

FIGHTING

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

Vol. 16. No. 1.

Price: 5 cents (6d.)

FEBRUARY, 1962

TALK

An African in America: 'Zeke' Mphahlele

**Barney Desai and Reg September
on the Coloured Front**

SOUTH WEST AFRICA AT THE UNITED NATIONS

TANGANYIKA: The Road to UHURU



NYERERE

on
**One-Party
Government**



DADOO

on
Indians in Africa



BASNER

**Dar Es Salaam
Diary**



CHARLES HOOPER on **Lutuli**

TANGANYIKA: The Road to UHURU

ONE - PARTY

TANGANYIKA is Africa's NEWEST independent state. She is also the continent's MOST SOUTHERN independent government. The African revolution has converged closer and closer on the last White-Supremacy states of the south. Now only the Rhodesias in the east and Angola to the west divide South Africa from the great continent-mass of the new Africa.

Has Tanganyika's independence any meaning for South Africa? Conditions in the two countries differ vastly; yet an independence revolution in any one country of Africa has meaning for all.

JULIUS NYERERE, Tanganyika's leader who stepped down so sensationally from the Premiership to build TANU (The Tanganyika African National Union), as part of the plan to "re-charge" the national movement for its tasks after the formal granting of independence, discusses ONE PARTY GOVERNMENT IN AFRICA. Can a one-party government be democratic? What is democracy, and is there an African concept? Page 2.

FRENE GINWALA, editor of the new Tanganyika monthly SPEARHEAD writes of the meaning of UHURU NA KAZI (Freedom and Work), UHURU NA JASHO (Freedom and Sweat), and UHURU NA UMOJA (Freedom and Unity.) Page 4.

YUSUF M. DADOO, the South African Indian leader who attended the Tanganyika Independence Celebrations asks: Are the Asians of East Africa interlopers or allies in Africa's Revolution? Page 6.

H. M. BASNER, once Senator representing Africans in the South African Parliament and later detainee in the 1960 Emergency writes about living in Tanganyika. Pages 6 and 7.

CHIEF LUTULI: Profile by Charles Hooper from 'LET MY PEOPLE GO.' Page 8

ZEKE MPHAHLELE: An African in America 10, 11

POPHUIS-PARLIAMENT by Barney Desai 12

STEP-CHILDREN NO LONGER by Reg September 12, 13

SOUTH WEST AFRICA AND THE UNITED NATION: Walls Must Come Down by J. Kozonguizi 14

'S.A. Trade Unionism' by Muriel Horrell.

The African concept of democracy is similar to that of the ancient Greeks from whose language the word "democracy" originated. To the Greeks, democracy meant simply "government by discussion among equals." The people discussed and when they reached agreement the result was a 'people's decision.'

Mr. Guy Clutton Brock writing about Nyasaland describes traditional African democracy as: "The elders sit under the big tree and talk until they agree." This 'talking until you agree' is the essential of the traditional African concept of democracy.

To minds moulded by western parliamentary tradition and western concepts of democratic institutions, the idea of an organised opposition group has become so familiar that its absence immediately raises the cry of "Dictatorship." It is no good telling them that when a group of 100 equals have sat and talked together until they agreed where to dig a well, (and 'until they agreed' implies that they will have produced many conflicting arguments before they eventually agree) they have practised democracy. Proponents of western parliamentary traditions will consider whether the opposition was organised and therefore automatic, or whether it was spontaneous and therefore free. Only if it was automatic will they concede that here was democracy!

Between Equals

Basically democracy is government by discussion as opposed to government by force, and by discussion between the people or their chosen representatives as opposed to a hereditary clique. Under the tribal system whether there was a Chief or not, African society was a society of equals, and it conducted its business by discussion.

It is true that this "pure" democracy—the totally unorganised 'talking until you agree' can no longer be adequate; it is too clumsy a way of conducting the affairs of a large modern State. But the need to organise the "government by discussion" does not necessarily imply the need to organise an opposition group as part of the system.

I am not arguing that the two party system is not democratic, I am only saying it is only one form which democracy happens to have taken in certain countries, and that it is by no means essential. I am sure that even my friends in the Labour party or the Conservative party in Britain would admit that if their party could succeed in winning all the seats, they would be perfectly happy to form a one party government. They, the winning party that is, would not be likely to suspect themselves of having suddenly turned Britain into a dictatorship!

Some of us have been over-ready to swallow unquestioningly the proposition

FIGHTING TALK
Vol. 16. No. 1.
FEBRUARY, 1962
Price per copy 5 cents.
Annual subscription: 75 cents (7s.6d.)
Overseas subscription: 15s.

Published by
FIGHTING TALK COMMITTEE
P.O. Box 1355, Johannesburg
Registered at the G.P.O.

GOVERNMENT IN AFRICA

that you cannot have democracy unless you have a second party to oppose the party in power. But, however difficult our friends in Britain and America may find it to accept what to them is a new idea—that democracy can exist where there is no formal Opposition—I think we in Africa should think very carefully before we abandon our traditional attitude.

'Haves' and Have-Nots Struggle

It is often overlooked that the Anglo-Saxon tradition of a two party system is a reflection of the society in which it evolved. Within that society, there was a struggle between the 'haves' and the 'have nots'—each of whom organised themselves into political parties, one party associated with wealth and the status quo and the other with the masses of the people and change. Thus the existence of distinct classes in a society and the struggle between them resulted in the growth of the two party system. But need this be accepted as the essential and only pattern of democracy?

With rare exceptions the idea of class is something entirely foreign to Africa. Here, in this continent, the nationalist movements are fighting a battle for freedom from foreign domination, not from domination by any ruling class of our own. To us "the other party" is the colonial power. In many parts of Africa this struggle has been won; in others it is still going on. But everywhere the people who fight the battle are not former overlords wanting to re-establish a lost authority; they are not a rich mercantile class whose freedom to exploit the masses is being limited by the colonial powers; they are the common people of Africa.

Thus once the foreign power—"the other party"—has been expelled there is no ready-made division, and it is by no means certain that democracy will adopt the same machinery and symbols as the Anglo-Saxon. Nor indeed is it necessarily desirable that it should be so.

Our Emergency

New nations like Tanganyika are emerging into independence as a result of a struggle for freedom from colonialism. It is a patriotic struggle which leaves no room for differences, and which unites all elements in the country; and the nationalist movements—having united the people and led them to freedom—must inevitably form the first governments of the new States. Once the first free government is formed, its supreme task lies ahead—the building up of the country's economy so as to raise the living standards of the people, the eradication of disease and the banishment of ignorance and superstition. This, no less than the struggle against colonialism, calls for the maximum unit-

ed effort by the whole country if it is to succeed. There can be no room for difference or division.

In Western democracies it is an accepted practise that in times of emergency opposition parties sink their differences and join together in forming a national government. This is our time of emergency, and until our war against poverty, ignorance and disease has been won—we should not let our unity be destroyed by a desire to follow somebody else's 'book of rules.'

If these then are the forms of democracy what are the essentials?

First, the freedom and the well-being of the individual. Freedom alone is not enough; there can be a freedom which is merely the freedom to starve. True freedom must be freedom not only from bondage, from discrimination and from indignity, but also freedom from all those things which hamper a people's progress. It is the responsibility of the government in a democratic country to lead the fight against all these enemies of freedom. To do this the government, once freely elected must also be free to govern in the best interests of the people, and without fear of sabotage. It is, therefore, also the duty of the government to safeguard the unity of the country from irresponsible or vicious attempts to divide and weaken it, for without unity the fight against the enemies of freedom cannot be won.

When, then, you have the freedom and well being of the individual; and where the individual has the right freely and regularly to join with his fellows in choosing the government of his country; and where the affairs of the country are conducted by free discussion, you have democracy.

True democracy depends far more on the attitude of mind which respects and defends the individual than on the forms it takes. The form is useless without the attitude of the mind of which the form is an external expression. As with individuals, so with organised groups, this question of attitude is all important. It is not enough to ask what attitude will an African government adopt towards an opposition without also asking what attitude an opposition will adopt towards a popularly elected government.

In the past all that was required of government was merely to maintain law and order within the country, and to protect it from external aggression. To day the responsibilities of governments, whether 'communist' or 'free', are infinitely wider. However nearly its requirements of money and men may be met, no government finds it easy to fulfil all its responsibilities to the people.

Growing Pains

These common problems of a modern state are no less formidable in young

By
**JULIUS K.
NYERERE**

and under-developed countries. The very success of the nationalist movements in raising the expectations of the people, the modern means of communications which put the America and the British worker in almost daily contact with the African worker, the twentieth-century upsurge of the ordinary man and woman—all these deprive the new African governments of those advantages of time and ignorance which alleviated the growing pains of modern society for the governments of older countries.

To the demands of the common man in Africa, intensified as they are by the vivid contrast between his own lot and that of others in more developed countries, add the lack of means at the disposal of the African governments to meet these demands. The lack of men,

Next Month on One Party
Government in Africa:
M. KEITA OF MALI
SEKOU TOURE OF GUINEA

the lack of money, above all the lack of time. To all this add the very nature of the new countries themselves. They are usually countries without natural unity. Their 'boundaries' enclose those artificial units carved out of Africa by grabbing colonial powers without any consideration of ethnic groups or geographical realities, so that these countries now include within their borders tribal groups which, until the coming of the European powers, have never been under one government. To those, in the case of East and Central Africa, you must add the new tribes from Asia, the Middle East and Europe. Here are divisions enough to pose a truly formidable task in nation-building.

As if the natural challenge was not enough, with the raising of each new flag come the intrigues of the international diplomacy of rivalry and all that goes with it; the cynical and the criminal attempts by powerful foreign governments to weaken the unity of any country whose government pursues policies which they do not like. Who does not know that foreign nations have again and again poured in money to back up any stooge who will dance to their political tune? As their sole purpose is to confuse the people and weaken the legal government for their own ends, they are quite indifferent to the fact that their chosen puppets have no following at all in the country itself.

It should be obvious, then, why the governments of these new countries
(Continued on page 4)

NYERERE

(Continued from page 3)

must treat the situation as one of national emergency, comparable almost to that of a country at war. In the early days of nation-building—as in time of war—the opposition, if any, must act even more responsibly than an opposition in a more developed and more stable, a more unified and a better equipped country in times of peace. Given such a responsible opposition I would be the first person to defend its rights. But where is it? Too often the only voices to be heard in 'opposition' are those of a few irresponsible individuals who exploit the very privileges of democracy—freedom of the press, freedom of association, freedom to criticise—in order to deflect the government from its responsibilities to the people by creating problems of law and order.

The admitted function of any political opposition is to try and persuade the electorate to reject the existing government at the next election. This is reasonable in the case of a responsible opposition with a definite alternative policy in which its members sincerely believe; but that sort of mature opposition is rare indeed in a newly independent state. Usually the irresponsible individuals I have mentioned have neither sincerity, conviction nor any policy at all save that of self aggrandisement. They merely employ the catch phrases copied from the political language of older, stabler countries, in order to engage the sympathy of the unthinking for their destructive tactics. Nor are the tactics they use those of a responsible democratic opposition. In such circumstances the government must deal firmly and promptly with the trouble makers. The country cannot afford, during these vital early years of its life, to treat such people with the same degree of tolerance which may be safely allowed in a long established democracy.

This does not mean, however, that a genuine and responsible opposition cannot arise in time, nor that an opposition of that kind would be less welcome in Africa than it is in Europe or America. For myself, as I have said, I would be the first to defend its rights. But whether it does or does not arise depends entirely on the will of the people themselves, and makes not difference at all to the freedom of discussion and the equality in freedom which together make democracy.

To those who wonder if democracy can survive in Africa my own answer, then, would be that, far from it being an alien idea, democracy has long been familiar to the African. There is nothing in our traditional attitude to discussion, and the current dedication to human rights, to justify the claim that democracy is in danger in Africa. I see exactly the opposite: the principles of our nationalist struggles for human dignity, augmented as it were by our traditional attitude to discussion, should augur well for democracy in Africa.

UHURU NA KAZI

Africa has resounded this last decade with many nationalist slogans. But few, if any, could have been as hard headed and realistic as those coined by Mr. Nyerere and his Tanganyikan African National Union (TANU) — Uhuru na Kazi — Freedom and Work; Uhuru na Jasho — Freedom and Sweat; Uhuru na Umoja — Freedom and Unity. That these slogans were coined in the heyday of nationalist ferment augurs well for Tanganyika's future.

Though the birth of a nation is the time for joy and celebrations, the chorus of hallelujah and cries of hosanna should not be allowed to drown the sound of the earlier slogans, nor should the glare of world publicity and praise blind Tanganyika to the harsh, cold reality.

From Tribes To Nation

A nation is born — but it would be truer to say a state has been created. Due perhaps to the more patent divisions amongst her neighbours, the essential tribal structure of Tanganyika tends to be forgotten. Through the years of British administration, tribal boundaries, tribal divisions, tribal identity has been maintained — in fact British rule was administered through native or tribal authorities. The people's thinking, and in this context what is more important, their feelings have centred around the tribe. The problem ahead is to channel tribal sentiment into the broader streams of nationhood.

In the towns tribalism has broken down and doubtless with industrial development the process will be accelerated. But it must be accelerated still further if it is to overtake the fissiparous tendencies inherent in the situation.

The government has already announced that it intends to establish administrative units on a district rather than on a tribal basis, and a committee of Chiefs has been appointed to consider various aspects of the changeover and its implications. But in an effort to obtain a peaceful and smooth transition there lies the danger of establishing a compromise structure that may in fact entrench tribal associations.

Though large areas of fertile land lie fallow, some tribal areas are becoming dangerously overcrowded, and it is essential in the interests of future harmony that land usage should be centrally controlled. The codification of personal law and a policy of tribal as well as racial integration in education would build the fabric of a nation upon the foundations of a common understanding, a common culture, and a common future.

Race Complacency

It has been asserted so often in the world press, and said so frequently by visitors that "Tanganyika has no racial problem" that many Tanganyikans have

begun to believe it. The absence of violent ebullition does not necessarily indicate the absence of the disease. It may lie dormant, and having lulled the victim into an abandonment of precaution, it might erupt all the more explosively from its period of quiescence.

There is too much complacency about the racial situation in Tanganyika. The leaders have formulated policies that are non-racial but non-racialism is not really a matter for legislation. Where in Tanganyika are the individual contacts and friendships that characterise a raceless society? Has the common man of whatever race, really accepted the theoretical annunciations of non-racialism, and what is more has he put them into practice?

Whatever the policies may be, there is in Tanganyika today a racial stratification in almost every field of activity. Sports clubs and leagues are organised on racial lines. One speaks of the Swahili residential areas and in the capital the only theatre club operates a colour bar. Mr. Nyerere has himself spoken of the "bombay shops" that characterise the commercial life of the country. One has only to look at the daily situations vacant columns to find — Asian clerk, or European bookkeeper or African telephonist wanted. Even the country's civil servants have organised themselves on racial lines.

Perhaps the saddest commentary of all is the fact that the Tanganyika African National Union has not (or as is often alleged, has not been able to) open its doors to all who believe in its policies; whilst all around it, in Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Uganda the nationalist movements encompass all races.

The "minority races" applauded the Prime Minister and his government for their uncompromising stand on citizenship. Rather than praying for the long life of Mr. Nyerere, they would be better employed in opening the doors of commerce and industry, in readjusting their thinking and in taking positive action. For the very fact that it was necessary to make the extension of citizenship to all regardless of race a matter of confidence, is symptomatic of the true situation in Tanganyika.

Barometers

The importance of the racial factor is that it will be the barometer of Tanganyika's progress. As long as she moves forward satisfactorily in solving her economic problems, the barometer will be set fair — but should she not do well, then there will be repercussions.

For though historical developments, prejudices, and the instinctive desire to maintain one's identity all play their part, the problem is in reality a manifestation of the struggle between the haves and the have nots. As long as there is an inequitable distribution of wealth; as long as the racial and econo-

By
FRENE GINWALA

mic divisions are identical; so long will the seeds of racial discord remain.

The end of colonialism does not merely mean the end of foreign rule. If it is to have any meaning at all, it must entail an alteration in the very structure of society and the economy. TANU in its manifesto has stated that it is a socialist party. Therefore to a TANU government the end of the colonial era cannot and should not mean the mere replacement of white faces by black faces. Rapid economic development can mean the accrual of wealth and the creation of a new privileged class. If this were allowed to happen, it would be a betrayal of the trust the masses have placed in TANU.

Amidst the myriads of experts coming to Tanganyika the importation of a few planning experts would act as the leaven to the economy. The aid, both financial and in manpower, that Tanganyika is receiving or has been promised is quite considerable — but can she utilise it? Last year, estimated expenditure on development was not used due to the lack of planning machinery.

Mr. Nyerere has stated that one of the most urgent needs of independence is a "decolonizing of the mind". Nowhere is this truer than in the economic field. The economic thinking needed to develop a poor country rapidly is vastly different from orthodox economic thought. Conventional, conservative financial practices might allay the fears of Wall Street and the City of London, but that will not necessarily put bread much less cake into the mouths of Tanganyika's babies.

In order to maintain the standard of living, taking into account the increase in population, it is advisable for a country to invest a percentage of the national income equal to four times the percentage increase of its population. The national income of Tanganyika last year was approximately £186,000,000 and its percentage increase of population about 1.75 per annum. Therefore merely to maintain the present standards it is necessary to invest £13 million per annum. It is in this light that one should look at the £24 million investment in the 3 year development plan.

Moving Mountains

More important even than investment in monetary terms is the need for Tanganyika to invest of herself. One of the greatest sources of wealth that Tanganyika has is her labour. A foreign loan may be required to buy bulldozers and the repayment burden on annual expenditure might make this impossible. But human hands too can clear the bush and build the roads. Given the opportunity, man with his labour can move mountains.

Tanganyika must invest too, of her "psychic capital". The enthusiasm and spirit generated by the independence

ALLY OR INTERLOPER?

Y. M. DADOO on the ASIANS OF AFRICA

It is not possible for anyone who has made his home in Africa to adopt an attitude of benevolent neutrality and carry on with "business as usual" as if the African Revolution is of no direct concern to him. Nor is it possible to run with the hares and hounds or to owe allegiance to two motherlands.

Nationalism arises from the burning desire of the African people to free themselves from imperialist oppression, to gain national independence and to bring about a national renaissance. True nationalists can never tolerate the oppressor and the Tshombes. Nor can they tolerate those among the people who use chauvinism and racialism to further their ends, for they are the disrupters of unity and the tools of reaction and play right into the hands of the imperialist oppressors. Furthermore, they can never condone those who sit on the fence guarding their wealth and privileges.

struggle must now be channelled into concrete development projects. Only by pulling herself up by her bootstraps, only by utilising her own resources, can Tanganyika hope to accelerate her pace of development and give her people the fruits of independence.

Apart from now having the right to determine the future of her own people, Tanganyika will as a full member of the international community have a say in the destiny of the world. What sort of personality will Tanganyika project?

Tanganyika has been cast in a unique role. She is the first British territory with a multi-racial population to achieve independence in Africa, under a democratic government.

The proponents of white minority rule have argued time and again, that whilst independence for Ghana and Nigeria with mono-racial populations was feasible, in Southern Africa it was necessary to maintain a slower pace, so that people could be "made ready for responsibility". For them the independence of the Congo and subsequent events appeared as a vindication.

Now upon the success of Tanganyika are pinned the hopes of millions in East, Central and South Africa. The mere existence of a stable, responsible and progressive government here will give the lie to Welensky, Verwoerd and Salazar. This is a heavy burden to place upon a newly independent country. But Tanganyika has a further responsibility towards the people of these countries. For them she has become a haven and a source of advice and inspiration. Now they will look to her to speak for them in international councils, they will look to her for assistance, they will look to her to live up to the ideals and principles for which Tanganyika herself has fought.

In the national liberation revolution which is sweeping through the continent, the position of every African irrespective of his colour or racial origin, is to be measured by his attitude to and by his participation in, the various processes of the revolution. There can be no question of the reservation of special privileges, either political or economic or both, for any group of people apart from the general rights and privileges of the masses of the people of a country as a whole.

It is in this historical light that the Asian communities must assess their position on the continent of Africa. Indian and Asian communities are mainly concentrated in East and South Africa.

Historically, the association of the Arab and Asian people with the East African coastal area dates back many centuries, long before the advent of the European to Africa. There had been trade and cultural links, evidence of which can be found in the Asian settlements, the acceptance of the Islamic faith by a large number of African people and the influence of Arabic in the development of the Swahili language.

Contract Labourers

However, the influx of Asians to Africa in considerable numbers came in the latter half of the last century during the period of predatory imperialism. Thousands of Indian indentured labourers were shipped to South Africa from 1860 onwards by the British Imperialist authorities, to work in the sugar plantations of the white settlers on land robbed from the Zulus, and at the turn of the century 35,000 Indian labourers were brought across to East Africa to build the railway.

Today, the Asian communities of East Africa have prospered in commerce and largely control the retail and partially the wholesale trade of these East African territories. A section owns properties and plantations, a number have entered the medical and legal professions and a few thousand work in the clerical departments of the railway, the large European wholesale firms and the civil service. The total employed labour force in Kenya of non-Africans other than Europeans was 36,000 as compared with the African labour force of £37,000 in 1959, and the average wages of the former were 8 times more than those of the Africans and only a third of those of the Europeans. Whereas in Uganda the number of employees was 228,900 Africans and 15,000 non-Africans.

Pyramid of Race

Race relations in these territories as elsewhere in colonial countries have developed according to the pattern of divide-and-rule set by the British colonial

DADOO

(Continued from page 5)

administration. A pyramid-like structure had been built, with the Africans forming the base, then coming the other non-white communities and the white settlers together with the colonial administration forming the apex. This gave the Asians a slight edge on the Africans and made it possible for them to develop in the field of trade, commerce and the professions. They were, however, forced to engage in a constant battle against race discrimination in all fields and for the protection of their own interests against the growing demands of the white settlers. In an effort to establish themselves they had to look to India for support which they received in full measure from the rising nationalist movement there. The demand for the ending of the humiliating treatment of Indians abroad became an important plank in the platform of the Indian nationalist movement and particularly that of the All-India National Congress in its struggle against British Imperialism.

This naturally tended to give the Indian communities in the colonies a communal bias which in turn isolated them further from the sufferings and struggles of the African people. Moreover, being the inheritors of a sectarian way of life with deeply ingrained religious and caste prejudices, it was not difficult for them to adhere to their own customs and traditions, maintain their own exclusive cultural institutions and to keep themselves aloof from the life and activity of the vast masses of the African people.

Besides, it is unfortunately true that a trading community of whatever racial origin and particularly the one that is racially discriminated against, has a li-

Time is certainly running out but it is yet not too late for them to meet the challenge of the times and fit into the new pattern of the African Revolution.

A new vision — a revolution in thinking and action — is what is required. A policy of appeasement will not work, an attitude of apathy will not do, a gesture of patronage and charity will not avail. What is required is to become true Africans in every sense of the word. An African is one who has dedicated his life to the cause of freedom and independence, one who has no other interest but the interest of the masses at heart, one who by word and deed will help to sweep away every vestige of colonialism, racialism and exploitation, one who subordinates his interests to the general cause of a national democracy ensuring higher standards of living and a full cultural life to all, and one who supports the progressive forces of the world and works for world peace and the happiness of mankind. The road is clear.

In Free Africa

The Asian people of Tanganyika have a golden opportunity to prove their worth as citizens of a sovereign independent state.

In 1958 Mr. Julius Nyerere, during the crucial period of TANU's campaign for self-government and independence, had occasion to refer to the Asians as: "businessmen who can really do very little either to delay or hasten the emancipation of this country from colonial rule."

In 1962, the beginning of the first year of Tanganyika's independence let it not be said of Tanganyika's Asians that they were found wanting and did not heed the patriotic call of Mr. Nyerere, the first Prime Minister: "We want to wage a war against poverty, ignorance and disease and raise the standard of living of our people. We know that this task

	Total	African	Asian	Arab	European
Kenya	6,550,700	6,264,000	174,300	38,600	67,700
Tanganyika	9,403,700	9,258,000	123,000		22,700
Uganda	6,682,400	6,590,000	76,200	2,000	11,700
South Africa	15,841,128	10,807,809	477,414	1,488,267	3,067,638
				(Coloured)	

imited vision and is so engrossed in the preservation of its own interests that it allows itself to be cut adrift to a large extent from the main stream of social life.

New Thinking

Whatever historical factors there may be for the position in which the Asian communities find themselves in East Africa today, the fact of the matter is that in the eyes of the African people they are looked upon as an "immigrant class" — a class of interlopers which is more of a hindrance than an ally in the national struggle for freedom and independence.

cannot be properly done without the willing co-operation of all our people and the harnessing of all the available brain and skill in Tanganyika." What is needed now is the co-operation of all Tanganyikans, whatever their racial origin — and the Asian people must give it unstintingly and without reservation.

The Asian people of Kenya and Uganda, and indeed, everywhere in Africa, have a responsible historical task to perform: that of being active participants in the struggle for national independence and freedom and in the achievement of the noble aim of building a mighty united democratic Africa.

H. M. BASNER writes a

The ex-Congressites of Macosa House, who used to jeer and cheer at the Basner four-wheel drive family chariot, should have seen it eating up the ground — at nearly thirty miles an hour — between Johannesburg and Dar es Salaam.

On leaving Johannesburg our faithful Landrover stopped twice on its own accord: once, in front of Pretoria Gaol, when I wondered aloud whether Sergeant Arlow was being treated as a political prisoner, and the other time, near Pietersburg, as an act of homage to the University of Turfloop. Otherwise the journey was as uneventful as a trip to Cape Town via the Garden Route. We did a lot of night driving, and the only strange noises we heard were Kwacha and Uhuru! Not being settlers we weren't very frightened, and our shotgun stayed at the bottom of the luggage. The trip took eight days, of which one was spent at Zimbabwe, and two swimming in the clear cool water of Lake Nyasa at Nkata Bay. We arrived in the capital of Tanganyika fresh enough to turn around and go home again if we didn't like the look of African responsible self-government. We found the Nyerere administration in firm control of everything except the Dar es Salaam Club, (white supremacy's last refuge) and Belbase, (a wharf in the harbour which the Belgians owned and found convenient for all kinds of traffic with Katanga).

When the Federation of African States completes a tarmac road from Salisbury to Nairobi, you'll hear someone in re-populated Sophiatown saying: "So long, fellows! I'm spending my holiday climbing Mount Kilimanjaro." It's foolish, even today, to think of South Africa, the Rhodesias, Mocambique, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Uganda and Kenya as separate countries. Ask any Nyasa who takes a walk to Goli, Salisbury or Nairobi looking for a job. The pull of the industrial area will defeat tribalism, regionalism, and the plans of the World Bank and the European Common Market.

We arrived in Dar es Salaam on the 21st January, 1961, at 5 o'clock in the morning. It was pleasantly warm, with a breath of monsoon from the Indian Ocean. There were the outlines of large ships and small boats and dhows with full sail in the harbour and the silhouettes of German-Arab architecture in houses and public buildings. Dar es Salaam . . . Haven of Peace . . . the

DAR ES SALAAM DIARY

white-washed pearl of colonial solicitude and United Nations trusteeship. An hour later the sun rose in a fury of tropical reality, and the humidity was one hundred per cent, which is the same as the steam room of a Turkish bath.

Four Enemies

There is a political side to the heat and humidity of Dar es Salaam; they are conducive to laissez-faire, and make planning impossible. They explain the observation of the Principal of Kivukoni College, Colin Leys, that Tanganyika has four enemies — ignorance, poverty, disease and the lack of an ideology. Resentment at the choice of Dar es Salaam as the seat of parliament, and at the lack of an ideology, were voiced by members of the Legislative Assembly during the sessions of 1961. They will get much louder now, after uhuru. But nothing will happen until the expatriate civil servants are shipped home and the cabinet gets down to business in a cooler part of Tanganyika.

Socialist Incentive

Although 100,000 Africans live in Dar es Salaam, it's not an African town. They are as alien in the main shopping centre — Independence Avenue — as in Pritchard or Eloff Street, and there isn't even an O.K. Bazaar. The white residential area, Oyster Bay, compares very favourably with Houghton. The African quarters resemble Alexandra Township's houses, streets, pavements, sewage and street lighting. The Nyerere regime battled hard, during 1961, to effect some improvements. But with an annual national budget of £18,000,000, and a per capital income of less than £20 per year, it's going to take more than goodwill and uhuru to bring about fundamental changes. It's going to take hard cash, hard thinking and hard work. So far, the only cash forthcoming is minor handouts from Britain, Germany and U.S.A. which wouldn't cover the cost of developing one Free State gold mine. There isn't any evidence of any hard thinking. There isn't going to be any hard work until the people are given a plan and an incentive — in other words, a socialist ideology.

The Youth

Our children stopped being white South Africans and became human beings within a matter of days. They clean their own shoes, brush their own clothes, help to clear the table and wash and dry the dishes as if they'd been born in Sheffield or Amsterdam, and not in Johannesburg.

Most of the schools in Dar es Salaam are not yet integrated. The two biggest schools belong to the Aga Khan, for the children of his Ismaili sect. The two best equipped schools are for the children of the expatriate civil servants and the white business and consular communities. But the Education Department is working very hard to remedy

this state of affairs, and the Government has decreed that all schools must be fully integrated by the end of 1963. The Asian schools are working fastest in that direction.

Our children go to St. Joseph's, a catholic convent school which has been open to all races for some time. After school, when the gates open, Bridge Street, in front of St. Joseph's, resembles a minor assembly of the United Nations. Little Goans, Greeks, Sikhs, Chinese, African, British and Dutch children come out, holding hands or quarrelling. The Chinese children are the cutest, but the little Sikhs with their plaits in pink turbans and their legs in khaki shorts are the most picturesque. As a matter of fact, the Representative of the United Nations here, Dr. Faruqi (an Iranian) calls for his children the same time as I do, and we often discuss the politics of racialism whilst watching racialism disappearing under our eyes.

Effects of Colonialism

The standard of education is very low; the main trouble being that African children start at a late age, and know no English when they start. Their Swahili doesn't help them, and it is difficult for them to catch up. But it's a big improvement over the immediate past, when primary schools didn't teach in English at all, and children were punished for speaking it until they reached standard six. (Oscar Kambona, the Minister of Education, insists that that's what happened to him and some of his cabinet colleagues.)

It may be that the decision not to teach English in the lower grades was meant as a beneficial aspect of 'indirect rule', but it had exactly the same effect as is aimed at by B.A.D.'s Bantu Education. Very, very few Africans in Tanganyika speak English at all, and as it's the official language they can't qualify for parliament, for the higher posts in the civil service, for the better paid jobs in commerce, even for bursaries to the overseas universities which are now being so freely offered. Indirect rule, as Sir Harry Johnston, Lord Lugard and Sir Donald Cameron formulated and practised it, may have saved the Tanganyikan highlands from the Kenya settlers, but it also made mental cripples of a generation of Tanganyikans. It made for the backwardness which is the Nyerere regime's greatest enemy.

"Inside" Tanganyika

I was "inside" Tanganyika less than six weeks when I knew enough about it to start writing a book. Now that I've been here a year I have decided to tear up most of what I've written and to start anew. The problems are much bigger and fiercer, the political currents deeper and stronger, the social forces more divided and determined than the surface shows. Tanganyika may still be a quiet laboratory of race relations in Africa, and TANU (the Tanganyika

African Union — Julius Nyerere's party), a model of one-party African Democracy, but integration and democracy are not going to be achieved in an ideological or economic vacuum, and there may be big struggles ahead. Racial animosity between white planters, Asian traders and African workers and peasants has been submerged in a common rejoicing over Uhuru, but it undoubtedly exists and will have to be dealt with practically and rationally, not with slogans and speeches about national unity.

The pay of general workers, dockers, teachers, lower grade civil servants and plantation workers is so low that improvements — especially a minimum wage and industrial conciliation machinery — will have to be introduced immediately, and not when the national income has risen. But where is the money to come from? The crying need is for hospitals, roads, dams and schools. The people, however, want to eat while these priorities are being fulfilled, and the amount of starvation and malnutrition is horrifying even by South African standards. There is almost a state of warfare now between the Federation of Trade Unions and TANU, the ruling political party, and neither side is to blame. Poverty is the real villain of the piece — not lack of goodwill on either side to feed the people.

Patriot of Africa

Julius Nyerere, the Prime Minister of Tanganyika, cannot be judged or evaluated in a few words, and I am not going to try. But South Africans must rest assured that he is a patriot of Africa and not of Tanganyika, and that the abolition of colonialism and the freedom of all Africa is more important to him than even the prosperity and welfare of his own country. His stand against South Africa remaining a member of the Commonwealth was not a political manoeuvre or a sudden emotional impulse. It was an expression of moral leadership which is likely to grow greater and not smaller with his years. On questions of African freedom he has not yet set a foot wrong, and is not likely to. I have many reservations about his ability to face everyday practical realities, but none whatsoever about his greatness as a leader, as a fighter for African freedom and as a statesman of world calibre.

AGENTS
WANTED TO SELL
"FIGHTING TALK"
One-third Commission

Apply to
P.O. Box 1355, Johannesburg

Profile: CHIEF LUTULI: "He knows the woes of landless squatters"

It is not easy to discern who at this moment might speak with full authority for South Africa's ten million Africans. Africans have always been denied the right to signify their choice by voting on the country's affairs. White rulers have throughout our history fostered all signs of hostility and jealousy between Africans, though they have never so blatantly and ruthlessly as at present divided in order to rule. Furthermore, no African organization has successfully penetrated all sections of African Society. It is to this day just conceivable that there are, on white farms and in remote reserves, Africans who have never heard of Chief Lutuli — or, for that matter, of Dr. Verwoerd.

Nevertheless, there has so far been at least one African Organization — the now banned African National Congress — with some claim to being comprehensive: the best claim, at least, The Pan-African Congress, which for a while commanded world attention as the result of police shootings at Sharpeville, was, at the time of its suppression in 1960, of recent origin; and it appears to have led only a small following drawn exclusively from a few cities and towns. When it was forced — on the surface, anyway — into premature retirement, it had conducted no political campaigns to a successful conclusion, and it had thrown up no leaders seasoned in the conflict. It had yet to prove itself.

The African National Congress, on the other hand, had for many years been the largest anti-apartheid, anti-supremacist organization in the country. It could claim a following drawn from city, town and country, from peasants and professionals, from chiefs and labourers, from the mature and from the young. It could claim experience. It could claim to have achieved, latterly, effective liaison with groups other than African — with Indians, Europeans, and (on occasion) Coloured people — all of whom regarded it as the spearhead of resistance. It could not, unfortunately, for South Africa, claim to have fashioned the machinery necessary for running itself in a country so large, and in face of perambulant Government and police interference, obstruction, and persecution.

Unchallenged at the head of the African National Congress, for the roughest and most heart-breaking ten years in South African political life hitherto, stood Albert John Lutuli. Placed there by the vote of his own Congress, and accepted by organizations of other races willing to co-operate, the chief deposed by Dr. Verwoerd became head of something more than a mission reserve. He became, his stature and influence growing yearly, leader of the real opposition, extracting South Africans of all complexions. As far as there is, or ever

has been, an embodiment both of the African people and of the anti-racial resistance to apartheid and supremacy, it is to be found in Chief Lutuli.

The impact which the Chief makes at first encounter is difficult to analyse. One is aware of an impact; but no quality, unless it be that of charming and generous warmth, stands out. His character, his temperament, his qualities and his stature reveal themselves discursively, and only as they unfold does one begin to grasp the striking wholeness of the man, his coherence and his integrity. A mind is at work; but never merely academically, never without imagination. Imagination is at work; but never without restraint and discipline, never engaged in fantasy, and never at the expense of truth. Restraint and discipline are there; but they issue neither in inflexibility nor in untoward austerity. No quality stands out by itself, each balances the others, and all go to the making of a man at whose centre is greatness of heart.

On one occasion Chief Lutuli and his wife visited us briefly — a small, purely domestic occasion — at a seaside cottage. The African tenants on that property and on adjacent lands, illiterate and pitiful people for the most part, got word that a chief was there, though few had ever seen one in their lives. They gathered outside and then asked permission to enter in order to pay their respects. Chief Lutuli received them. Until then we had known the leader of the resistance. Now we watched a man who knew the woes of landless squatters. He discovered each of them as an individual; he enquired after children and absent relations; and he gave them, quite unconsciously, a glimpse of dignity and composure, of some glory departed. They went away comforted; some with tears in their eyes, but nevertheless comforted.

It was not the occasion. It was the stature of the man they had met. Somehow, within his person, Chief Lutuli recollects a multitude of men — peasant, townsman and squatter, scholar and student, chief and subject, grey-beard and angry young man, men of the new Africa and men of the old.

A year after this minor incident one of the squatters whom the Chief had met was evicted by white landowners. He had been born on the property, but white conquest had turned all Africans there into squatters. His eviction, in the context of South African laws, at once made it illegal for this man and his family to be anywhere; squatting elsewhere was unlawful, and neither reserve nor city would have him. Even out on the road, where he found himself with his wife, children, pots and pans, he was liable to arrest for vagrancy. There was no legal answer, nowhere to go.

to the office, and from there we went to the Commissioner to get our passes fixed up. We were about six in number. We took an early train to Johannesburg and spent one week there, and they took us to where I am now. I am working in the potato fields. I am a potato sower and only God knows the life we are living here.

By the way I left school in standard five, and now I am kneeling down and hope you will wipe my tears. I am still young. I am 38 years of age.

JUDAH B.

CHARLES HOOPER

author of 'BRIEF AUTHORITY' wrote this preface to Chief Lutuli's book 'LET MY PEOPLE GO'

When we told the Chief this story he remembered that he was an epileptic. He must have heard many similar hard-luck stories — the country abounds in them; yet he flinched as he listened; and his first reaction was not to the miserable injustice of the "case", but to the plight of the man and his child. There was anger over the nervous cruelty of Apartheid laws and over the white landowner's failure to envisage the consequences of their actions in human terms; but anger came after compassion. Nor was the compassion mere sentiment: the Chief immediately set about trying to do something to help the homeless epileptic whom he had met only once, a year earlier.

Compassion is a part of Chief Lutuli's habitual way of looking at people. His observance is a large sense of comedy, an unquenchable delight in people. Yet, for all the ease of his rich, joyous laughter, and his quick pity, there is a detachment about people too not from them, but about them, whether friend or foe. It is as though something in him holds aloof, subject neither to the sudden partisanship of the emotions, nor to bitterness and resentment. About the policy, the act of cruelty, or the vicious law, he is ruthless and can be furiously angry; but he refuses to assault the personalities of the men behind these things.

It may be that it is this detachment, coupled with his gifts of imagination, which accounts for Chief Lutuli's extraordinary power of entering the minds and emotions of other people. He is capable of understanding the African's dilemma with far greater clarity than most of their English-speaking fellow-white; and the quiet, backward-looking English of Natal is more explicit to Lutuli than it is to Dr. Verwoerd. His imagination falters only when the mental state of his opponents enters the world of shadows: "I can understand and disagree with the man who says, 'I want five farms'. But I cannot grasp what is in his mind when he says, 'I would rather surrender or be shot than surrender one of them'."

Yet Chief Lutuli's perception of the maladies which all South Africans of various races does not deflect him. For instance, the fact that white South Africans see in the idea of universal adult suffrage a terrifying threat evokes in him the desire to re-

assure them; but he continues, with a kind of serene assurance, to demand universal adult suffrage regardless of race.

The Chief's assurance has about it something paradoxical. It is far removed from the ruthless political bigotry of his more notable opponents and their adherents. It is the assurance of a man who, new in his sixties, is still exploring, who is still open to humane and reasoned argument, and who thinks it no indignity to learn from the shrewd wisdom of peasants and the insight of the young. He will come in and say, "There, now! A worker I met at the bus-stop has just told me something I never knew about soil erosion!" Or, "Think twice, Lemali. Don't dismiss that white fellow's argument too lightly, just because he was angry." I think the paradox is this: the assurance is so deeply grounded in intellectual humility that it is not possible to distinguish one from the other. Neither quality would be there but for the other. Assurance without arrogance, and the humility of a man who cannot be humiliated: this is a rare combination. "Nationalist laws seek to degrade us. We do not consent. They degrade the man who frames them. They injure us — that is something different."

Assurance and humility stand the Chief and his country in good stead, as do other of his qualities. Resilience, youthfulness of spirit, undaunted courage, wisdom, tolerance, charity, a zest for living, patience. If there is one quality, usually associated with leadership, which he lacks, it is ambition. There is behind him no struggle for power, and within him no determination to rule in person.

But above all, perhaps, Chief Lutuli is a great patriot, the greatest in a country not altogether devoid of true patriotism. Few whites can even glimpse this. To white South Africa (with exceptions — eminent names such as Jan Hofmeyr, Alan Paton and Margaret Ballinger come easily to mind, but there are others) patriotism has come to mean allegiance to a white group waited on by black betots. When Lutuli speaks, one is aware of his profound concern for South Africans, invariably men of all races, of his appreciation of the toiling cities, the farms, the crowded reserves and the look of the land, and of his love for Mother Africa and her troubled peoples.

The Verwoerd Government's reply to the challenge of this man has been to remove him. His third ban, a five-year one, is not half-run. He lives in a politically indifferent area, to which the ban confines him. Policemen knock on his door at odd hours: "Where is Lutuli?" They dog him wherever he goes, tap his telephone, open his mail, inspect his visitors.

The orator's voice is silenced. When he was banned in 1958, the Chief was part of the way through a tour of a nature quite unprecedented in South Africa. His modest account of it, towards the end of this book, gives little hint of its true significance. For the first time, whites were crowding to hear what an African leader had to say, a few Nationalists among them; and some were coming away with a new faith in South Africa, new doubts about the course followed for so long by successive white governments, and a renewed belief in the African legacy. Naturally, it became imperative for the Nationalists to silence him. He is, for their purposes, quite the most unfortunate embodiment of African aspirations which the African people could have found — an inextinguishable, fearless and altogether unflinching Crusader.

Today the mood is changing. The negotiations are over. Dr. Verwoerd proclaims the Afrikaner republic with the country on what the newspapers call a "war-footing". In one of their aims — whether conscious or not, there is no knowing — the Nationalists have succeeded. The sanest men are bound; and out of South Africa's complexity the ruling minority have wrought a situation in which black and white are at last lining up in tense opposition. Formerly the white determination was to ride the patient beast; now there is a mounting desire to fight him. Not all predators survive.

For Africans the choice narrows down rapidly to servitude or death. That is what the "war-footing" proclaims to them. The army has been described by a Cabinet Minister as an instrument only secondarily designed to protect South Africa's frontiers; its primary function is "to shoot down the black masses."

In face of this sort of threat, and deprived of their leaders by one means and another, what will the African people do? For how long will they continue to be approachable? Chief Lutuli's influence, despite his banishment, is still strong; He still represents the African wish to bring about a newly-ordered South Africa peacefully, without bloodshed or unnecessary dislocation. The offer is still open.

But every week brings change. The African people are now confronted finally by the inflexible refusal of the Government to compromise — the outcome of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference demonstrated this as nothing else has. They are confronted by an impossible choice; voluntary subjection or enforced subjection. They are confronted by the flat, toneless denial of every single thing which Chief Lutuli demands in the name of his people.

If this situation is allowed to continue unabated — and it shows no sign of abating — how long will it be before the Union's African people are seeking a new embodiment of new wishes? How long before, out of the depths, they cry, "If the man of peace does not prevail, give us the men of blood!"

AN AFRICAN IN AMERICA

(Continued from page 10)

relative form that I don't know how much independence of mind is reflected or not reflected in the mechanics and trappings of democratic voting in a multi-party context; (h) "Cultural freedom" for me should imply that people of diverse ideological views should be allowed freedom of thought and speech. I have it on authority that Marxism is discussed in America as a textbook theory, hardly as anything that has the remotest

relevance to a way of life and worth arguing about as an applied system. This is happening in a society that declares that it is open and libertarian; (i) I accept American or any other kind of help for my people as long as we are allowed the intellectual freedom that Congress stands for and it is not expected of us to insulate ourselves against impacts from a variety of ideologies. My political views (for what they are) were never asked for before I was invited to take up this job. And if I felt at any time I was being used to influence the thinking of my people in any one or other direction, I should not continue one minute longer. Whatever

Congress does in Africa is done at the invitation of the Africans concerned.

H.H.I. says with that intellectual intensity that characterizes his face and voice, which very seldom lets up for flippant talk: You know, Zelen, there is a large group of Europeans and Americans who have been through the shattering experience of seeing their faith in communism betrayed and it seems Africans have not, in the context of a current of ideas, experienced this. Maybe that's why Africans don't appreciate our feelings about communism. I say that, even so, one does not find this obsession in British papers and public life except in the Tory press and its supporters, and

here it sounds in a large measure like a derivative kind of madness.

Americans are never slow to analyse their own motives. They seem to have a capacity for taking blame, and maybe that is why they can keep logging a single-track line and operating on a series of stock responses. "Trouble with us is we Americans talk too much," said a lady during a dinner. Rastus embarrasses them very much, and yet they don't exert as much effort as they are capable of towards uprooting this plague. It's an excellent safeguard that anti-segregation is entrenched in the Federal laws, but a more positive country-wide campaign is needed.

LETTER BOX

WIPE MY TEARS

"I left school because of shortage of money, and I am no more on friendly terms with my White guardian, with whom I was staying and also working for.

My decision was to look for work in Pieterburg town, and no one people told me that there's work in Johannesburg. Of course there are the people who always rob others. They look us

AN AFRICAN IN AMERICA

By
'ZEKE' MPHAHLELE

You stand on the edge of the Charles River in Cambridge, Massachusetts. To the left and right of you the buildings of the famous awe-inspiring Massachusetts Institute of Technology stretch a long way. Behind you, about two miles away, is the famous Harvard University. The evening is cold, and there is a mercurial shimmer on the water as the lights dance on the surface. Across the river is Boston. The water-front that side confronts you with the black screen of night perforated with thousands of lights, and bounded by a grim skyline. Beautiful. Like a stage set.

That's Boston by night. By day, a hideous city. Untidily constructed, decrepit-looking, with streets running amok. I used to think Birmingham in England was hideous, but it has nothing on downtown Boston. The name itself conjures a picture of a fat, greasy, vulgar human. The town is full of itself with the history of the American revolution, with the memories of a heady tea-party, of George Washington, and so on. The hotel where I was in Cambridge is important as the place where Washington came to do something or other. Near it are church premises dating back to 1776, the year of independence. I was right in New England, the most conservative area, I am told, in the U.S.A., where politics and almost every other sphere of human activity are simply sticky with the sweat that drips from the power struggle between Catholics and Protestants. There is also a good deal of talk about graft and other forms of corruption that go with the tussle. Proportionally, people speak proudly of President Kennedy who, they say, has outlived the stickiness of his home state.

I came to M.I.T. on October 17 at the invitation of its Political Science department to give four lectures. During the second week of my stay I attended the conference of the State Department's commission on UNESCO held in Boston. It was on Africa and its relation to the United States. I read a paper on African writing for the panel on culture. I met here Absalom Vilakazi (who had been compelled to take out an exit permit for himself and his family in order to go and teach in the U.S.A.); Selby Mvusi, the Durban painter who is now teaching art in Salisbury. He read a paper on African art. Behind that aristocratic mask on his face, is depth and pathos which express themselves in the wire-strung outlines of his human figures which often tug at one's heart-strings; Selby Ngcobo of the Economics department of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, who was a teacher at Adams College when I was a student at the beginning of the last war; Lewis Nkosi who told me how miserable he was and how very eager to run out of the U.S. He thinks at least England has something to offer intellectually and has a stabilising social set-

ting. We spent long hours together talking about Americans, who look like people in a nasty hole without knowing it. There is a sense in which young men like Lewis take more punishment as exiles than others — others like me maybe. He left South Africa before he had reached a point of desperate commitment, and perhaps only vaguely felt it, somewhere on an outer fringe, when he decided to take his life in his hands on an exit permit. And now he has to locate himself somewhere in one of the layers of commitment, outside the physical condition of oppression. Maybe I'm wrong. What I do know is that Lewis has a grasp of things I could never have had at this age: I was still a booming, buzzing confusion then. His is a degree of perceptiveness that brings pain with it.

* * *

Lectures in the political science department of M.I.T. I ask myself why I keep doing this kind of thing: writing and speaking politics and culture instead of doing creative writing. Maybe I'm not a creative writer after all and I cheated myself into thinking I was. And yet I am not a politician at all. Having failed to create much because I was too busy battling with the problem of living with freedom, I cuddle in the safe posture of a spokesman and commentator for Africa. What cheek and vanity!

James Baldwin the celebrated Negro writer of *Go Tell It on a Mountain*, *Giovanni's Room* etc., came to see me in Paris in September on his way to Africa — his very first visit. He had been deeply involved in the Freedom Rides in the southern states. He had put himself out to speak, write and organise and felt weary of — in his own words — "being a spokesman for the Negroes." He wanted to come back to Paris, where he had lived for 10 years previously and which he left for 4 years in order to come to terms with himself as an American "native son". He intends to come and live in Paris now, indefinitely. Talk of the problem of roots and identity! All over the world there are people like us who are caught in this tangle. I keep telling my French-speaking African friends this, to stop thinking of uprooted Africans of French culture as a special case for which they must apply *negritude*, which they would also like to think of as a general remedy.

* * *

The American Negro. I had the privilege of hearing two Negro leaders speak on the programme of weekly lectures in which I took part at Brandeis University just outside Boston. They were Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP)

and James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), one of the organisers of the Freedom Riders campaign. Whereas the NAACP has for several decades been flogging the race problem in the U.S. by pushing for legal redress for individual wrongs done to the Negroes, CORE, a much younger body, concentrates on direct action. One cannot become a member of CORE except for a specific campaign at a time, like the civil disobedience of the Freedom Riders which snowballed into Alabama, Georgia and so on, provoking not only barks and snarls among white southerners in the process, but also arrests and violence which once again revealed the kind of racist barbarism that often embarrasses the Federal government. After a campaign one is virtually not a member anymore until CORE organises another.

How free are Negroes in the northern states? They will tell you they have hell in several places even though racial boundaries are not clearly defined as in the south. That is the awkwardness of it all. You have nothing tangible or definite to campaign for. The horizontal plane of discrimination or sensitivity to it is too uneven for Negroes to find common ground to protest. Meantime, the black suburbs thrive; as soon as Negroes move into a white quarter, so many more whites move out to escape the "black menace." As they do so, they sell their properties at cut-throat prices, and a few more aspiring Negroes who want to come in get caught in this spiral. Property sales become a racket: a white man has to know just when to sell. And still the Negro here aspires to middle-class status, and loses himself in the rat race. So there! He's integrated. And yet one keeps hearing of civil rights bills being passed in Congress. Is it to be political power or economic power or social respectability, or all of these? A small but quite vocal group of Negro intellectuals are now kicking their heels about. Should they be swallowed up by the American mainstream and lose their cultural identity as we know it in their music and literature and independent churches (the equivalent of what the white man calls "separatist" in South Africa)? They see Africans like Nkrumah, Mboya, Nyerere, Lutuli, Tambo, Nkomo, Kaunda, on TV and in person; they meet Africans who represent independent states in Washington and at UNO, and they begin to identify themselves with the black continent. Some of them even consciously cherish the African survivals in Negro culture. They embrace the concept of *negritude* — the quality or importance of being black. So much so, that they don't like to be told that an American Negro often has a hard time of it trying to be integrated into African communities in West Africa where a few have gone to live. They don't want to be reminded of the disillusionment of the Negro who comes to

Africa with high expectation of a "proper" welcome. On the other hand, the French-speaking West African speaks of educating the American Negro so that he realises that his spiritual home is Africa. He says this with an air of big brother condescension because he thinks his discovery of *negritude* which dates back to the 1930's has given him a lead in this spiritual journey back to Africa, out of a condition of French assimilation. The English-speaking African couldn't care less. But these same American Negroes who feel the identity are ashamed to speak of such great Negroes as W. E. B. Du Bois and Paul Robeson. And I think it is typical of the same American mainstream which they say they are resisting to have refused to recognise the sheer human bigness and calibre of Du Bois and Robeson. I tested the ground in 1960 when I went to Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago and New York and again in 1961. I wonder . . . At the time of writing Du Bois has gone to live in Accra to devote the rest of his life to an African encyclopaedia which the Ghana government has commissioned. The older Negro writers like Langston Hughes and Stirling Brown who survived the back-to-Africa faddism of the 1920's have resolved within themselves as writers the dilemma of roots and identity. They don't need to intellectualise about it. They have today a settled calm about them, which, however, does not tempt them to be aloof from the Negro's condition. They don't delude themselves into thinking that America is a melting pot of various races: it isn't. People still carry about with them their racial complexes.

* * *

Americans. Very easy to make friends with, they make enemies easily. Generally prosperous, but the producer and his advertising agent know just how to tie everyone in one huge timeless knot of debt without deflating their sense of property. Workers have shares in the firms which they serve, so they tell themselves they are middle-class and that there is hardly any working class in the U.S. I don't know where the Negroes stand. I'm no economist, so I just nod continuously when I hear this. But somewhere in my mind there is a nagging thought that the whole story hasn't been told about the various ways in which free enterprise and capitalism rationalise their existence. I'm told there is a solid core of "socialists" in the Kennedy administration. I wonder . . . I do know there are numbers of leftists of all shades, but of course the Communist Party is getting hell. At the time of writing it has been ordered to register and submit a complete list of its membership. The party is invoking a law to defend its refusal to do this. Meantime, the U.S. government argues that a communist party anywhere can't be one unless its represents Russia and has as part of its programme the overthrow of authority by means of violence. But every American has it impressed on his mind from high school that he is living in an "open,

libertarian society"; that racialism apart, the U.S. is part of the "free world." He even believes today that *MacCarthyism* has vanished or its vestige cannot upset this society fundamentally. I have never been able to get a satisfactory explanation why the Un-American Activities Committee still exists, which is responsible for a good deal of private censorship and a variety of guilt complexes in individuals. On the other hand, it is pointed out that President Kennedy has spoken very strongly against the Minute Men (an armed organisation) and the John Birch Association (unarmed) who are fascist groups and represent as serious a menace in the U.S.A. as the O.A.S. in France.

* * *

I am walking along Charles River, carrying my baggage and looking up and down for a taxi, when a family saloon car pulls up beside me. Can I give you a lift somewhere? the driver asks. No Thanks, I'm just looking for a taxi, I say. Come on in, he says. I say thank you and go in, rather hesitantly. We introduce each other in the car and he takes me to my hotel. He turns out to be a business man — a painting contractor. Spontaneously he asks me to dinner at his house, twenty miles out of Cambridge. A charming but simple family. His wife tells me she read up a few things about South Africa in an encyclopaedia before our dinner date. To think we learned the geography of North America when we were in Std. VI in South Africa and got hell for it if we didn't know the teacher's notes! The poor couple couldn't even pronounce Durban properly. For a stranger, this outgoing character of Americans is a pleasant experience. During the course of the evening, the question I had got so used to hearing ever since I came to know Americans personally either in Africa or in their natural setting popped up: how far has communism penetrated in Africa? Or, what can we do about communism in Africa? "We" suggests wherever there is communism, it is an American business to do something about it. And almost invariably they find themselves on the side of unpopular corrupt governments, ranged against revolutionary movements. This is no original observation: a few perceptive American writers and journalists have warned their country against this dangerous game.

* * *

I am in a private house in Newton, Boston, surrounded by women. It is a monthly club meeting. I have been speaking about Africa to them. A plump lady with a benign face has been plying me with jam tarts which she keeps saying in an endless refrain were made by her daughter. Then the inane questions: Do you have universities in Africa? A cousin of ours has written to us saying the Angola rebellion is all a communist plot, is that true? But don't you think it's dangerous for Africans to send people to Russian universities? — I mean we all know communists are always causing acts of violence and don't these students come back

and cause trouble for their governments? Progressively my mood sags. I find it difficult to conceal it. The air around me feels warm and plush, just as if it were made of cushions for one to lean against. I become passive and stoical, playing for time, until I should break into an opening and say, "Well, I'm afraid I must go." I had accepted the invitation to talk to this comfortable, creamy, suburban set with a sense of adventure; I came away with a sense of futility. They struck me as basically intelligent. I suppose even looking after a husband's earnings trains one's abilities in a certain direction! But what a direction! We learned American history in secondary school, and here these women knew practically nothing about any part of Africa except what they read in Paton's first novel. The benign motherly lady asked me on my way out: "You're sure you wouldn't like another of my daughter's tarts?" Hardly the thing to beat the numbness out of one! An afternoon frittered away by a talk that couldn't have registered in the minds of more than three out of the fifteen women. That's what flattened me so, What stupid things one does sometimes out of curiosity!

* * *

My American friend H.R.I. has a brilliant intellect. He has a gravity which is not the puritanical kind one observes among so many of his countrymen. He yields to no man on the question of racism. There is the American who says there have already been changes for better and the Negro will, through constitutional adjustments, eventually reach his goal as a free human being. To this person H.A.I. retorts, "Put yourself in the shoes of the Negro and see if you would want to wait that much longer." He believes more pressure can and should be exerted on the Federal and State law makers to bring about a faster and more fundamental change. H.R.I. holds a number of unpopular views about things, but he feels, as an American, he is deeply committed to this huge desperate conflict with Russia. In reply to the view that Americans are too obsessed with communism, he says: Well you see, Zeke, this country simply has to defend its principles of a free, libertarian, open society. It's natural if this struggle with Russia is on the minds of so many people here that it should look like an obsession. We are heavily committed . . . Look at these guys. There has been a picture which represented Lenin reading a *toko* to Stalin. Stalin's figure is blotted out with paint and Lenin is left reading to no-one. Are our lives to be left in the hands of such people? . . . Can African politics be seen resolving themselves away from the influences of the cold war? . . . The organisation for which you work, for instance — the Congress for Cultural Freedom — surely presupposes the absence of such a thing in a communist state? Where do you yourself stand in the cold war spectrum if you think of Americans as obsessed?

I say to H.R.I. (a) Freedom is such a
(Continued on pages 8 and 9)

"POPHUIS" PARLIAMENT

By BARNEY DESAI

Once again the "messiah" of the White 'nation', inspired as he is by divine guidance, has his long awaited plan set the aspirations of the "state" viz: "a state within a state" in the Union Parliament and Coloured Affairs Ministers. They will 'control' Coloured education and taxes derived from Coloureds. The Coloured 'nation' will of course need to be trained to accept these heavy responsibilities—which will rest fully on their shoulders in say between 10 TO 20 YEARS. In the meantime the 'training grounds' will be created by establishing Health Boards, Peri-Urban Boards and possibly a Municipal-ity thrown in for good measure.

The purpose of this grand scheme outlined by Verwoerd, is to ensure that the Coloured people are given all the opportunities to develop 'on their own' without the interference of white rapacious capitalists on the one hand, and to protect them from "black nationalism" on the other.

The Coloured "state within a state" will always remain under the direct control of a white parliament.

Any similarity between the treacherous fraud of Bantustans and Colouredstans is not coincidental. This is yet another desperate attempt to ward off the menacing world attitude to apartheid. The Nats are once more trying to bluff the world, and in this case the Coloured people, by giving the false impression that 'self determination' and human rights are being extended to the underprivileged and oppressed.

Who has fallen for this latest Verwoerdian gimmick? **THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN PAID TO DO AS THE 'MESSIAH' WISHES!**

When Verwoerd concluded his address to the Union Council of Coloured Affairs, members "rose from their seats and gave the Prime Minister a standing ovation." Tom Swartz, Chairman of the Council, hailed him as 'a man of destiny', whilst Rev. Rossouw, another Councillor, deliriously called him (yes, you've guessed) "our messiah." Sallie Dollie rudely brushed aside his colleagues to get The Dokter's autograph! Thus the **POPHUIS PARLIAMENT WAS BORN.**

What standing do members of the Union of Coloured Affairs have amongst the Coloured people and what mandate do they possess to accept Colouredstans on behalf of the people?

For the record, more than half of the members of U.C.C.A. are government appointed, whilst the remainder stood for elections which were completely and totally ignored by the people. Not one seat was contested. These men dare not hold meetings to discuss their actions.

What is the genuine reaction of the Coloured people to the Verwoerd proposals? Not a single Coloured grouping, political or educational, left or conservative, had been bluffed by this latest fantasy in race politics. The Coloured Convention (some of the participants at this Convention were a decade ago prepared to sit on the Coloured Affairs Council!) emphatically rejected all agencies which are designed to perpetuate race inferiority and staked its claim for

full democratic rights based on universal adult suffrage. The Anti-CAD adopts the same attitude. One of the largest Coloured organisations, the B.E.S.C.L. at its recent conference endorsed the stand taken by the Coloured Convention.

On the more militant plane it would appear to be most unlikely that the 40,000 Coloured industrial workers and the thousands of high school students of Cape Town, who struck in May 1961, in response of the Maritzburg call for a National Convention, would be enthusiastic about Colouredstans and Pophuis parliaments.

Even at the risk of being rather optimistic in my estimation, I would say that more and more people are coming around to the attitude so crisply put in the CPC statement on these Colouredstans:

"We are serenely confident that the principle of 'one man one vote' is the only vehicle through which to found a non-racial democracy in South Africa, and in the final analysis the only solution to our demands for equality for the oppressed in our land.

"We reject separate 'Coloured, Bantu and Indian stans' and fully subscribe to the idea that if there is to be peace in our country all democratic forces must unite to crush white domination and baasskap.

"Our Congress would welcome with open arms and abounding enthusiasm a parliament representative of all South Africans, and a Cabinet headed by Mr. Albert John Lutuli."

STEP-CHILDREN NO LONGER

By REG SEPTEMBER

The Coloured people have been treated differently ever since the time that they adopted the "Christian faith." The Boers needed faithful servants and they offered our ancestors a position of semi-privilege. This arrangement has paid dividends until this day. In the struggles against the "Kaffir", the boer could always rely upon the support of the slave and the half-caste.

In 1961, when white domination is fighting a life and death struggle, Verwoerd still depends on a Golding and the Union Council for Coloured Affairs.

We have been on the same Parliamentary voters' roll, have had Coloured men in the Provincial Council, and to this day still have people in the City Council. Our boys are apprenticed, we work on the same scaffold; we went to the same university, went to the "Tivoli" and Opera House sitting anywhere; we lived where we chose, according to our pocket.

Generally speaking, we were neighbours of the White man, and not of the Black. The minority—numbers are difficult to estimate—in areas like Korsten,

Windermere and Newclare, will show us just how impossible it is to give the impression that all Coloured people react the same way. Class structures complicate the reactions.

Step-Children No Longer

The Black man's language, and tribal customs are foreign to the majority of us; we have never lived with him. On the other hand the White and Coloured

ON THE COLOURED FRONT

share the same religion, language, and mode of living. There is, in fact, no difference between the White and Coloured people of South Africa except their skin colour and their legal status. The fact that the whiter you were, the more privileges you gained, tended to draw people towards the white camp.

But the step-child era came to an end

with the advent to power of the Nationalist Party.

In the "good old days", Dr. Abdurahman, in the leadership of the A.P.O., played the leading role. He sought equality with the White and gained concessions, so long as he fought shy of real co-operation with the Africans.

The National Liberation League, which was the last organisation of predominantly Coloured people — after Abdurahman — stood for full equality, still had prominent White members, but was defunct by the time the Nationalists came into power.

In recent times the Coloured people's opinion has crystallised into three organisational groupings.

- The small subservient group of the Coloured People's National Union, led by Mr. Golding, and its associates in the U.C.C.A. This group accepts apartheid and seeks concessions, and will, of course, have nothing to do with the African people.
- The Anti-CAD — formerly well organised amongst the small middle-class element of the Coloured people — de-

mands equality for all people in South Africa irrespective of colour, using the most revolutionary phrases, claiming that the Black man is equal to the task of leadership, but in fact acting as though the Coloured wing is the only one endowed with the ability to lead. They are, in fact, nothing less than petit-bourgeois Coloured Nationalists. They have proved that they are not prepared to enter a mass struggle. The last proof was when they participated in the train apartheid resistance campaigns and then sold out.

- **The Coloured Peoples' Congress** — associate member of the Congress movement which stands four square behind the Freedom Charter and has proved itself capable of providing the people with a militant leadership. This wing of the Congress movement is growing fast but has as yet a great deal of leeway to make up amongst the Coloured people.

A New Awakening

The new awareness on the part of the Coloured people, the break from dependence on white leadership, as evidenced by the response to the three day stay at home, the Coloured Convention, and the surge to meetings, can be attributed to a number of factors.

The cumulative effects of Group Areas, job reservation, train and bus apartheid, loss of the vote, are having their reaction. The break from the Commonwealth is a factor which must not be underestimated.

Verwoerd's granite wall statement had a tremendous effect on many who were still prepared to roll out the red carpet for a new deal for the Coloured people. His most recent "definition" of the South African nation has only widened the gap.

Last, but not least, one must take into account events on the African continent, where the African people are asserting themselves, challenging the authority of the colonial powers and establishing independent states.

Emerging in South Africa is a confident African organisation stretching out the hand of friendship to all lovers of freedom, irrespective of racial grouping. This must result in serious thinking amongst sections of the marginal Coloured group, as to which side it should attach itself; the apparently powerful white or the emerging African. The example of the Africans in Cape Town (the minority non-white group in Cape Town during 1960 opened the eyes of many Coloured people and showed them what could be achieved by unity.

Today the Coloured people are no longer impressed by the member of the all-white parliament who comes to open a Coloured bazaar, hands out apples and gets support for his candidature. No longer is the Coloured teacher a freak to be compared and contrasted with his white predecessor as happened in my childhood. Even the Coloured principal is today taken for

granted. The rich white politician is no longer sought after as the patron of our sports clubs. Our high school students have — for the first time in their lives — participated in their thousands in a strike together with African and Indian.

"Good Boys" Lose Out

Edgar Deane, who played the role of the "good boy" for the Government in the 1960 disturbances lost his City Council seat in 1961 in spite of the fact that he had been in the Council for six years. He is today experiencing much difficulty in his union and would certainly have been ousted from the secretaryship by now if his opponents had a little more experience or if they had received proper guidance.

Salie Dollie who had been in the City Council for many years and is obviously ambitious enough to want to prove to the government that he has a following, has been so discredited politically, that he would never dare to stand as candidate. Even the Newlands rugby matches so enthusiastically supported in the past, are losing their non-white backers.

This new awareness among the people is reflected in the fact that the Unity Movement or Anti-CAD, which acted for so long as a brake on the militant spirit of the Coloured people, is fast losing support. People are beginning to see it for what it is really worth, a political talking shop.

Today, no white representative for the Coloured seats would dare hold a public meeting in town. The same applies to any of their supporters like Golding or Union Council for Coloured Affairs representatives.

The new awareness to be found amongst Moslems is a real tonic in contrast to their age old clannishness and aloofness. I am certain that a higher percentage of Moslems answered the strike call than did Christians. Progressive Moslem discussion groups are beginning to flourish and even the womenfolk are being drawn into activity.

The Coloured Peoples' Congress has fertile soil to cultivate; especially the artisan class and teachers, many of whom are able, and vocal and have found that a militant spirit and action is the main need of the day. They realise that Congress can lead the way.

They have found a new respect for Black Congress leaders and they realise that Lutuli, Mandela and Kotane, to quote a few examples, must be in Parliament. I believe that they have reached a stage where they would support an African Prime Minister.

There is however one chink in the armour of many, if not most, of the mentors of this potentially very important group. For so long have they lived isolated, comparatively secure lives in the western Cape that whilst they will accept the educated African as equal they have still to be assisted to come to proper terms with the African labourer, the Reserve African, the mineworker.

A Coloured man will tell you in all sincerity, if you give him the chance, "Surely you do not expect us to give that backward African the vote?"

This I believe is the most important question facing the C.P.C. and indeed all progressives today who have the responsibility of working amongst the Coloured people. This is a challenge which must be taken up and we must go on to the offensive in order to win the minds of these important new-found allies.

How is this to be done?

Great advances have been made in building co-operation between African and Coloured people. The poorer areas and bigger rural towns like Paarl and Worcester have set an example of which we can all be proud. The courageous behaviour of the Coloured Food and Canning workers of Paarl when they physically defended Elizabeth Mafekeng, must surely rank as one of the finest examples in S.A. history of inter-racial unity.

The C.P.C. programme of non-co-operation with apartheid, the idea of challenging apartheid must be put into effect with drive and initiative. The government's attempt to smash the C.P.C. by bannings must be countered. The fight for jobs and for rights in the cultural, sporting, trade union and educational fronts, must be tackled.

I believe that an offensive on the part of the Coloured people must result in their achieving a greater measure of confidence. They can become a force in the major political battles to be fought in future, especially if they are prepared to link hands with all progressive forces.

There is no need for them to regard themselves as the inevitable appendage or tool of white or black.

The Coloured people will in fact reap what they sow. If they play their part in the struggle for a democratic South Africa they will be respected, they will come to realise their own strength and they will no longer be afraid of the white or black majority.

If they fail to play their part, they will lose the respect of other racial groups and will themselves remain undecided and suspicious. I believe that they are beginning to play their part on a mass scale and that they are beginning to adopt an attitude of real respect towards the African people. It remains for the C.P.C. to carry out the tremendous task, to guide and ORGANISE.

**STEWART'S
REXALL PHARMACY**
S. Joffe, M.P.S.
CHEMIST & DRUGGIST
PHOTOGRAPHIC SUPPLIES
—o—
280a, Louis Botha Avenue,
ORANGE GROVE
Phone 45-6243/4

WALLS MUST COME DOWN

By JARIRETUNDU KOZONGUIZI

"After 15 years of effort, the situation remains unchanged. Up to now South Africa has not complied with a single resolution of the General Assembly. Every effort and every attempt that has been made has come to nothing. It could in fact be claimed that the path of persuasion has led nowhere. The increasingly negative reaction of the South African Government indicates beyond any reasonable doubt that the solution of the problem cannot be made contingent upon the voluntary observance by South Africa of the General Assembly's resolutions . . ."

The Representative of Mexico at the U.N.

By decision of the 15th (resumed) Session the United Nations Committee on South West Africa was to proceed to South West Africa with or without the co-operation of the South African Government; they did not succeed in entering the territory. But their tour of Africa was very helpful at least in one respect. The Committee was introduced to the realities of African politics.

As a result they produced the most provocative report so far presented on South West Africa by any Committee or Commission of the United Nations.

A People's Police Force

They proposed:

"The immediate institution of a United Nations presence in South West Africa in the form of a Special Committee of the United Nations to remove the present Administration from the territory and transfer the power to the United Nations or the people of South West Africa themselves;

"The training of a People's Police Force by the United Nations and cessation of all organised immigration of Europeans especially South Africans into South West Africa;

That the Special Committee organise a Convention to draft the Constitution for an Independent South West Africa and the election of representatives to the Legislative Assembly on the basis of Universal Adult Suffrage;

The organisation of a special intensive type of fellowship programme to train the largest possible number of South West Africans in the techniques of administration, economics, law, etc. . . ."

In all this planning, the Committee proposed that accredited representatives

from the political parties and popular movements in South West Africa should participate.

The People Shall Decide

These proposals of the Committee on South West Africa were in the main the basic recommendations of the petitioners before the Committee in Africa. For example, in a Memorandum presented to the Committee in Accra on the 28/6/61 the South West Africa National Union said:

"... SWANU submits that the first stage of self-determination for the people of South West Africa shall be arranged as follows:

acceptance of the principle that political decisions shall be taken by the people in the country themselves. For purposes of this SWA may be divided into several regions or constituencies from which representatives would be sent to a Constitutional Convention. The Convention will decide on the political arrangements in the country i.e. the form of Constitution and the basis of representation in Parliament or Legislative Assembly as well as the principles to govern elections. The Convention will also address itself to the problems of Administration, the maintenance of peace and security in the country and other matters of importance . . ."

The proposals of the Committee having been tabled by Chairman Febregat of Uruguay, it was expected that they would form the basis for debate. But South Africa, faithfully backed by Portugal whose vote was the only one in her favour, ignored the Report of the Committee and proceeded to argue that 'South West Africa' could not be discussed whilst litigation was pending in the International Court of Justice on the same question. Mr. Louw then announced that his Government would invite 3 former Presidents of the General Assembly to visit South Africa, to submit a Report not to the United Nations but to the South African Government.

Draft Resolutions

Most of the debate centred around several draft resolutions which were more the outcome of the South African proposals than the United Nations Committee recommendations.

The United Kingdom draft resolution virtually recognised that nothing could be achieved without the co-operation of the South African government; that a Special Commission would be set up to make a further study of the "problem" of SWA which would take into account the Report of the Committee of Past

Presidents — and the judgement of the International Court.

That of Sweden was almost the same in effect at least — except that it would bring the activities of the past Presidents of the General Assembly indirectly under the United Nations by having them agreed upon by the current President.

The other Draft Resolution introduced jointly by Cuba, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Morocco and Tunisia was to urge any member of the United Nations or "any person connected with or delegated to the United Nations" to refrain from participation in studies or investigations decided upon unilaterally by the Government of South Africa, and also solemnly to remind the Government of South Africa that any initiative or attempt on its part on any pretext whatsoever to disregard the United Nations would be considered null and void by the United Nations.

This position forced the United Kingdom to withdraw its draft resolution, though after a long fight — and the Fourth Committee to reject the Swedish "draft."

With the rejection of the Swedish resolution the Six Power Resolution was withdrawn by the sponsors in favour of an Afro-Asian one on the lines proposed by the Committee on South West Africa. It was a compromised form of the Afro-Asian group's resolution that was finally adopted as the main resolution on South West Africa.

The United States in their statement strongly condemned South Africa. However their representative stated that nothing should be done that would interfere with 'the most important proceedings' in the International Court. . . There seemed to be several questions on their mind which the Court would have to answer before action could be taken. They made several abortive attempts to amend the main resolution. But had to vote in favour of it in the end.

Foreign Interests Exposed

The Socialist Bloc stood for the strongest possible action to terminate the Administration of South Africa. Yugoslavia whose position was mainly that of the Afro-Asian group insisted that the foreign companies with interests in South West Africa be exposed. This was done by the petitioners in a Memorandum submitted to the Fourth Committee. In the course of the preparation of this Memorandum the petitioners came upon a statement sent by one of these companies to an Organisation that provides Scholarships for Afri-

(Continued on page 16)

GUILTY LAND

Had Patrick van Rensburg been a more sophisticated person he might have remained in the Department of External Affairs — and worked against it. Or having resigned he might have used his knowledge and experience for the new cause he found. He resigned because he "no longer felt conscientiously able to defend the policies of the Union Government . . . I have never since betrayed any one of the official secrets in my possession, either deliberately or accidentally."

This is very pretty, but is it politics, is it a pose? Mr. Connor O'Brien of United Nations in the Congo fame seemed to suffer no such scruples and was all the more effective for that.

This attitude gives a keynote to the book. Having during the course of three years become aware of the nature of the Verwoerd government, he

sacrificed his career to fight it and faced threats and the possibility of assault from opponents who pull no punches and have no scruples. And he still wishes to retain the pose of old-fashioned chivalry.

The autobiographical part of the book is the most interesting. He expresses himself fluently and holds one's interest as he shows how he developed from tolerably ordinary white South Africanhood into something very different.

The second section is an analysis of Afrikaner attitudes to non-white people, from van Riebeeck's day onwards. It is not very accurate, or profound or interesting. Finally, the present policies of the government are dealt with and the author indulges himself in a discussion of his point of view on many questions.

This indulgence is to be regretted. It should have been postponed to a time when he will perhaps have attained

greater clarity and definition in his thinking. To say, as he does: "The West must treat the people of African origin in their midst as they treat themselves, for no other reason than that it is right and just to do so," is to say very little.

Or if ". . . it is difficult to attempt a forecast of what is likely to be the dominant African mood of the future," why bother?

On page 161 we find that "Russia went to war with Hitler . . . having first fought on his side . . ."

It seems that when van Rensburg is not writing against the Verwoerd government he is not as careful about the facts as he should be.

A.L.

"Guilty Land" by Patrick van Rensburg. Jonathan Cape. 215 pages. Penguin Books. (3s.6d. or 35c.)

DIVIDED IN BATTLE

Muriel Horrel has made a significant contribution to South African Trade Union literature. Her book "South African Trade Unionism", is a masterpiece of historical fact and up-to-date statistics — a herculean task involving painstaking research, and exploration of unknown spheres. She has looked into almost every nook and crevice in the Trade Union movement and the result is a satisfying study of South African Trade Unionism. Her grasp of the intricacies of the Trade Union movement will undoubtedly amaze all active Trade Unionists, and arm all those interested in the movement with the information they have for so long been waiting.

Miss Horrel reveals the tragic divisions among the 417,404 organised South African workers and patiently uncovers their differences in approach to Trade Union problems.

She finds as the root cause of trade union disunity, extreme nationalisms and racialism, which are insuperable obstacles to the creation of a single Trade Union centre for South Africa's 248 Trade Unions. Her investigation into the effects of the 1956 Industrial Conciliation Act which required stringent racial separation in the Trade Unions, help us to understand the present structure of the movement.

Miss Horrel also scores a "first", in the field of investigating the Trade Union organisation of African workers. Here she excels in appreciating the entire structure of African Trade Unions, the great difficulties in the way of organising African workers, and the determination with which African workers are rapidly entering the movement. She gives some typical examples of the 454 strikes in which African workers were involved over the past 6 years and exposes the inadequacy of the Native Settlement of Disputes Act which did not prevent almost 40,000 African workers from striking during this period, despite vicious penalties.

A short history of Trade Unionism among white workers, their struggle for recognition and their chronic differences among themselves over the colour bar, provides the reader with a balanced perspective. The entry of Coloured and Indian workers into the movement and their impact on the white workers are also important features of this study.

A large section of the work is devoted to Trade Unionism among African workers. Here too, the early rise of African Trade Unions operate almost has background. The explanation of how African Trade Unions operate, almost has the effect of bringing the reader to the factory gates.

I think Miss Horrel has obtained an astonishing degree of accuracy in this survey, but I cannot agree with some of her interpretations and conclusions.

For instance, she suggests that many Non-White workers are afraid to associate with SACTU because its political sympathies bring workers and their unions into conflict with the employers and the police. I do not concede this to be accurate.

While some Non-White workers may hold this view, our experience has shown that the vast majority fully support SACTU's militant approach to both economic and political problems and follow its lead. It is the paid officials of certain registered unions who fear for the security of their jobs and prefer not to associate their unions with SACTU.

It is also necessary to mention that while the role of SACTU in the movement is fully dealt with (in some cases not too kindly!), particularly the successes and failures of some of the strikes which it has supported, no mention is made of the complete ineffectiveness of the S.A. Trade Union Council and its inactivity since its inception. Miss Horrel does not concede that SACTU is the only vociferous organisation of all the 6 co-ordinating bodies.

Finally, the section dealing with works committees established by employers requires some criticism. While this section reflects excellent research work, and beckons the trade union movement to be on the alert and take stock of its neglect of this new phase in employer-employee contact, Miss Horrel appears to have over-looked the danger to the trade union movement of emergent "company unions". Miss Horrel appears to believe too readily that the workers concerned pin some hope on their employer's "works committees". It is also difficult to agree with Miss Horrel that employer-established works committees may be a good training ground for future trade unionists. In the opinion of most trade unionists they are likely to have the opposite effect.

Notwithstanding some flaws in this work, Miss Horrel's "South African Trade Unionism" is a serious and important study necessary for students of the trade union movements.

LEON LEVY.

"South African Trade Unionism" by Muriel Horrel. Published by S.A. Institute of Race Relations. Price: R1.00.

AFRIKA PUBLICATIONS' BOOKLETS

CHIEF LUTULI Price 10 cents
ANGOLA Price 5 cents
CASTRO'S CUBA Price 5 cents

Send postal order to Box 491
Johannesburg

SOUTH-WEST AND UNO

(Continued from page 14)

can students, which seemed to suggest that these companies had more than mere academic interest in the territory. Part of the statement of the Company to the above-mentioned organisation read as follows:

"There are to my knowledge only two political organisations in S.W.A. which are of any consequence at the present time. These are the South West Africa National Union (SWANU) and the South West Africa Peoples Organisation (SWAPO). The President of each of these Organisations has petitioned before the United Nations on the question of South West Africa. In addition five other members of SWAPO have appeared in New York to advance the cause of the people of SWA. Of all these petitioners only one, Mr. Kozonguizi, who is President of SWANU gives any indication of unfriendliness for and distrust of the United States.

"From a look on the Map of Africa one can easily conclude that some day in the future SWA will be an Independent State. With this as a premise it seems no more than simple logic for the United States to do all in its power to retain the friendship of those political leaders in an independent South West Africa . . ."

Resolution — Adopted

The main Resolution adopted proclaims the inalienable right of the people of South West Africa to self-determination and establishes a United Nations Special Committee to achieve several enumerated objectives in consultation with the Mandatory Power — South Africa; the objectives are:

A Visit to South West Africa before 1 May, 1962;

Evacuation of all military forces of the S.A. Republic;

Release of all political prisoners;

Repeal of all laws or regulations confining the indigenous inhabitants to Reserves etc.;

Preparation for General Elections to the Legislative Assembly based on Universal Adult Suffrage to be held as soon as possible under supervision of U.N.;

Advice and assistance to the Government resulting from the General Elections with a view to reparation of the Territory for full independence;

Co-ordination of the economic and social assistance with which the specialised Agencies of the U.N. will provide the people in order to promote their moral and material welfare;

The return to the territory of the indigenous inhabitants without risk of imprisonment, detention or punishment of any kind because of their political activities in or outside the territory.

Condemn Compromise

An analysis of the main Resolution was made by the representatives of SWANU in New York and submitted to the United Nations subsequent to the adoption of the resolution. Amongst other things it says:

"It is our view that the achievements of the objectives assigned to the U.N. Special Committee is hampered by the provision in the very 2nd Operative paragraph of the resolution which stipulates that the objectives have to be achieved in consultation with the South African Government — which is the Mandatory Power.

"While we do not think that the Special Committee will ever enter South West Africa if this has to be done in consultation with the South African Government we venture to sound a note of warning in good faith, in the hope that the Committee will force their way in.

"The primary task of the Committee should be the termination of the South African Administration in SWA. This will in effect mean the end of all South African Military and Police authority in and the evacuation of their military and Police Forces from the territory. This in our view cannot be effectively achieved unless an alternative arrangement is made beforehand for administration and the maintenance of peace and security. On this we submit that the Special Committee temporarily assumes the functions of an Administrative Authority with the support of a United Nations force . . .

"The second step should be the convening of a Constituent Assembly in which the people themselves will participate to decide on the following: Political arrangements and the Constitution of the Country; Administration; Maintenance of Peace and Security; Technical Assistance."

On the paragraph dealing with the return to the territory of SWA of the indigenous inhabitants abroad without risk of arrest etc., SWANU declared:

"We do not wish to have any special exemptions from imprisonment, detention and punishment while our people continue to be subject to all of these. The freedom we must enjoy is the freedom which we enjoy merely because we shall live in a free Society and not as personal privilege in an enslaved community."

The International Court

It is expected that the argument in the Hague on the question of SWA will begin sometime in the near future. So far two briefs have been filed at the Court. One is the Liberia-Ethiopian putting their case against South Africa. The other is the reply of South Africa. These are mere preliminaries. As far as one can determine from the position taken by South Africa before, it is most certain that she will in the first instance argue that the Court has no jurisdiction. After the Court has ruled on this South Africa may submit that the

Mandate does not exist. The Court will have to give a ruling on this before the argument on whether she has violated the Mandate begins.

So far South Africa has refused to indicate whether she will accept the judgement of the Court. It is hoped that by the time that judgement is given the U.N. will have acquired some teeth and be able to ensure acceptance.

UNO Marking Time

On the whole therefore the position at the end of the 16th (regular) session was as the representative of Mexico had put it. Though the United Nations have moved several steps forward in the declaration of its objectives . . . they now recognise self-government for SWA and not only trusteeship.

They are still marking time in as far as action to achieve these objectives is concerned. The question before the United Nations is not what to achieve but how to break the intransigence of South Africa.

Those of us who think the resolution passed in 1961 brought us nearer freedom than that passed in 1946 will merely have to look to the Congo where up to this moment a Security Council resolution on Katanga and the mercenaries there remains in force rather than enforced.

During the last 3 years as a petitioner to the United Nations I have become satisfied that sympathy for our cause is in abundance there. But I have become more convinced that to convert this sympathy into action the wall of self-interest will have to come down first.

BRIGHTER CLEANERS

229, 2nd AVENUE
WYNBERG

(opp. PUTCO)

Also at 15th AVENUE
ALEXANDRA TOWNSHIP

FINEST VALUE IN PIPES

DR. MACNAB

FILTER

SELECTED
BRIAR



Printed by the Pacific Press (Pty.) Ltd., 302 Fox St.,
Jeppe, Johannesburg.

FIGHTING TALK, FEBRUARY, 1962