

# FIGHTING

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

Vol. 14.

No. 6.

NOVEMBER, 1960

# TALK



## RHODESIA

ABOVE: MEN RETURNING FROM WORK IN BULAWAYO, THROUGH ARMED CORDON.

BELOW: TEAR GAS BOMBS BEING FIRED AT CROWDS IN HARARE TOWNSHIP.

RHODESIA'S CRISIS

## The Monckton Report



## BUSH COURTS IN PONDOLAND



## "END THE ALGERIAN WAR"

The Statement of the 121 French Writers and Artists

Price : 6d.

Annual subscription : 7s.6d.

Overseas subscription : 15s.

A JOURNAL FOR DEMOCRATS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

Produced by the FIGHTING TALK Committee, P.O. Box 1355, Johannesburg.

## THE MONCKTON REPORT

Since the events at the end of July, when troops were used to suppress action taken by African workers in Bulawayo and Salisbury, main resistance to the government of Rhodesia is seen to have spread and gathered in momentum.

In September three strikes broke out in the smaller centres of Rhodesia. Each successive strike proved more militant than the first, and the demands of the workers were met on each occasion.

Later in Gwelo workers took radical action and burnt factories and buildings valued at over £1 million.

Swiftly following on this, Africans in Harare engaged in skirmishes with the police and in Bulawayo a strike was called.

At the time of writing, the armed forces have been called and are patrolling the locations, while Parliament is rushing through a bill to increase the penalties to which all who join in the struggle are liable.

These events are very significant.

They emphasise that what happened in July was not an isolated occurrence — that government attempts to speed up the removal of the colour-bar and establish a machinery for the settlement of wage disputes are not enough. No. The causes of the strikes and riots go far deeper than that.

African workers (and it is workers who have given the lead in all action taken since June) demand an end to unemployment (estimated by industry to be at a level of 76-80 thousand in September) and democracy now.

The government, it appears, has little to offer in this regard and is proceeding apace to increase its legal and military power in order to meet the demands of the people of Southern Rhodesia with naked force.

At the beginning of October, the report of the Monckton Commission was published.

We must remember that the Monckton Commission represented only the British Conservative Government and the Federal Government, for the British Labour Party and Rhodesian and Nyasaland Congress movement boycotted the Commission as it did not appear to have the power to consider the dissolution of the Federation.

In the light of its composition and terms of reference, its Report is a full condemnation of Federation.

Indeed, so hopeless did the prospect of continuing Federation appear that the Commission was forced to consider the question of secession.

The Commission found that Federation had seen a remarkable economic expansion and recommended that some sort of association should continue, as a wider Federal market is more valuable and credit-worthy.

Nevertheless, the overwhelming opposition of the vast majorities of the population to Federation, the Commission found, was not unjustified. Federation has been run for the benefit of the White minority and a small Black middle-class, while the mass of people have found nothing but frustration and oppression in the Federal scheme.

Accordingly the Commission recommends that most of the Federal powers should be returned to the three territories; that at the Federal level, parliamentary representation between Black and White should be on a par-

ity; that the franchise should be extended and African participation in government at the territorial levels should be increased.

And, most important of all, the Report recommends that when these reforms have been carried through, the territories should be given the right to secede.

How are we to view the Report?

The Federal Government is appalled at the concessions made to mass demands, since it considers that only the partnership of the White minority and Black middle-class has the right to determine what shall be and what shall not be.

The Congresses will rejoice that at least their voice has been heard, but will continue on their programme and ignore the report of what they considered a dummy institution.

A dummy institution indeed the Commission was, but the report does highlight that what is wrong with the Federation is not the economic link up, but the political and economic oppression for which Federation is the instrument.

The reforms which it suggests spring from the conservative nature of the body.

What is required in the Federation now is universal suffrage — a democratic government to administer the country.

For the Commission to have recommended that the Federal and Territorial Governments, reformed but still not representative of the majority should have the right to decide on the question of secession is no more likely to solve the problems of the Federation than have been the meagre reforms of the past.

It is suggested that if the African majority assumed control of government over the whole Federal area, the issue of secession would disappear. This is the only solution which can be reached inside the Federal content. It is a solution which the Welensky government will fight with all its might.

Accordingly there is much to be recommended in the policy of the Congresses in the two Northern territories of seeking an escape from all that Federation stands for, but it must be kept in mind that this offers no kind of solution to the people of Southern Rhodesia who see the struggle ahead not so much as against the form of power relations as against the structure of Federation which exist under it.

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Under the Bantu Authorities Act, now being operated in the largest Reserves of the Union, Chiefs have been granted wide civil and criminal jurisdiction. Bantu Authority tribunals — the Chief's Bush Courts — are hard at work trying cases and collecting fines from the people. The work-

ing of the Chief's courts is one of the main grievances behind the unrest in East Pondoland. Govan Mbeki conducted a survey among lawyers and villagers in the Transkei to find out how Bantu Authority justice works.

## THE BUSH COURTS JUSTICE — AND THE BANTU AUTHORITIES

For many years the peculiar situation existed in the reserves where both judicial and administrative functions were held by a single man — the Magistrate and Native Commissioner.

Most cases that came before the courts, especially civil cases, with the possible exception of those involving traders with their debtors, were between Africans. The Native Commissioner presided over these cases.

Apart from faction fighting there is little serious crime in the country areas, so most of the criminal cases in the reserves have arisen out of some law or decree, controlling the lives of rural Africans, that is, a law framed to make the African take his place dutifully in the White supremacy establishment.

### Cutting Out the Lawyers

Anxious to see that government policy is carried out with the least possible hindrance, the Native Commissioners have waged an untiring struggle to eliminate the lawyer from the processes of justice in their courts, and to have disputes between Africans but also criminal prosecutions for contraventions of government decrees settled by the Native Commissioners.

A Xhosa expression sums up the lack of confidence the peasants have in the administration of justice — "ngaphandle kweGqwetha usisisulu setilongo" (the surest way of going to jail is to appear in court without a lawyer).

Bitter legal struggles involving thousands of pounds have taken place in the reserves on measures relating to the administration of land, stock limitation and cattle dipping regulations.

### Fair Price for Time

In dealing with these the Native Commissioners have found the normal legal procedure cumbersome, and the presence of the attorney has delayed the full implementation of Government plans. From the Government point of view it has therefore always been desirable to eliminate the attorney from the machinery of the administration of justice.

On the other hand the peasant believes that by taking advantage of the available legal processes as a form of struggle he delays the evil day when the Government will have

subdued him altogether. And the money spent in that struggle has been quietly accepted as a fair price to buy time.

Now a concerted effort is being made by the Chiefs and Bantu Affairs Department officials to get the people accustomed to Bantu Authorities Tribunals handling all the civil cases between Africans, and all criminal cases that are within the jurisdiction of the Chiefs.

The Nationalist Government has two aims here.

One — the Native Commissioner will be left free to devote all his time to seeing that government policy is carried out, for this rather than judicial officer is his true role.

Two — the Government hopes the Chiefs may succeed where the Native Commissioners have failed, namely, in breaking down the resistance of the peasant and draining him of substance by the imposition of heavy fines for minor offences.

### Promotion for Commissioner's Courts

How is this new machinery working in the Bantustans?

In the first place by the Bantu Authorities Tribunals becoming the courts of first instance, the Native Commissioners' courts — where lawyers may still be briefed — have won a new status. They are now courts of appeal.

My survey in the Transkei shows that both in the districts in which the power of the Chiefs had declined before the establishment of the Bantu Authorities and in those in which the Chiefs still exercise some influence on the people, the civil role in the Native Commissioner's Court has declined noticeably.

\* In the districts where chieftanship has been long established, there is already a noticeable decline in the number of minor criminal cases in the Commissioner Courts' rolls as these have now been diverted to the Bantu Authorities Tribunals.

\* In the districts in which the power of the chiefs had been almost completely broken down the number of criminal cases, which include the appeals from the Chiefs' Bush Courts, is on the increase. This is attributable to the fact that normally law-abiding people have found themselves far more frequently contravening some petty regulations, such as dis-

obeying a chief to whom they do not feel particularly loyal. Almost invariably people convicted in Chiefs' courts for such offences have appealed to the Native Commissioner's Courts, thus swelling the roll.

### Fees to Open the Court

How do these Bush Courts work?

If a complainant wishes the court to take up his case he pays a minimum fee of £1 — a practice which is known as "Ukuvula Inkundla" (To open the Court).

A panel of men appointed by the chief and approved of by the Native Commissioner conducts the case.

It has happened that where the complainant gets a favourable judgement and is awarded damages, he shares the award with the Chief. For instance where a complainant brings an adultery case against another, the complainant invariably wins, and the Chief gets at least a beast out of the bargain or its value in money — £10 to £15..

This has become such a fruitful source of easy income for some chiefs and their hangers-on that in the Transkei's small villages the Chiefs' fast swelling bank and building society accounts have become common talk.

### Professional Accusers

In some areas where the people show a disinclination to hand over cases to the Chief's Court there is developing a group of paid "accusers" who are believed to be acting on chief's instructions, and are furnished with the initial fee of £1 to set the Court's machine in motion.

The function of the accusers is to concoct a civil claim against some of the more wealthy peasants who show any sign of resistance to government policy or the rule of the chiefs.

When the Chief requires the accused to appear before him he usually writes a short note in which he tells him to appear on a certain date, but without stating the purpose.

Naturally this type of procedure is highly resented by the people who often have to travel scores of miles to get to the Bush Court. One man who decided to write to find out what the chief want-

(Continued on page 4)

An interesting situation has developed with the Argus Printing and Publishing Company, the powerful newspaper group which controls South Africa's biggest daily newspapers.

These newspapers are: the Star (Johannesburg), the Cape Argus (Cape Town), the Natal Daily News (Durban), the Friend (Bloemfontein) and the Diamond Fields Advertiser (Kimberley). In addition, the Argus group influences most of the major newspapers in the Federation.

## No Lost Causes

The Argus group has seldom permitted itself the luxury of fighting lost causes. It is reputed to be controlled by its managers, not its editors, and managers are notoriously prosaic people.

The guiding principle of the Argus group through the years has been to keep in as far as possible with the Government of the day.

In the bad old days of John Martin, the mining industry, through the Argus group (and to a lesser extent through the other big newspapers in South Africa), exercised direct and considerable influence on the country's affairs. These days have pass-

ed, but the Argus group, in subtle ways, still manages to remain mildly "persona grata" with the Government, even if Dr. Hertzog does rant periodically about the "mining Press."

In 1939, the Argus group summarily sacked one of its Editors, D. E. McCausland, because he opposed Chamberlain's Munich policy. McCausland was soon proved right, but he was not reinstated.

## Enigma

The interesting situation which has now arisen concerns the Cape Argus, whose Editor has one of the senior posts in the Argus group. The behaviour of the Cape Argus is occasionally erratic, but this year it has been positively enigmatic.

When the Progressive Party was formed, the Cape Argus openly backed it, and it had some rough words to say about the United Party's vacillations.

During the Emergency, the Cape Argus published some remarkably outspoken editorials which were in the best traditions of democratic journalism.

## Somersault

It was about this time, that the Argus underwent a change.

After Dr. Verwoerd's shooting, the Argus continued to speak its mind, but on May 31, when Dr. Verwoerd spoke at the Bloemfontein festival and extended the hand of "co-operation" to the English-speaking section over the question of the republic, the Argus startled its readers with an extraordinary editorial.

It urged its readers to accept Dr. Verwoerd's bona fides. In fact, as later events proved, it was urging its readers to give the republic a try.

The Argus, during the referendum campaign, gravely embarrassed the anti-republican struggle. It just stopped short of telling the Opposition electorate to vote "Yes" for a republic.

The attitude of the Argus to the referendum, by all accounts, was a major topic of discussion in Cape Town. No one could explain it satisfactorily.

Now the Argus has produced some more editorials which have made the enigma even more enigmatic. There has already been speculation on the motives behind these editorials, in which it was suggested that "powerful financial and newspaper interests" were seeking to destroy the United Party and put the Progressive Party in its place as the official Opposition.

The Argus also flayed the "Natal English" for their secessionist thinking and their anti-Indian racialism.

Now, not too much must be read into the Argus's eccentricities, politically. They are possibly just eccentricities.

At the same time, the Argus's pro-republican attitude is probably not a personal eccentricity. Here, in Johannesburg, for example we have just witnessed the curiously luke-warm contribution of the Star towards the referendum campaign.

In the last few days of the referendum campaign, the Star admittedly began to show some interest, but by and large it treated the campaign purely on its news value. It certainly did not break out into all-out opposition to the republic like the Rand Daily Mail, Sunday Times and Cape Times.

## Compromise?

Two matters need watching here. First, just how far will the Argus group go towards keeping in with the Government. (The Natal Daily News must pursue its own course suited to its English-speaking, loyalist readership.) Second, has the Cape Argus overstepped the mark and will another head roll, or are its editorials indicative of things to come?

The behaviour of the Argus newspapers is an important factor in South African politics. The Argus group, according to reports, prides itself on its sensitivity to public opinion. If it has persuaded itself that the Opposition public is ready to compromise, then Dr. Verwoerd is due to receive support from an unexpected quarter.

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## BUSH COURTS . . . Continued from Page 3

ed to see him for received the following reply:

"I wish to inform you that my instructions that you should appear before me on the appointed date cannot be ignored by you. I have to instruct you once more to appear before me at ..... on ..... at ..... Should you fail to comply with this instruction I will be reluctantly compelled to institute compulsory means to cause your appearance as instructed."

## From Lawyer to Paid Chief

To forestall the growth of a disgruntled group of professional men the Nationalist government is already canvassing the few African attorneys in the Transkei to take up positions in the Bantustan scheme of things.

They are being promised positions as "magistrates" and "judges" amongst their people.

One attorney has been appointed a Chief at an official monthly salary of £30 — made up partly from the BAD account and partly from tribal funds.

He will compensate for the loss of his practice by making more money. And in addition he can readily surround himself with comforts by calling upon the people to impose a levy on themselves to buy the chief a car — usually referred to as a "horse for the chief", and in the Transkei a number of chiefs are being bought these "horses."

## Farewell to Reason

Should an increasing number of attorneys choose this easier path to wealth, if to infamy, and in turn the people despair of hope of finding legal protection in the courts of law, we may as well bid farewell to reason.

Here is a sample of the information supplied by a number of attorneys whom I interviewed:

- ★ No attorney is allowed to appear in the Bush Court.
- ★ There is hardly any recording of evidence in these Courts so much so that appeals from them to the Native Commissioner's Courts are HEARD DE NOVO.
- ★ The fines in the bush courts are exorbitant — usually the maximum allowed.
- ★ The chiefs regard the attorneys as a nuisance who undermine their authority and make their work difficult.

A cautious lawyer summed it up with a good deal of understatement:

"I have the impression that the interests of Justice will be jeopardised and there may be malpractices. In the legal profession there is already a certain amount of concern and anxiety over the future of the legal profession.

The chiefs are naturally very proud and conscious of their newly acquired status and are anxious to discourage resort to the ordinary channels of justice as a reflection on their courts."

# The Yankee Stake in Africa

The United States of America had a total of £199.8 million invested in this country at the end of 1959. This is a rise of £28.7 million since 1956. During the same period U.K. investment in S.A. rose by £37.4 million to reach £903. million.

These figures show that the rate of U.S. investment has accelerated by comparison with the U.K.

The mining industry was responsible for the largest share of U.S. investment in the Union. Investment in manufacturing is probably half the amount invested in mining, while trade, both wholesale and retail accounts for slightly less than manufacturing.

## Direct and Non-Direct Investment

Of the total figure invested in the Union, £93.6 millions is liable to the (1) I.M.F. and (2) I.B.R.D.

These organisations granted loans for the purpose of extending and developing transport, railway and harbour facilities. They were made to the Government and to such semi-government agencies as ESCOM.

These loans fall under the non-direct investment sector, as against the direct sector where investments are made in Union undertakings by foreign residents or organisations and "control" is exercised from abroad.

By "control" we mean ownership of at least 25 percent of the voting (or ownership) rights in a Union undertaking by one foreign or several affiliated foreign residents; or ownership of at least 50 per cent of the voting rights in a Union undertaking by various residents of one foreign country. Finally "control" may mean participation by any foreigner in a partnership in the Union.

Direct investment by the U.S. amounts to £136.6 million — an increase of £9.5 million in the last three years. Apart from the gold-mining industry, the U.S. is heavily invested in the automobile industry, drug and cosmetic companies, electrical equipment and appliances, food and beverage manufacture; industrial machinery and equipment; motion picture companies; oil companies; rubber goods and tyres; steel companies; tractors and farm equipment; transport and insurance companies.

## In Fashion Again

Foreign investment by the United States, out of fashion after the defaults of pre-war years, is once again in vogue.

Total private assets invested overseas have risen from \$24,000 million at the end of 1950 to \$43,000 million at the end of 1959.

One indication of the new importance that American companies attach to their foreign operations is the growing practice of providing separate figures for

(1) International Monetary Fund. (2) International Bank of Reconstruction and Development.

"ECONOMIST"  
looks at American investors and  
their policies.

overseas earnings. Until recently, income from abroad was either integrated with the rest of the accounts or brought under an umbrella of "miscellaneous items". The current issue of the New York Stock Exchange magazine proves some interesting examples of the change that has taken place.

It is no surprise to learn that a concern such as Standard Oil derives 66% of its net income from foreign operations. But it is interesting to discover that nearly 3/4ths of National Cash Register sales were overseas; and that International Telephone and Telegraph actually sold more abroad than at home. Foreign earnings of Gillette come to about 45% of the total; Colgate Palmolive sells slightly more at home than abroad and I.B.M.'s international subsidiary reported a net income of \$40 million in 1959. In the early post-war years nearly 40% of the direct overseas capital outlay went into petroleum; recently there has been much more emphasis on the manufacturing industry.

## Profits and Politics

It goes without saying that all the companies mentioned above invest overseas for the returns they can get. The motive is financial gain. Any political motives are subservient to the economic.

This is not the case where money is lent through the United Nations agencies — the I.M.F. and the I.B.R.D. and their latest offspring the International Development Association (the I.D.A.). Here the motives are definitely political although they arise from the long-term fear of the growth of Communism as a rival economic system.

President Eisenhower when addressing the last U.N. session was blunt and to the point in outlining his programme for Africa. He promised international assistance in shaping long-term development programmes. The U.S. would be prepared to pour out this aid on a scale needed to keep Russian subversion in Africa to a minimum.

Eisenhower went on to say that the new leaders of African states must choose whether they want to be helped by the U.S. through the U.N. with no strings attached (provided they don't go Red) or whether they want to risk a Russian bearhug.

This assistance is to come via the I.D.A. which will be administered by the World Bank. It will try to promote economic development by providing finance to the less developed countries on much easier terms than the more conventional loans.

Membership of the I.D.A. is to be open to member-countries of the Bank. I.D.A. subscriptions are to be roughly

proportionate to subscriptions to the Banks capital. Thus the United States would be the largest shareholder, with a subscription of \$320.29 million. The United Kingdom would be the next largest with \$131.14 million. As in the Bank, voting rights in I.D.A. will be roughly proportionate to subscriptions.

So devoted is the U.S. to the aims and objects of the I.D.A., the World Bank and I.M.F. that her balance of payments position is now far from satisfactory. Too much U.S. money and gold have been flowing out, and her reserves are now so low that the position of the dollar in the world currency markets is threatened.

Pressure has now been placed on Western Germany, a country aided by the U.S. and whose reserves have grown, as America's have been depleted to provide greater aid to underdeveloped countries in order to redress this imbalance. Western Germany has agreed. The fear of the Russian bogey has in this case determined a U.S. indirect investment policy that has not been to her immediate interest.

## Watching Those Returns

The extent to which the individual company or group of investors is prepared to interfere in the politics of the country in which their money is invested depends on the extent to which their financial returns are likely to be endangered or enhanced as the case may be.

If their return is satisfactory the investors will be inclined to support the status quo and certainly to fight any threats of change in the economic system. Where Government policy threatens or impairs the financial return the investor will speak out against this policy, and this is what is happening in South Africa today.

The U.S. investor who can see ahead realises that our social and economic policies are incompatible with the peaceful development and growth of the country. Unless a change of direction is forthcoming further insecurity and unrest must follow.

Such conditions are as undesirable to the foreign investor as they are unwanted by our own industrialists.

To ease the tension by the removal of the colour bar and the raising of African wages would result in increased purchasing power and expanding markets that are in the interests of all industrialists operating in the Union.

This is the reason why United States investors such as Engelhard are prepared to criticise official policy and to urge measures to restore the full confidence of the foreign investor. This is attempted influence at government level.

It is highly improbable that the big business investor will associate himself with boycott and pressure action like that contemplated by the American

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# "The Cause of All Free Men"

JEAN PAUL SARTRE, FRANCE'S LEADING PHILOSOPHER AND WRITER, CALLED THE DECLARATION ON THE ALGERIAN WAR OF THE 121 FRENCH INTELLECTUALS "A REVIVAL OF FRENCH INTELLECT."

SIGNED BY FRANCE'S OUTSTANDING WRITERS, POETS, ACTORS, PRODUCERS AND SCIENTISTS, AND HEADED BY SARTRE HIMSELF, SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR AND FRANCOISE SAGAN, THE DECLARATION OF THE 121 SAYS UNEQUIVOCALLY, "THE ALGERIAN PEOPLES CAUSE CONTRIBUTING IN DECISIVE FASHION TO THE RUIN OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM, IS THE CAUSE OF ALL FREE MEN."

"FIGHTING TALK" IS THE FIRST SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLICATION TO PUBLISH THE FULL TEXT OF THE DECLARATION OF THE 121.

forcing citizens under its orders to be accomplices in factious or degrading measures. Need we remind you that 15 years after the destruction of Hitler's regime, French militarism, in meeting the demands of this war, has re-established torture and made it once again a European institution?

\* \* \*

Such are the conditions in which many Frenchmen have been led to re-examine their sense of values and of traditional obligations. What is citizenship if, under certain circumstances, it becomes shameful submission? Are there not cases where the refusal to serve is a sacred duty, where "treason" means a brave respect for what is true? And when, according to the will of those who use it as an instrument of racial or ideological domination, the Army declares itself in overt or covert revolt against democratic institutions, does not revolt against the Army take on another meaning?

The question of conscience arose at the beginning of the war. Since the war went on, it was only natural for this question of conscience to be resolved in a concrete manner, in ever more numerous refusals to submit, desertions, and also offers of help and protection to the Algerian combatants. Such were the free movements which sprung up outside all the official parties, without their assistance and, in the end, in spite of their disavowals. Once again, transcending conventional ranks and ready-made slogans, a resistance has been born, from the spontaneous soundings of conscience, finding and inventing procedures for action and ways of struggling in a new situation, where either because of inertia or the timidity of their doctrines, or because of psychological or nationalistic prejudice, the political groups agree and organs of opinion agree among themselves to recognise neither its meaning nor its real claims.

\* \* \*

The undersigned, considering that everyone must make his position clear, concerning actions which cannot any longer be presented as the day-to-day exploits of individuals; considering it their duty to intervene, according to their position and capacity, not in order to give advice to men who must make up their own minds in matters of such gravity, but in order to ask those who judge them not to be deceived by the ambiguity of words and values, declare:

We respect and consider justified the refusal to take up arms against the Algerian people.

We respect and consider justified the conduct of Frenchmen who deem it their duty to help and protect Algerians oppressed in the name of the French people.

The Algerian people's cause, contributing in decisive fashion to the ruin of the colonial system, is the cause of all free men.

FIGHTING TALK, NOVEMBER, 1960

## The Declaration of the 121

### Concerning the right of refusal to submit in the Algerian War

At the the beginning of last July and on the initiative of several of the signatories, the following declaration was submitted to the consideration of writers, artists, and university teachers, 121 of whom have now endorsed it:

A very important movement is gaining ground in France, about which French and international opinion must be more fully informed, at a time when new developments in the Algerian war should lead us to realise, rather than forget, the gravity of the crisis which began six years ago.

More and more Frenchmen are being prosecuted, imprisoned, and sentenced for refusing to participate in this war or having assisted Algerian combatants. Their reasons, distorted by their opponents, but watered down as well by precisely those whose duty it is to defend them, remain in general misunderstood. It is, however, not enough merely to mention that this resistance to the public authorities is considerable. It is a protest on the part of men whose honour, and whose clear conceptions of the

truth, have been affronted; it has a meaning which transcends the circumstances in which it arose, and which must be kept in mind, whatever events may lead to.

\* \* \*

For Algerians, the struggle carried on either by military or by diplomatic methods involves no ambiguity. It is a war of national independence. But what kind of war is it for the French? It is not a foreign war. French territory has never been threatened. More than this: it is conducted against men whom the State affects to think of as French but who, precisely, are struggling to be so no longer. It would not even be enough to call it a war of conquest or an imperialist war, with the further addition of racism. All wars contain these elements; the ambiguity remains.

In fact, by a decision which constituted a fundamental abuse of its powers, the State in the first place mobilised whole age-groups of citizens with the single aim of carrying out what the State itself described as police measures, against an oppressed population whose revolt was due only to a concern for elementary dignity, since it demanded to be recognised, at last, as an independent community.

Neither war of conquest, nor war of "national defence", nor civil war, the Algerian has, little by little, become an action run by the Army and by one caste, both of whom refuse to yield to this uprising, the sense of which even the civil authorities, conscious of the general downfall of colonial empires, seem ready to acknowledge.

Today, this absurd and criminal conflict is principally kept alive by the wishes of the Army; and because of the political function which several of its high-ranking representatives make it fulfil, this Army, at times openly and ing the mission which the country has violently flouting every law, and betray-entrusted to it, is compromising and risks corrupting the nation itself, by

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Committee on Africa or its South Africa Emergency Campaign.

There is no doubt, though, that the U.S. investor has been hesitant about S.A. since Sharpeville — as the quick selling back of shares demonstrated. The extent to which South Africa can afford to ignore this type of criticism depends on the extent to which she needs foreign capital to finance the country's current and future development requirements.

It is true that South African can now rely on her own resources to a greater extent.

At the same time to maintain a satisfactory rate of growth — as Dr. de Kock reminded us — we are still dependent on foreign capital for that extra thrust. To this extent will the voice of the U.S. investor, amongst others, be of influence.

# Neutralism and Pan-Africanism on the Workers' Front

By R. HAMBLE

Africa's trade unions are like a beehive, buzzing with preparations for the formation of an All-Africa Trade Union Federation, which will unite all the national trade union organisations of Africa into a single body.

One year ago — from November 5 to 9, 1959 — a preparatory conference for the founding of this Pan-African workers' organisation was held in Accra. The conference was attended by delegates from the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, and from Ghana, Guinea, Senegal, Togo, Ivory Coast, Niger, Algeria, Morocco, Egypt, Gambia, Uganda, and Sierra Leone. There were observers from Kenya and Nigeria. Messages of support were received from Nyasaland, Tunisia, Cameroun and Congo.

The Conference adopted an inspiring appeal to African trade union organisations and to all African workers calling on them to unite in an All-African Trade Union Federation "which will make an objective contribution to the struggle for African independence and unity, the development of the wealth of Africa in the interest of the African peoples, the economic improvement of the masses and the raising of their standard of living, and the establishment of true democracy, guaranteeing to everyone liberty, justice, social well-being and peace."

The Conference also adopted an immediate programme of action on the burning questions of the war in Algeria, the atomic tests in the Sahara and racial discrimination in South Africa.

It elected a standing committee of 19 members, including the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions, with headquarters in Accra, which was to convene a Constituent Congress for the founding of the All-Africa Trade Union Federation in mid-May 1960 in Casablanca, Morocco. Unfortunately, this Congress had to be postponed and may now be held in December 1960.

## Trade Union Ambassador

The initial reason for the postponement was stated by the standing committee to be the disturbances in Morocco. The more fundamental reason for the delay in holding the Congress is, however, to allow time to achieve unity of outlook among African trade union organisations on the nature of the new Federation.

To this end, Mr. John Tettegah, Secretary-General of the Ghana T.U.C., has been appointed an ambassador extraordinary by the Ghana Government, and is visiting African trade unions to explain the aims of the proposed Federation

as a prelude to holding of the Constituent Congress.

Practically without exception, genuine trade union organisations in Africa believe that there must be a common fighting front of workers against imperialism, exploitation and discrimination. They are united in the belief that division will weaken the African trade union movement and deflect it from its goal of liberation. They share the view that African trade unions should come together into a single organisation.

But — and this is the obstacle at present — there are differences of opinion regarding the international links of the new Federation.

The majority of national trade union organisations want the All-Africa Trade Union Federation (AATUF) to be independent of both the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), but at the same time — in the words of the Appeal issued by the Preparatory Conference — "to work for loyal co-operation with all national and international (trade union) organisations."

## The Line-Up

How do the countries divide on this issue?

The initiators of regional African trade union unity in recent years have been the trade unions of what was formerly French West Africa. In 1957 the majority of these unions formed the Union General des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire (UGTAN) free of all international affiliation, whose aim was "to unite and organise the workers of Africa, to co-ordinate their trade union activities in the struggle against the colonial regime and all other forms of exploitation . . ."

Since its formation this body has worked for "neutralism" of the African trade unions between West and East.

The Ghana T.U.C. — from the time of its disaffiliation from the ICFTU in 1959 — has strongly supported this view. The Ghana unions have called for the abandonment of "sterile partisanship" between rival international organisations by the African workers, encouraging them instead to unite for the common goal of African liberation.

The Egyptian unions have consistently followed the UGTAN line.

The Union Marocaine de Travail (Morocco), though affiliated to the ICFTU,

played a leading part in the Accra Conference, but since the recent political changes in Morocco its position is not clear.

In the Congo the unions are in confusion at present owing to the imperialist intervention, but a number of contacts have been made with the UGTAN leaders.

The most staunch supporter of the ICFTU in Africa at present is Tom Mboya, leader of the Kenya Federation of Labour, who did not attend the Accra Conference last November, but who has since declared: "Our position is that we believe firmly in continued affiliation with the ICFTU."

Similarly the Union General des Travailleurs Tunisiens (Tunisia) wants the new body to be linked to the ICFTU. The ICFTU affiliates in East Africa, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are in favour of the AATUF but want to keep ICFTU affiliation.

Nevertheless even in these countries there is some opposition to affiliation to the ICFTU. For example, in Northern Rhodesia several unions are opposing Lawrence Katilungu, leader of the TUC, because they believe that the Northern Rhodesian unions must take political action; in Nyasaland the official newspaper of the Malawi Congress has recently attacked the Nyasaland TUC for accepting ICFTU funds; in Nigeria the trade union movement is split between two bodies, the TUC of Nigeria — affiliated to the ICFTU — and the Nigerian TUC which is in favour of the UGTAN policy for a neutral AATUF.

The present position has been summed up by a Guinean trade unionist as follows: "The majority of unions wishing to cling to the ICFTU are still under colonial domination. Once they are independent they will feel the need to withdraw or else the people will force them to."

The rapid growth of the liberation movement in Africa and the spread of trade unionism is making the need for working-class unity in Africa greater by the day.

Despite certain differences of opinion there can be no doubt that the All-Africa Trade Union Federation will soon be formed.

This will be a tremendous step forward for workers' unity in Africa and the world, and a great contribution to freedom of all African peoples.

Footnote: For an analysis of the I.C.F.T.U.'s role in Africa, see *Fighting Talk*, February, 1960.

# "The Second Last Laugh"

By CHARLES HOOPER

*Among the remote, fertile hills close to the borders of Bechuanaland live the Bafarutse tribe; a pastoral and perhaps primitive people, but, for all that, fully conscious of their dignity as human beings.*

*In the book BRIEF AUTHORITY by Charles Hooper (Collins 21/-) the story is told of the conflict that was precipitated in 1937 between the women of this tribe and their white masters over the enforcement of a new pass law—a conflict which has particular reference today after the announcement that Forward is reintroducing pass laws and Reference Book for all African women. It started with passive resistance, but with the arrival of squads of riot police, it developed into violence.*

*The story, part of which we reprint here, is told by an Anglican missionary—a South African born and bred—who did not wish to become a public figure but could not help being drawn into the very centre of the struggle. When this happened he had no doubt as to where he should stand. At the time the area was sealed off, apart from the police and officials of the South African Government, Charles Hooper and his wife were the only white people with access to the district until they too were banned from the reserves. To the people of the Bafarutse, and to the hundreds who fled from their homes, his rectory became the one place of refuge, comfort and counsel.*

Without demer the women concerned converged at the right time on the right day upon the appointed place. A Nyton or two of the Mobile Column came to collect them, a sergeant in command. Expecting to find about two dozen women, he drove up to find two hundred patiently gathered together under the trees and in the open . . .

The immediate difficulty confronting the sergeant lay in transporting his record haul to Zeerust; he did not, it would seem, consider what would happen when he got them there. Putting through a call to Zeerust, he hired two Railway buses, though he cannot have passed to wonder who would pay for them. With each step he sank deeper into the morass.

The buses came. The women, singing now, climbed on. The buses left, and carried away their load to Zeerust. The women, singing still, climbed off. They filed into the yard of the police station, filling it in a pacific, chanting torrent . . .

Two hundred and thirty elementary systems, arrested after breakfast, do not lightly cease to function, even for the police . . . a state of emergency arose. Between the police station and the Dopper Kerk there is an unused piece of ground left to the whim of grass and a few bushes. Parties of captive women began to make their way across the road to this far wast of better sanitation. They went unescorted, perhaps because there were no wardresses; or, it may be, because the police by this time were yearning for them to escape. But, relieved, they returned, singing. Policemen quarrelled in the buildings and tried irritably to ascertain what one did next. Then the African constables were lined up and told what might happen to them if rumour leaked out of the inner discussion.

The women could not stay, so much was clear . . . The sergeant employed his reasoning manner, and his own version of native idiom . . . he explained that the company would have to appear in Zeerust for trial in three weeks' time. And now, he concluded, as a sign of his clemency he would not put the women in goal; he would, instead, let them go. They were free to go.

The women made no move.

"Without the buses?" they said, "we must stay where we are. It is too far to walk, and now it is night. The police brought us in buses; now the sergeant our **baas** must take us back in buses."

The sergeant refused; there was still the problem of who would pay for the morning's transport.

"No, it is all right," agreed the women. "We do not mind. We can stay here until the time of our trial. There is no hurry. To us, three weeks is nothing."

Did the women, the sergeant wished to know, think that the police station was a hotel?

"No, it is not a hotel. But it will do. We stay now until the buses come to take us home."

In the morning, having slept in the open yard, they all went back to Gopane in Railway buses.

The day of the trial found African Zeerust expectant. The advocate came from Johannesburg for the defence. Police came from Rustenburg. Everybody who mattered was there. Except the two hundred and thirty-three accused women; of them there was no sign, not even a cloud of dust on the north-west horizon. The time set for the trial passed and receded.

The Gopane detachment telephoned through to their colleague in Zeerust. They had discovered the cause of the trouble; the women had no transport. They were gathered together, ready to go at the first sign of a bus. There seemed to be a lot of them; they all appeared to be there waiting, and singing.

In Zeerust the man responsible for the arrests began to grow desperate, ready to clutch at any stray to ease his reputation. He clutched, startingly, at counsel for the defence.

"Hey man," he appealed, "you go out and get them. You're their lawyer. They'll listen to you. I'll take you in a police car."

"Oh, no," replied the advocate, "the functions of a barrister are clearly defined; they don't include persuading the people you arrest to come to court. Oh no. And besides, what sort of confidence do you think my clients would have in me if I appeared in Gopane, with you, in a police car?"

Hurriedly two buses were chartered in Zeerust and sent to Gopane, while the morning wore away. The buses reached their destination, and the multitude prepared to board them.

"Five and twopenny," said the drivers to the women at the front of the crowd.

"What?"

"You got to pay your fare before you get on."

"No, the sergeant invites us to be tried. He will pay."

"He says you must pay yourselves this time."

"That is not possible. We will not get on your buses. We have no money. We wish to speak personally with the sergeant our **baas** to clear up this misunderstanding. Send for our **baas**. We do not trust you."

The buses returned to Zeerust . . .

Later in Gopane the sergeant, leaving his convey of vehicles outside the village, was acclaimed by a multitude of women, professing themselves delighted to see him at last. The forest had receded; there were now about four hundred.

They were indignant, they said, about the deception which the drivers have tried to practice on them. They knew it

could not possibly be true that their **baas**, who wished them to be tried, should make them pay their fare to Zeerust. The sergeant gave in. All right, he agreed, they could go to Zeerust without paying for the ride. He ordered them to make for the waiting police vehicles, having less ability to separate out two hundred from four hundred than he had formerly to winnow twenty from the two hundred.

The women lunged back. The sergeant raised his voice. The women explained.

"It is not," they said, "that we set wish to go to be tried. But something holds us up. It is true that we hate the looks that we have earned our passers. But there are other women like us. We must fetch them first. Then our numbers will be complete, and then we shall all go to **gaol**."

The sergeant expostulated. The women were adamant. They sat down on the grass. The sergeant had either to open fire on them, to best a retreat or to give in to their demand. He gave in.

"Yes," said the women, "we will take our **baas** to fetch these barreters of books. . . ."

Eventually the women agreed that all the malcontents of Gopane were present. They stood up and formed a procession. Singing, they surrounded the sergeant and his aides and began to march towards the inadequate transport. Their song was satiric and ribald. They were, they declared, a swarm of bees; they made reference to the strange metamorphosis which had overtaken the "queen" in their midst. They were, they pronounced, a marriage procession; they commented on the shape and unconventional bridal ornament of their groom.

Anxious but entranced, the men and children of the village watched from behind houses, trees and bushes. The dust, they told us, rose into the air as though from a mammoth herd of cattle, and hung above the phalanx in the afternoon sun.

One of the men who told us this part of the story looked over on the grass holding his middle, his articulation hindered by the choking spasms of laughter.

"It was a thing to remember. A magnificent sight. But it was not what we saw merry. It was what the women sang. It is fortunate that there was nobody to intercept to him what they sang. They made many verses, but only one chorus. Only one refrain. Like this:

Behold us joyful,  
The women of Africa,  
In the presence of our **baas**;  
the great one  
Who conquers Lefarutse  
With his knobkerrie,  
And his assegai,  
And his gun."

A sudden change came over the women. Their singing ceased abruptly as they turned aside from the road with one accord and sat down in the grass on the verges. The earth, it is said, creaked beneath the weight of four hundred impassible Bafarutse bottoms.

"No, our **baas**," they explained to their captor. "We are tired now. Night is drawing on and Zeerust is far. We have helped you all day. We cannot walk further. We are only women. We are weary."

Nothing would move them.

The sergeant's day collapsed. The women sought to cheer him up, as he headed by the Nytons, by singing in time to his stride. He disappeared from view. Within minutes, not a woman was in sight.

There were, to begin with, several hundred versions of this story. Within a day or two there were several thousand. They did not vary very much, and it is certain that, for once, the **baas** of Lefarutse returned to Zeerust empty-handed.

For a while he persisted in an attempt to reduce the two hundred and thirty-three charges to the original twenty-four or five. But the women were elusive.

In the end, the attempt to bring a case collapsed.

Towards the end of August, as spring was beginning to supersede the quiescence of winter, an unknown man appeared one day at Gopane while the Mobile Column were elsewhere. Children headed for school claim to have seen him. Women say they saw him come, and so do some of the men. All agree that he was a complete stranger, a man who appeared unannounced from nowhere, and later slipped away untraced.

"Perhaps," I suggested to the woman who first told us this story, "he arrived in a flying saucer. Perhaps he came from Mars."

"Oh, no, Father," she replied, with secret mischief in her smile, "not Mars. You see, he spoke perfect Tswana."

"Oh."

As the day wore on village men, going about their business found the stranger spouting by the road. Curiousities were exchanged.

"The day is still warm," a man remarked to the visitor.

"Indeed it is pleasant after winter."

"But why, if you find the day warm, do you build yourself a fire? You do not need a fire when the sun is shining like this."

"The day is warm," replied the unknown man, "but I am cold."

"Ah, I see." The questioner uttered further pleasantries and then moved on.

A group of women carrying pails to the water greeted him as he warmed his hands. They, too, commented on the fire, the more inexplicable since it was obvious that its maker was growing uncomfortably hot.

"No," he replied in answer to their questions, "it is nothing like this fire. I made it for my amusement. Sometimes a man may make a fire to keep his limbs warm; or a woman in order to cook some meat. A fire has many uses. People are known to clear away rubbish by burning it in a fire." He paused. Elaborately as though struck blind. He uttered his thought: "If you have rubbish to destroy, you may burn it in this fire. The fire is lit already."

"But notice," he added, "I do not invite you to burn your Reference Books. I am a man of peace. I do not snatch away your books or threaten you. I sit quietly beside my fire and I say only this: If you have rubbish to burn, at my easy the women of other villages who have freed themselves of the passes—well, the fire is here and it will save you trouble."

The women were a little shy of this man. They took their buckets to the pump and went their ways, no doubt (if the story has any substance) a little thoughtful. The man preferred away at his little bonfire, answering men vaguely and women with oblique epigrams. A Reference Book appeared in the fire. Others followed. Women sauntered past with their books concealed in skirt or blouse passed for a minute to drop them surreptitiously into the fire. It soon ceased no further trading, and its mysterious stoker slipped away into oblivion. So it is said.

By evening (and about this there is no doubt) there were several hundred bonfires in the village, each one kept going on paper fuel. With neither fun, riot, nor undue publicity, and in full knowledge of the reprisals which had succeeded earlier burnings, the women of Gopane watched their passes burn to ashes. The men of the village moved about anxiously, wishing neither to interfere— it is said they were a little nervous of the woman's calm activity—nor to invite the Mobile Column.

## The Women Converged

Chief Alfred Gopane took the only course open to him. A little tardily, when the burnings were all over, he informed his superiors of events in his village. The Mobile Column came, and from its sources compiled a list of about a score of women alleged to have taken part in Gopane's cleansing ritual. The women were nowhere about. Instructions were left that the village authorities were to see that these women reported at a certain time to be taken into Zeerust. The Mobile Column departed.



# "Anglicans and Agitators"

In Pondoland last week, so we are told by the press, 13,000 Pondo tribesmen stood in the rain to listen to the report of the Commission of Inquiry into the troubles and struggles which have convulsed the area.

"Mr. van Heerden, chairman of the inquiry and Chief Bantu Commissioner for the Ciskei" I read in the Star, "told the Pondos that though some of their complaints were justified, they had acted in the wrong way in bringing these to the Government's attention . . . The people had been seriously misled. They were told that the Government was against them. But this was not so . . ."

Somewhere I had read this all before. I turned back to the book I had laid down the night before, Reverend Charles Hooper's "Brief Authority." It is the story of the events in Zeerust in the years 1958 and '59. I turned back to the portion dealing with that Commission of Inquiry; but I was wrong. The Zeerust Commission's report was never made public; but the evidence struck the same note.

"The Native Commissioner . . . laid the main blame for the tumult in the area upon 'agitators'." "The representatives of the Native Affairs Department, of the police, of the pro-Government chiefs and of white Zeerust, blamed 'agitators', the ANC, Anglican missionaries and, surprisingly, the benevolence of the Native Affairs Department, which said the Mayor of Zeerust, employed measures 'too soft and too slow'."

Clearly, officialdom learns nothing. The troubles in Zeerust were a warning of the troubles that would surely break out elsewhere where the pattern of apartheid was being foisted on the rural population. Only the details are different.

Zeerust's troubles, into which Reverend Hooper — or to quote the Native Commissioner "a so-called godly teacher Eerwaarde Hooper"—was rudely plunged, started with the issue of 'reference books' to women. Or rather, over the women's widespread refusal to be issued with 'reference books.' From there on it followed the pattern of Pondoland, with variations only of detail. Chief Abram Moiloa was summarily deposed by the government. Reverend Hooper describes the scene.

"By nine o'clock the kgotla was well filled. At ten o'clock . . . the Chief Regional Commissioner walked into the semi-enclosure where the senior men of the tribe were gathered, Abram presiding. "Is that" he asked Abram, "the chair of the Chief in which you are sitting?" Abram said it was. "Then get out of that chair . . . You are chief no longer. You are deposed. In fourteen days be out of this village. Without the permission of the Native Commissioner you are not to return. Understand?"

Chief Abram's sins were several. He had delayed, in 1955, to sign the Bantu Authorities Act, in terms of which, to use Hooper's description, "The tribal chief must become a minor official of the Native Affairs Department, not included in its counsels but bound to obedience." He had questioned the wisdom of issuing passes to women, but had carried out the Commissioner's orders to tell the women of the law. "I tell you only what I am bidden to tell you" he told a meeting of women. "That matter rests between you and the White authorities. Consider well how you intend to act." His deposition a week later was the signal for strife.

As in Pondoland, so here; the Bantu Authorities Act served as the Government excuse for the violent punitive action against the people. But to the people it became the focus of a struggle against the reference books, and for the established, democratic order of tribal life.

Zeerust's pattern is different from Pondoland's. But only in its details. Here tribal resistance was met with a special police "Mobile Column", which roved the area, wantonly assaulting, beating and batoning African women. In Pondoland, armed police opened fire on a gathering of tribesmen, killing at least eleven and wounding an untold number more. Here, Africans who laid charges of assault against the police were blandly told that 'the Attorney General declines to prosecute.' In Pondoland, the victims of the shootings have been charged with public violence. Here, attorneys hired for the defence of people arrested by the Mobile Column have been harried, obstructed, by-passed by the trial and sentencing of people on the same day as their arrest. In Pondoland, they have been shut out by the refusal of permits to enter — in the case of an Indian lawyer — and by confinement to Durban by ministerial order in the case of a European.

Hooper traces patiently the effect of all this violence and terror in Zeerust. It is a picture too well-known in South Africa. It is a picture of passive, non-violent people's resistance to injustice; followed by government and police terror; followed by the growth of armed 'bodyguards' for the new tribal puppets, taking to themselves the tactics of their masters and starting a new régime of assaults, beatings and savagery; and ending inevitably in the retaliation of incensed people against the Bantu Authorities strong-arm squads in hut-burnings, shootings and murder. As in Zeerust, so too in Pondoland. Is it that this is the aim and the desire of the Government? Or is just that officialdom learns nothing?

Perhaps the parallels between the two areas should not be taken too far. For while officialdom learns nothing from experience, clearly the people do. Pon-

## The Zeerust Story

doland has learnt from the experience of Zeerust. Its bitter, gallant struggle against government forces does not take place in muffled silence, known only to the few outside its borders who take the trouble to find out what is happening. Pondoland's case is being put forcibly, openly at mass gatherings in the area, relayed by Pondo representatives to UNO and the world, broadcast to the whole country.

Inside Pondoland itself, the struggle does not spend itself in bitter civil strife, but has given birth to new, popularly based tribal authorities — without capital letters — which have the allegiance of the people, run tribal courts for the settlement of disputes, collect tribal funds and administer the areas where Verwoerd's Bantu Authority dares not enter.

From Zeerust's temporary defeat, Pondoland has learnt the lesson of organisation, of alliance with the liberation movements in the cities outside the tribal areas. Here, if the Government wants to find the 'agitators', in this experience learnt from other areas, is the real outside influence which leads — or as the Commission of Inquiry has it, 'misleads' — the Pondo people in their struggle against justified grievance.

Reverend Hooper tells the tale brilliantly and movingly. His is the view of the outsider looking in at Zeerust — neither of the tribes people nor of the White authority. But it is far from the detached, press-reporter's story. Hooper comes through the pages of his book as a man of great humanity and compassion. His mission in Zeerust was that of the Anglican church; but never does he forget that his mission is with people who must live, suffer and struggle even as they seek salvation. Such a man inevitably follows the great leaders of his faith — Huddleston, Reeves, De Blank — to the side of the African people, some heathen, some Christian, against a state which persecutes and brutalises them in the name of Christian order. And like Bishop Reeves, Hooper has paid the price — exile from his parish and the place of his Christian mission.

"This is another partisan book" he writes in a preface. "It does not set out to present a god's-eye view of events. It is an attempt to relate, with truth in perspective and accuracy in detail . . ."

The attempt succeeds magnificently, making a cohesive, understandable whole of the fragmentary picture most of us have been able to glean up to now of one of the momentous pioneering episodes in the history of South African freedom. It is, probably, the best writing (Continued at foot of next column)

# The Writers of Africa

**An African Treasury:** Langston Hughes.

As might be expected from a writer of distinction, who is also a perceptive outsider, Langston Hughes has compiled a very pleasing collection. Though he makes it clear that he has been guided entirely by his personal enjoyment, the result is just what one expects an Anthology to be; balanced, varied and representative.

In each of the five sections — articles, miscellaneous, essays, stories, poetry — there are things to please everyone.

Here are all the "Anthology Pieces": Peter Abraham's polished "The Blacks" Can Tima's brittle "Requiem for Sophiatown" Phyllis Mtantala's "Widows of the Reserves" Richard Rive's "The Bench" and in the poetry Senghor's "To the American Negro" and Litashé's "Weapon."

In addition there are the statements of aims — Mboya on African Freedom and Nkrumah to the U.S. Senate which are in a sense "sources" on African politics.

For good measure Hughes adds Trivia; Todd Matshikiza and Marion Morel from the columns of Drum and Folk tales and tribal proverbs together with a Lonely Hearts column.

Best of all are the bonuses — worthwhile works on which one comes unexpectedly like the scholarly essay on "Africa and the Cinema" by Koyinde Vaughn of Nigeria and Abioseh Nicol's "As the Night, the Day."

Must of the material has never been published' in addition the Anthologist culled from a wide variety of publications including "Drum", "Black Orpheus", "Encounter" and "New Statesmen."

Fighting Talk appears twice: Zeke Mphahlele's "Accra Conference Diary" and Tennyson Makiwane's "Fragment on African Work Songs."

The poetry section is surprisingly thin and one is inclined to agree with Zeke's comment in a recent New Statesman essay "There is no English Poetry by Africans of any significance. The verse that is really important is to be richness of this verse lies in the symbolism and earthy rhythms of everyday language, which have something to do with poetry as a state of mind."

Zeke makes a further perceptive comment: "It is impossible for a writer who

ten book yet that has come out of our history.

But one detail puzzles me. Whose is the Brief Authority? Hooper's brief mission to Zeerust, until ended by the combined opposition of Government and local White reactionaries? Or Verwoerd's Bantu Authority, for whom Zeerust was the storm-cloud on the horizon and Pondoland the cloudburst?

**Brief Authority.** By Charles Hooper. Published by Collins.

lives in oppression to organise his whole personality into creating a novel. The short story is used as a short cut to prose meaning and one gets some things off one's chest in quick time."

Though this is an Anthology and therefore most of the pieces are naturally short, one is uneasily aware of an episodic quality in much of the writing and senses a lack of stamina.

For most, the "protest" writing will have the greatest interest and they will not be disappointed. The resentment against oppression and the will to destroy it are fully represented. From Abioseh Nicol's urbane "Return to West Africa" to Bloke Modisane's shrill "Why I ran away" the documentation is complete and one is able to get a very full and very fair picture of the political ferment which stirs our continent.

Despite a strident blurb the book does not bring us any nearer to an understanding of the term "African Personality." Indeed its very diversity strengthens the impression that the term is mere mystique.

But its diversity is the chief virtue of a thoroughly enjoyable Treasury.

M. & D.B.

## The Fort Hare Story?

**The College Brew:** Leo Kuper  
Price: 8s.

South African politics, they say, will be neither sane nor civilised until we learn to laugh at ourselves. This may or may not be true, but certainly our politics remain insane and uncivilised and there have been singularly few successful attempts at satire.

Professor Leo Kuper's "The College Brew" will not improve the position!

The story principally revolves around the tribal college of Umbumbulu — not too near Durban — Colin Holland, a lecturer in Bantu Languages, Dr. van Tonder, Director of Academic Insemination and Moses Mabubane, "Youth Leader of the African National Congress" and the rest of the Staff and Students. They are required to celebrate June 26th as the Independence Day of the Zulus and the resentment of the students is focussed on this. But a decision to move the African Staff to a new Group Area sparks off an incident in which van Ton-

(Continued on page 12)

## The Book Trade Bans Itself

It should surprise no one that the South African government has banned "Brief Authority." The surprising fact is that one of the country's largest book distributors sent an advance proof copy of the book to the Customs Department, and asked whether the importation of the book would be permitted! Faced thus with the suggestion that even the distributor thought the Rev. Hooper's book would prove too prickly for the sensitive skin of the government, the Customs Department turned 'Brief Authority' down. Shortly afterwards, it was declared "undesirable", and banned from importation into this country.

Several publisher's agents and distributors have fallen into the habit of asking for Customs Department "advice" on books before their importation, and thus providing the banning of books before any copies can circulate in this country.

In the case of Bishop Reeves' "Is South Africa a Police State" the publisher's agent in this country advised the publishers that the book should not be supplied to local shops because of the State of Emergency. Booksellers, were, accordingly, not offered the book early on, in time to place orders — and for some while the book was on a publisher's black list, even when the State of Emergency had lapsed!

In slightly different fashion, an-

other novel by a clergyman, this time a Roman Catholic writing under the pseudonym of O'Donnell, has been brought sharply to the attention of the book-banners early on in its career. This is "The Night Cometh", a novel telling of the plight of the Coloured people caught in South Africa's colour-bar mad-house. This time, the warning to the censors was a well-publicised attack on the book by an obscure priest, calling for its suppression.

It is high time that the book censors were left to do their own dirty work for themselves, without the voluntary assistance of the book trade — or individuals. They know too well how to cast their net far and wide. The same Government Gazette which announced the banning of 'Brief Authority' also banned:

**The Second Sex:** a new, paper-back edition of part of Simone de Beauvoir's detailed sociological study of the social position of women through the ages.

**Kingsblood Royal:** Sinclair Lewis' novel about a White American who delves back into his family tree and discovers a Coloured ancestor — and lets his friends and business associates know about it!

**Nyasaland Demands Secession and Independence:** An appeal to the peoples of Africa, by one of the most prominent of Nyasaland's political leaders.

# Letter from London

The week was filled with comments on the Monckton Commission Report published on Tuesday evening. The recommendations for immediate constitutional reforms and for the right to individual secession within five years, coming as they do from an essentially centre and right wing set of commissioners, have rallied the bulk of the Establishment and all the press—with the exception of Beaverbrooks papers—to a recognition that Federation may survive — few are prepared any longer to believe that it will — only if radical reforms are immediately introduced to meet at least part of the way the demands of African nationalism. A rebellion is, of course, mounting against the Report within the Conservative Party; and those members who are still living in the 1930's are agitating for the Report to be shelved as the Devlin Commission Report on the Nyasaland disturbances was shelved. But Iain MacLeod, the Colonial Secretary, is fundamentally a realist, with an acute recognition of where ultimate power in Central Africa now lies, and he is held to have the confidence and support of the Prime Minister. Conservative rebellions are not usually permitted to go far, and the recalcitrants are soon enough likely to be whipped into place if they show any signs of strain. Sir Roy is spending what must amount to tens of thousands of pounds in a publicity drive that absorbs full page advertisements in all the import-

ant daily and weekly papers. But his campaign seems set to win as much effective and influential support as South Africa's State Information Office has accomplished by its own exertions over the past few years.

Nigeria's accession to independence and membership of the Commonwealth has altered the balance of pressures upon the British Government beyond recognition. The British Prime Minister is known to have been greatly impressed during his African tour by the size and the economic potential of Nigeria. He is likely to treat its attitude to the Federation with some respect. I cannot myself see how the Federation can survive the combined attacks of black Africa and an increasingly aware British Establishment. The problem seems more and more to be what a solitary Southern Rhodesia is likely to do. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland may join an East and Central Africa Federation with Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar, accompanied by the blessings of all those in Britain who are now astute enough to acknowledge the only situation in which a British presence in Africa can survive. Is South Africa likely to get a sixth province as a result? With an addition of 200,000 whites and 2,500,000 blacks to the present collision?

## And Books . . .

(Continued from page 11)

der is immersed in a brewing tank. The rest of the plot is taken up with spirit-ing away the culprits, and the intrigues of witness Shabalala, the student-informer.

If satire depends on exaggeration in order to ridicule, then he has missed the mark, for his book is either too true or too untrue to be satirical. Lapas, student-informers, Special Branch detectives on the campus, clap-trap about tribal universities: this is not exaggeration but grim reality. (It is to the author's credit that he envisaged all this even before the tribal colleges were set up, but it does not make for satire.)

Other themes are too untrue to be satirical: the whole story of "Van Tonder's Elixir," — from which is derived the college brew of the title — belongs to the realm of fantasy, not satire. Not that there are not some really funny things in the book — the dinner farce, for instance, and the Python dance of the girl-students which ends with them encircling Van Tonder so that he calls loudly for the Security Police.

There are, occasional gleams of satire — the withdrawal of the women visitors because the dance costumes were "an affront to the purity of our womanhood" while the men remain, the Professor's wife who complains she can't learn primitive Bantu languages when someone shows off her Italian, and who retorts after a correction, "Well, what's the difference?"; but these gems are carelessly scattered in

a rubble of adolescent punning, farce and comedy.

But it is the grim truth of the book that makes it so consistently unfunny!

There is nothing funny in statements like: "The task of selecting what is compatible with the social organisation and traditional culture of the Zulus can only be performed by White men. But we are sincere when we say that ultimately you yourselves will form the Council and Senate, and we will become the advisers. We are sincere when we say that we have separated you out of a sense of justice, because it is human nature that the strong should dominate the weak, and we want to free you from domination." They are too near the ugly reality to be funny.

The little book, proceeds of which will go to NUSAS, offers amusement as well as an insight into the insane logic of apartheid.

\* \*

## The Story

### That Fails

**The Night Cometh:** Eugene O'Donnell. Sidgwick & Jackson.  
Price: 17s.6d.

There are so many bad things about this badly-contrived novel, that one had better notice the good things first. A knowledge of Cape Town and especially District Six, an understanding of some strata of the Coloured people and a keen awareness of the viciousness of apartheid in all its multiple manifestations; this is the basic material of the novel.

But on this basis the author, a Catholic Priest, has constructed "a neurotic melodrama" — his own phrase for the plans of the central character, Manuel Erispe.

Erispe, a frustrated Coloured "intellectual" (a doctor), has an affair with Rachel Segallas, a ballet dancer, and later loses her because he is determined not to marry or have children in a world dominated by the racial prejudice of the Whites. After he has lost her, he rapes the White novice-nun, Anne Halvorsen, who has been trying to convert him, in the wild idea of taking revenge on the religion he has rejected and the Whites whose rejection he has to suffer daily.

Later, when she has gone back to America she writes that she is pregnant and he thinks grimly of the child who will teach her "in this world there is privilege only for one colour." He waits furiously in his neurotic bitterness for the time when all men of colour will rise to slit the throats of the Whites.

There is a great deal more to the novel — police brutality and shootings, political demonstrations and discussions which bring into sharp focus the ugliness of apartheid and racialism. For outside consumption this is as impressive an indictment of oppression as one could wish for.

But as literature it fails. It is too obviously a contrived documentary of the South African scene and Manuel Erispe is too wildly pathological to be representative or even true.

D.B.

# Poverty in the Protectorates

## THE MEAGRE BALANCE SHEET OF THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

By M. MULLER

of economic advance they are forced, for the time being, to live with the Union as a separate state. They will have to make deals with Union financiers and the Union Government for without them plans for major projects will come to naught. They are patriotic enough and astute enough to do this without endangering their political independence. The final adjustment remains to be made by the free peoples of South Africa.

### Challenge

The Mission says of the Protectorates that "their people, if suitably educated, are presumably capable of managing the land for increased productivity, and of entering productively into other types of work as opportunities lengthen." Here is a political and economic challenge the people dare not evade: there is an overtone of insult in that word "presumably."

There is much that the people can do for themselves for their own direct and immediate benefit. To plan and organise and work hard co-operatively will not only improve living standards but will advance the day of political independence. It will be a good follow-up of the work of this Mission if the political, business and tribal leaders of each territory can now make their own survey of what the people themselves can do communally and co-operatively.

This does not absolve the Government from its responsibilities, but can be a means of pressure to see that these responsibilities are more fully met. Let it be shown that, despite the handicaps of the policy of neglect, the peoples of the Protectorates are capable of fully taking their place in a modern and free Africa.

Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland: Report of an Economic Survey Mission. Publ. by Her Majesty's Stationery Office. 22/6.

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TALK**

The burden of past neglect is the first obstacle to the economic advance of the Protectorates. This comes out clearly from the Report of the Economic Survey Mission which has just completed the most comprehensive investigation ever undertaken into the economics of the three High Commission Territories.

Without moralising, the Report nevertheless indicts the British colonial administration for its past attitude of regarding the Protectorates as so many 'Native Reserves' dependent for survival solely on the export of their manpower to the Union's mines, farms and industries.

In Bechuanaland until recently "vocational and technical training were almost non-existent in the Protectorate."

Basutoland has only one school which is financed entirely by the Government.

The Report talks about the "general inadequacy of the Territorial road system" which is clearly due to their having been starved of funds over a long period."

The equipment at the Maseru telephone exchange was installed in 1895.

Soil erosion even today is outpacing soil conservation.

In no Territory have the scientific surveys necessary for proper economic planning been fully made.

### Seven Million

The Mission recommends the spending of some £7 million in capital expenditure, in excess of present plans. This will alleviate, but not entirely remove, the burden of past neglect.

This investment is not directed at productive enterprises, but mainly at the services which will make such ventures feasible: technical education, scientific surveys of natural resources, soil conservation, agricultural extension, communications.

The Report contains a useful survey of possible projects which will use natural resources, provide employment and raise living standards.

The Mission found, what we all know, that "each of the three Territories has at least one natural resource or combination of resources which, if successfully developed, should improve both its economic and fiscal outlook."

There arise two problems for the people of the Protectorates: firstly, the substantial amounts of capital needed, and, secondly, the economic inter-relation between their territories and the Union of South Africa.

### Years of Neglect

The British Government's change of policy towards the development of the Protectorates stems directly from the opposition of the people of Britain to incorporation of the three countries into the Union. While incorporation remains

ed the long-term prospect, neglect was perhaps inevitable, even if unpardonable.

During the last twenty years the people made it clear they would not only resist incorporation forcibly, but also that they demanded an end to their reliance on migrant labour as almost the only means of subsistence available to them.

Under this pressure from the people, the post-war British Labour Government started moving away from the policy of neglect and much too over-cautiously started to make available some of the funds so desperately needed to save the territories from total ruin.

Now that the development of resources can be envisaged in terms of practical undertakings the people of the Protectorates come up against the fact that there is no escaping from the economic interdependence of their territories with the Union.

Obvious projects for the Protectorates are invariably linked with the Union as regards provision of capital, markets for the final products, or even only the sharing of the waters of a river.

### False Boundaries

The boundaries of the Protectorates were not calmly drawn by sensible men. They were decided by force and violence, greed and deceit; peoples and natural economic regions were carved up senselessly.

The true boundaries of Basutoland, for example, extend deep into the Free State: there is good reason why the Free Staters called the rich lands of the Caledon Valley "Die Verowerde Gebied" (The conquered Territory).

There can be little consolation for the Basuto nation in the Mission's finding that "maximum benefit from regulated river supplies (in Basutoland) is likely to accrue to farmers in the Union."

The answer to the dilemma lies in this: these artificial boundaries are not eternal. They can and will be corrected in the future.

The peoples of the Protectorates are correct in refusing to enter the Union's baasskap domain. In pursuing their aim

From America . . .

## **All-Out -- on All Fronts**

AN EMERGENCY ACTION CONFERENCE ON SOUTH AFRICA was held in New York in June. Sponsored by the American Committee on Africa and other bodies, this conference launched a South Africa Emergency Campaign and a call for a boycott of South Africa.

Here are extracts of the conference resolutions and recommendations:

### Economic Boycott

pressure can be brought to bear on a government whose policies have become obnoxious to the entire world. By refusing to buy products exported from South Africa, Americas would join people of other nations who have already launched a boy-

Economic boycott is one means by which

The purposes of a boycott are not only economic; they are moral and educational. A boycott would hearten the opponents of Apartheid inside South Africa; also, a boycott would educate many Americans for the first time about the mechanics and evils of Apartheid.

### Black Ships

A general consumer's boycott of South African products should be launched in the U.S. as part of the existing international boycott.

American labour unions should study the possibility of an industrial boycott of South

African goods through refusing to unload ships from South Africa and to handle South African products.

The U.S. Government should be urged to declare as official policy that no future purchase of gold or strategic materials from South Africa will be made where there are alternative sources of supply.

The 1964 World's Fair in New York City should be urged to exclude a South African pavilion because of existing conditions in South Africa.

The U.S. Government should be asked to prohibit imports from South Africa under the U.S. Code, Title 19, Section 1307, which forbids the importation of goods made by forced labour or convict labour.

U.S. businesses which now invest in South Africa should use their economic position in that country to oppose Apartheid.

Further U.S. private investment in South Africa should be discouraged until South Africa decides to honour the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights.

All Americans who are stock-holders or otherwise involved with American industries or banks doing business with South Africa should urge the adoption by such enterprises of non-discriminatory policies of employment, remuneration, training, upgrading, and housing in their dealings with the indigenous South African people; if this is impossible, they should curtail their activities in South Africa.

### Culture and Sport

All American tourists, athletes, artists, and intellectuals should be informed that

their travel to South Africa might be interpreted as supporting the suppression of non-whites there, and thus they should either (a) withhold their participation in tours and programmes in South Africa until such time as South Africa abandons its racial policies or (b) take every opportunity to protest Apartheid inside South Africa.

The International Olympic Committee and member countries should ban South African participation in the 1960 and 1964 games so long as Apartheid exists in South African sports.

### U.S. at UNO

The U.S. at the UN should pursue with utmost vigour efforts to obtain compliance by South Africa with previous UN resolutions against Apartheid and on South West Africa.

The U.S. should take strong action to separate South West Africa from South Africa in compliance with any future recommendations by the World Court.

The State Department in its Embassy and consulates in South Africa should integrate its social functions and its personnel.

### 100,000 Dollars

A South Africa Emergency Campaign should be established out of the Emergency Action Conference on South Africa to implement resolutions of the Conference, to defend arrested South Africans, and to aid their families, with the immediate aim of raising 100,000 dollars for such aid.

And From London . . .

## **Stepping Up the Pressure**

REPORTED BY RONALD SEGAL

On Sunday, October 16, throughout the day, fifty-five delegates and observers representing thirty three different organisations in Britain, Western Europe, Asia and Africa, the I.C.F.T.U. and the United Front, discussed ways of co-ordinating activities on governmental, industrial and consumer sanctions against South Africa.

It was resolved to establish, under the auspices of the South African Freedom Association, a council of non-British organisations which would co-operate with the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain and the Committee of African Organisations in intensifying boycott campaigns where these already exist and in establishing them where these at the moment do not.

More significantly in the long run, the Conference decided to accelerate through its constituent organisations the campaign for industrial action by international trade unions and governmental sanctions through the United Nations General Assembly.

Among the delegates were two leading trade unionists from Ceylon, who stated that the new Bandanaraika government would soon

act to stop the importation of South African goods and that, should it not, the trade unions would themselves do the acting.

The two representatives of the I.C.F.T.U. stated that their organisation was doing all it could to surmount the difficulties involved in calling for an international industrial boycott of South African goods, and suggested that the burden of such action should not be permitted to rest upon the shoulders of transport workers alone, but shared through financial contributions by the whole trade union movement in the individual countries involved.

A number of Afro-Asian diplomats, including a representative of the Peoples Republic of China, attended as guests, and doubtless the demands of so influential and widely representative a conference will be conveyed to their governments. I would not myself risk a South African sixpence on the future of trade between the Union and any country East of West Berlin and South of Sicily.

On November 14 a delegation from the South African United Front left for New York to lobby for economic sanctions during this year's session of the United Nations.

# Andre van Gyseghem —

THEATRE

## PIONEER OF AFRICAN THEATRE

Andre van Gyseghem, the celebrated English theatre producer, was in South Africa earlier this year, producing at Cape Town's Haynardsville Open Air Theatre. On his way back to London he was interviewed in Johannesburg by Cecil Williams.

This was Van Gyseghem's third visit to South Africa. In 1936 he was brought to the Union to take charge of the Pageant and all open-air entertainments for the Empire Exhibition at Milner Park. One of the most popular features of the Exhibition was the display of African Dances, for which the producer travelled through Basutoland, Zululand and Swaziland, studying the authentic dances and songs of the tribal Africans.

With his work at the Exhibition completed, he remained in South Africa

for several months, contributing much of value to the struggling live theatre of the 'thirties'. He stands out as one of the pioneers of theatre work among Africans. In 1936 he was invited to see a performance of Oscar Wilde's 'Lady Windermere's Fan' done by an African cast at the Bantu Men's Social Centre. He thought it a pity that the company should waste their energies on a play so unsuitable to their talents. He suggested they consider such plays as 'Macbeth' — he himself was wildly keen to produce a black Macbeth — Eugene O'Neill's 'The Hairy Ape' and 'Stevedore', a dockers' play that he had just produced in London with Paul Robeson in the lead. When the company turned down his suggestions, a group of actors with Dan Twala in the centre formed the Bantu People's Theatre and asked Van Gyseghem to

produce 'The Hairy Ape'. Needless to say, the production caused something of a sensation.

Since those years Van Gyseghem has produced in Britain, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Belgium and has adjudicated in Canada and Kenya. During the war he was in the Middle East with the Army Bureau of Current Affairs unit. Following a visit to the Soviet Union in 1935, his book, 'Theatre in the Soviet Union', was published during the war. In 1949 he returned to Johannesburg to produce 'Romeo and Juliet' as the Repts' 21st anniversary presentation.

Mr. Van Gyseghem has been for many years a member of the Council of British Actors' Equity Association and is a member of its National Executive.

## SPEAKS TO CECIL WILLIAMS OF

# Actors, Artists and Colour Bars

W: In South Africa we know that British Actors' Equity passed a resolution forbidding its members to sign a contract with a South African theatre management, unless there is a clause guaranteeing a certain number of performances for Non-Whites. A criticism here is that the resolution does not represent the feelings of Equity's general membership.

V.G.: You cannot say that in the least, for a directive to the Council was passed at an Annual General Meeting, with representatives from all sections of the profession. I would say that the Council would have been in very bad odour with our members if they had neglected to take action on the directive. Of course, not every member of the Council was in favour of the resolution, because they fear it is tantamount to interfering in the internal affairs of another country.

W: Isn't it?

V.G.: No, most certainly not. British Equity has long subscribed to the policy of 'no politics'. What we are doing in this resolution is protecting the interests of our own members. You must realise that in Britain we have always welcomed into the profession Negro actors, artists from the West Indies and West Africa. We have no colour bar. Our Non-White members cannot come to South Africa and receive equal treatment with

our White members, because of your laws. We cannot allow our own members to participate in a system which discriminates against other members. That's all there is to it.

W: So it is an attack on the colour bar in the theatrical profession as far as it affects your own members?

V.G.: Exactly. In addition, we realise that there would be no profession for us if there were no audiences. So that in that sphere too we do not support a colour bar. Surely the art of the theatre is international. A black man has much right to take part in the affairs of the theatre as a man who is pink, blue or yellow. Our Union has no political affiliations whatsoever, we are not interested in people's politics. If a man is a Tory or a Communist, that is his affair. And if his skin is white or black, that too is his business, not ours.

Quite simply our resolution prevents our own members from being party to acts of discrimination. Additionally, it opens, we hope, cultural doors in South Africa which were closed before. The performances for Non-Europeans by the Royal Ballet in the course of their present tour of South Africa is an illustration.

W: The South African Actors' Equity Association has adopted a constitution with a colour bar. What do you think of that?

V.G.: It is not my business to run your affairs — you are autonomous. But since you are in touch with British Equity, I have no doubt the matter will be discussed, but I am not in a position to anticipate the discussion.

W: You probably know that multi-racial sporting organisations in South Africa are challenging the right of colour bar organisations to represent South Africa in international circles. Supposing the Union of Southern Africa Artists becomes a trade union for theatre artists, which organisation would your Council recognise?

V.G.: Whether we would recognise one or both is a matter of policy to be decided when the situation has arisen. In the meantime, however, I am delighted to see that efforts are being made to develop the large reservoir of talent that undoubtedly exists. South Africa and the world are poorer for the wasted talent. The world would have been poorer without the talents of Robeson, Marian Anderson, Poitier and Belafonte. They got their chances. Why shouldn't all your people here in South Africa have their chance?

Of course, this implies the need for some form of artistic education, in order that African talent can be encouraged, guided, developed. This calls for skilled teachers in the various media. If there are as yet no

(Continued on page 16)

## Van Geyseghem . . .

(Continued from page 15)

African or Coloured teachers, then the duty falls on white teachers. You have an example of this in the Union of Southern African Artists. Perhaps you will develop a theatre and music school — separate or combined. Once such an organisation exists, you will find all the people with talent coming to an institution where they know their talents will be developed and made use of.

W: What about theatrical material?

V.G: Surely that depends on the natural talent of the performers — which seem to me to lie particularly in rhythm — and also on the audiences for whom they will perform. I imagine an African audience would find little of interest in the old style West End fare—witness the lack of response to "The Grass is Greener". But there are plenty of plays, particularly American, which Africans would find closer to their lives. You want plays which form a bridge between different peoples, different ways of life.

Of course, the Africans will write their own plays and that can happen very easily once there is a centre of theatrical activity for acting, dancing, music. It seems to me that the Union of Southern African Artists is moving in this direction, a praiseworthy endeavour.

W: What about theatre in England, are there any developments of interest there?

V.G: The most significant trend in present day theatre in England is the emergence of young playwrights, who are writing about the young people of today without class limitation, they are not limiting themselves to the upper class, 'the drawing-room comedy' people. These young writers have found a rich field, an extraordinarily rich field in the youth of today, in the working class, the lower middle class and in the 'red brick' universities and so on. For the first time for many years the youth is getting a voice in the theatre and ours being a welfare state, the voices are coming from all sections of the community.

Wesker, Simpson, Mortimer are already outpacing John Osborne. Since what they have to say is comparatively new, so the form in which the plays are written is often experimental and new. This is all to the good, though not necessarily an end in itself, for anything which breaks down long traditions, kicks over the traces, must open up new paths. It has the effect of stretching people's minds, makes them think more, observe more closely. In a world which changes so rapidly from day to day, it is a healthy thing that the theatre should reflect and even influence those changes.

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