White ex-customer hurls insults at her. And she and her son are left trying to make a painful adjustment to life as Coloureds.

Clear-Eyed Observation

Out of this Mr. Warner has produced two-thirds of an excellent play. His

main strength lies in his portrayal of the play-white woman and her bus conductor. Coldly and brutally he shows their cruel and unthinking prejudices. Yet he also manages — without any sentimental tricks — to make the audience sympathise with them in the end. He is helped in the Leonard Schach production by two fine performances in these parts by Marjorie Gordon and James Turner, but the main credit for their rounded characters must go to Warner's clear-eyed observation and writing.

Mr. Warner has also managed to tell his story without recourse to the type of gangster melodrama which marred "The Kimberley Train." The first two acts were both moving and gripping, cleverly constructed and written with a real ear for the idiom of the people he was writing about.

A Tailing Off

The weakness of the play becomes apparent in the third act, which tails off into a lot of ill-thought-out talk about the necessity of not "living a lie."

It is a weakness that is caused by two things, I would suggest. The one is that the play-white's son is given no real characterisation at all. He is shown first to be vaguely liberal — concerned that his mother should be so rude about Coloureds. His reaction to the revelation that he is himself Coloured is to stand about in a dazed fashion and mutter "I hate it like hell, but I will not go on pretending . . ."

Nowhere in him is there any spark of the real life that blazed out of the bus conductor. And his romance with a Coloured girl rings decidedly false.

Political Innocence

The second basic cause of the weakness of the third act is the lack of any real political awareness. Mr. Warner's innocence shines through a speech by the son: he decides that as a Coloured the only alternatives are for him to become a preacher or a teacher — "I can't lead a one-man revolution." He hopes by teaching to help bring about a change eventually, but probably not in his time or in his children's time.

Obviously Mr. Warner has not heard of the revolutions that are already being organised or of the slogan about freedom "in our lifetime."

The main morals that one draws from his play are: that it is a mistake to pretend to be what you are not; and that the Whites should not be so cruel to the Coloureds (there are repeated references to how things were better a few years ago, before this rigid classification).

I suggest that neither of these thoughts are sufficiently original or startling to carry a last act that depends more on the thoughts expressed than on the action.

However, the second moral is a valuable one and one that needs to be preached to the large audiences the play is reaching. (Though I thought its impact was lessened by Mr. Warner being slightly unfair to the Whites at times: would the ex-customer have really been quite so vituperative, for instance, and does anyone in the Cape use the word "nigger"?)

We should, in fact, be grateful that such a powerful talent is being directed towards our real problems and present legislation. Perhaps we can move on now to the Immorality Act? Or the Group Areas Act? Or, perhaps, even the Suppression of Communism Act? I suggest "Try for Red on the Blue Train."

K.M.

HOLLYWOOD

FILM ACADEMY DROPS BLACK LIST

The Hollywood Blacklist against film people who have defied witch-hunting committees has been dealt a blow which may cause its final demise. The board of governors of the Academy of Motion Pictures, Arts and Sciences has voted — with only one dissident — to repeal a ban on Oscar awards to anyone who had admitted Communist Party membership and refused publicly to renounce the Party, or to answer Congressional committee questions.

The Board said "experience had prov-

en the by-law to be unworkable and impractical."

The amendment was passed in 1957 to prevent screen writer Michael Wilson from getting an award for *Friendly Persuasion*.

With Wilson out of the way the Academy gave the Oscar to Robert Rich for the script of *The Brave One*. No one came forward, though, to get the award. Years later Dalton Trumbo jailed in 1950 as one of the Hollywood Ten for invoking the First Amendment before the

Committee on Un-American Activities surfaced from the Hollywood Underground to announce he was Robert Rich.

In 1958 the Oscar writing award went to Pierre Boule for the screen adaptation of his novel *The Bridge on the River Kwai*. Many wondered how a Frenchman could have written such sparkling English dialogue and some thought they recognised the hand of Michael Wilson.

And so on.

President of the Motion Picture Alliance and an ardent advocate of blacklists said "They're all working now, these Fifth Amendment Communists. We've just lost the fight."

THE ORIGIN OF LIFE

The concept of organic evolution generally accepted by biologists since Darwin's time, postulates the origin of the higher plants and multicellular animals, including man, from unicellular ancestors at the level of flagellates or bacteria. A further assumption, apparently inescapable, is that these unicells, whatever they were, must have originated at a still earlier stage from structures which would have to be described as non-living. The morphological simplicity of a bacterium or an amoeba is associated with a biochemical complexity only slightly less pronounced than that of (say) an elephant. This should not surprise us, since all biochemistry is essentially cell chemistry. It follows that the most intriguing problem in evolution is not so much "how could an amoeba become a man?" as "how could non-living materials become an amoeba?"

Our answers to this question are likely to remain highly speculative, because, even if we were able (as we may eventually be) to synthesise some sort of "life" in a test tube, we should still not be certain that this was the first form of "life" that developed on earth perhaps 3,000 million years ago. However human curiosity will continue to produce speculations and I should like to deal briefly with some of the more recent of these. At least they may be able to demonstrate how life could have originated.

Theories current when I was a student started from the premise that the first living organisms were autotrophic, i.e. capable of manufacturing their own organic food materials as modern green plants do in sunlight by a process called photosynthesis. Some primitive type of photosynthetic mechanism was postulated and round this, it was thought, the more complex constituents of the cell were evolved.

Haldane (1929) and the Russian, Oparin (1938) gave a completely new slant to the problem by suggesting that the first forms of life might have been what we now call heterotrophic, deriving their organic food material from an external source. While all organic materials (complex carbon compounds) found on earth today are the direct or indirect products of living organisms, it does not follow that under certain conditions organic compounds could not have been formed by non-living agencies. The atmosphere of the primitive earth was presumably vastly different from our present one as was also the effective amount of solar radiation received.

In 1953, the American chemist, S. L. Miller, investigated the effects of passing electric sparks through a mixture of methane, ammonia, CO₂ and water vapour, the assumed constituents of our early atmosphere. He obtained quantities of amino acids and other organic compounds. J. B. S. Haldane had already suggested (in 1929) that such organic compounds could have been formed under primitive conditions by ultraviolet radiation, and some of Miller's experiments have tended to confirm this. Thus from two sources, solar radiation and lightning flashes, organic matter was probably formed and would have accumulated in the primitive oceans, turning them into a sort of soup. The conditions would thus have been prepared for the development of heterotrophic organisms, or what Bernal calls "dark catabolic life."

How this dark catabolic life could in fact have arisen is still the subject of considerable speculation, but some interesting pointers arise from recent work on viruses, which I shall now briefly describe.

The viruses are extremely small particles which multiply in living cells and cause well-known diseases in animals and plants. They cannot be seen with ordinary microscopes, but have recently been photographed by the electron microscope. The plant viruses are very small indeed. They are comparable in size to large organic molecules and consist entirely of nucleoprotein. They can be crystallised like other chemical compounds and have been described as standing on the borderline between the living and the non-living.

In 1955 Fraenkel-Conrat and Williams separated the tobacco mosaic virus (TMV) into its two constituents, nucleic acid and protein. They then put these two chemicals together and reconstituted the virus. They proved that the synthetic virus was identical with the original one by injecting it into healthy tobacco plants, which then contracted the disease. It has also been shown that living cells can make virus if the specific nucleic acid alone is injected.

The TMV experiment is the nearest biologists have come to making life in a test tube. No one however has succeeded in growing a virus outside a living cell. If a virus could be found or made which would multiply in a non-living organic medium, we should be well on our way to discovering the secret of the origin of life.

Nucleic acids have already been synthesised in the laboratory. That they

could have been formed in the primitive ocean seems highly probable. Proteins are known to consist of large numbers of amino acids linked together. Amino acids have been made from certain gases by artificial lightning flashes. It is clear that the search for the origin of life has reached the experimental stage.

The attitude of Christians to the problems of the origin of life and of man has undergone an interesting evolution during the last century. During the second half of the nineteenth century the idea of evolution, particularly as involving man, was violently opposed by most theologians in all the churches. Today all but the most ignorant or opinionated are prepared to accept the view that God created man by a process of evolution. The six days of creation described in Genesis are interpreted as periods of millions of years. The Catholic Church has allowed its members to believe in evolution "if they wish", though they are enjoined to believe that man has an immortal soul and that this was given by a special act of the Creator.

With regard to the origin of life from inorganic matter, a text book recently published in America — **Biology for Catholic High Schools** — states that the first forms of life arose by special divine intervention. Certain Catholic scientists in Britain, however, consider that life might well have arisen by processes of chemical evolution not involving any deviation from natural law. It is clear that the Church is willing to allow its followers considerable latitude of thought about these matters. As long as you believe that God is behind it all it is O.K. Whether God is in fact responsible is something which scientists can neither prove nor disprove. Many of them think it is an unnecessary hypothesis.

EDWARD ROUX.

Next month:
MAN'S ANCESTORS

The Editor,
Fighting Talk.

Sir,

Commenting on my article on *The Expanding Universe*, R. E. Press quotes the Soviet writer Oley Pizarzsevsky in an attack on the views of Fred Hoyle and others.

I am willing to believe that Hoyle's theory may be proved false, as most astronomers, not merely the Russians, think will happen shortly. I must protest, however, as I have always done, against the turgid and tendentious polemics in which certain Soviet "science" (Continued on back page)

writers indulge, and which are exemplified in the passage quoted by Mr. Press. The idea that "Soviet" science is materialistic and science this side of the Iron Curtain idealistic is nonsense. Science is science wherever it is practised. When ideologists interfere with science they corrupt it and it ceases to be science.

Hoyle's theory of the "steady-state" universe cannot be overthrown by swearing at him and calling him an "idealist" — an insinuation which he would hotly deny — but by bringing empirical evidence which conflicts with his theory. If Soviet scientists "will wrest from Nature more and more of her secrets", they will do so by reasoning from the results of observation and experiment, as all scientists do. They have no monopoly of these methods.

Ideological attacks on legitimate scientific theories may lead to tragi-comedy as happened in the Vavilov-Lysenko affair. The Russians finally recovered from "Michurinism" and have now got down to scientific plant breeding using many of the methods evolved by the despised "idealistic, bourgeois Mendelian Morganists." It seems however that a similar disease is still endemic, not among genuine Soviet scientists, most of whom obviously know their business, but in the minds of so called popularisers of science like Pissarzhevsky.

EDWARD ROUX.

University of the
Witwatersrand,
13 March, 1959.

KRUPP

(Continued from page 12)

order to help Germany's military revival against the Soviet Union. After innumerable pledges to prevent Krupp's post-World War II return to industrial power — Britain's Ernest Bevin in 1946 even said that all Germany heavy industry would be nationalised — the wheel seems to have turned full circle again.

After he was released from prison by McCloy, Alfried Krupp was told to unload some of his holdings. He blocked the move first by asking a price so high that no one could meet it, then by obtaining Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer's support for his contention that the order was unacceptable by the citizen of a sovereign country. He was recently given another year to divest himself of some of his properties. It is generally agreed the year's grace was merely a gesture.

Alfried Krupp recently said: "I hope I am never again asked to make weapons, though one must defend oneself." Berthold Beitz hastily added: "Anyway, the next war criminals will come from the chemical and electronics industries."

Last month a Krupp subsidiary was commissioned by Bonn to make military aircraft.

KUMAR GOSHAL.

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