there is no justification (as distinguished from explanation) whatsoever for torture, and in which torture should be precluded by disciplinary means. This would be more useful than mere deploring which has been going on as long as torture has, with no visible effect, other than the gratification of the deplorer. But it is the victims who need help.

Reviewed by ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

The Rivonia Affair

117 Days, by Ruth First, *New York: Stein and Day, 1965. 142 pp. $3.95.*

No Easy Walk to Freedom: Articles, speeches and trial addresses of Nelson Mandela; foreword by Ahmed Ben Bella; introduction by Oliver Tambo, *New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1965. xiv+189 pp. $4.95.*

IN MID-JULY of 1963 the South African police descended in force on a farm called "Liliesleaf" in Rivonia, a suburb of Johannesburg. The farm belonged—or rather had been leased to—one Arthur Goldreich, said to have been one of the militant wing of the Zionist Irgun during the Palestinian war. Up to the time of the raid the farmhouse had served as the secret headquarters of the underground terrorist organization called *Umkonto we Sizwe*, or "Spear of the Nation," and various white Communist collaborators. The place was found to be stocked with explosives and detonating apparatus and with literature giving detailed instructions in the art of blowing up pylons, post offices, telephone exchanges, and other installations or centers vital to communications. Extensive notes in Goldreich's handwriting relating to the procurement and smuggling of weapons and the techniques of guerrilla warfare also were seized. Here, in the opinion of the authorities, were all the evidences of a revolution in the making.

Goldreich, believed by the Government to be one of the master-minds of the terrorist conspiracy and a liaison agent between *Umkonto* and Communist Party leaders abroad, was among those arrested on the premises and was regarded as an especially important catch. He seems, however, to have been rather carelessly guarded, for along with Harold Wolpe, another white conspirator seized in Rivonia, he contrived an escape from the Marshall Square prison in Johannesburg and managed to slip out of the country disguised as a priest. Meanwhile, the police were busily rounding up others known or suspected to be connected with *Umkonto*; still others, white and black, who were believed to have knowledge of the discussions and doings at "Liliesleaf," were taken into custody under the General Law Amendment Act, an emergency measure approved by the parliament in the face of what was recognized as "clear and present danger," which permitted the authorities to detain suspects or important witnesses for ninety days without formal arraignment or charge.

One of those arrested under the emergency law was Mrs. Heloise Ruth Slovo (née First), a white woman described as an active organizer for the South African Communist Party. Her husband, Joe Slovo, also identified as a Communist and later indicted *in absentia* in connection with the conspiracy, had been able to sneak out of the country by some underground route. *117 Days* is the record, prepared from memory—for in jail she was permitted no writing materials—of Mrs. Slovo's prison experiences and of the prolonged battle of nerves and wits between herself and the police examiners.

Mrs. Slovo, a former journalist, is obviously a woman of great intelligence and fortitude as well as a fanatical opponent of the South African Government. She *did* know a good bit about what had been going forward at Rivonia, and had visited the farm on one or more occasions. Forbidden literature of a subversive nature had been found in her possession. What she *did not* know was how well the police were informed about her activities. Her problem, therefore, was how to avoid being trapped into some inadvertent admission that might be damaging to herself or to others involved in the revolutionary conspiracy. In this connection the reader might do well to remember that our Anglo-American "adversary system" of justice does not prevail in South Africa; the procedures there, as in Continental Europe, are those of the Roman law, which requires long and painstaking investigations preparatory to trial. The difference between the normal procedures and those under the General Law Amendment Act was the detention of witnesses who might be expected to go into hiding or to flee the country.

Mrs. Slovo, like most other suspects or witnesses in the Rivonia case, was subjected to the ordeal of solitary confinement. She was denied any communication with the outside, apart from an occasional visit from her mother and in one instance from her children as well. Her requests for reading mat-

ter were not denied but in some cases were deferred until the busy police had satisfied themselves about the contents of the books asked for. Otherwise she appears to have been treated with as much consideration as circumstances permitted. When she complained that her daily allowance of hot water (a luxury not permitted, by her account, to non-political prisoners) was insufficient for cleanliness, orders were immediately issued for the installation of a shower bath. At the prison in Pretoria, to which she was removed for a time, she was given clean sheets for her bed, allowed a daily bath and daily outdoor exercise. At no time was she subjected to physical or verbal abuse. She was visited on an average of twice a week by investigators of the Security Branch, and no doubt exasperated them by her evasions or refusals to answer their questions. They were unwilling to believe that her memory was as vague or as confused as she claimed, and in this, she confesses, "they knew me better than I did myself."

Mrs. Slovo's own story nowhere sustains her accusation that South African prisons are conducted on a pattern like those of totalitarian police states. Well aware of this, she intersperses her personal narrative with italicized accounts of the cruelties and tortures alleged to have been perpetrated on other political prisoners, mostly blacks; but of these she had no first-hand knowledge, and since her accounts are wholly undocumented the reader should be cautious about accepting them as fact. Stories of South African prison atrocities have of course been widely circulated, and credulous or prejudiced editors both at home and abroad have published them without even perfunctory investigation into their accuracy. In August of 1965 one Gysbert Johan van Schalwyk gave the Rand *Daily Mail,* an anti-government newspaper, a horrifying account of conditions and practices in the Cinderella Prison in Boksburg. After his allegations were proved in open court to have been completely false, he was sentenced to three years imprisonment for criminal libel.

Shortly before the expiration of her ninety days' detention Mrs. Slovo was returned from Pretoria to the Marshall Square Prison. She was released in due course, only to be immediately rearrested. Less than a month later, however, she was released again—this time at the doorstep of her home. Soon afterward, with or without the tacit connivance of the authorities—who may have considered her less dangerous outside the country than within it—she made an illegal escape from South Africa, and was at last accounts in London continuing her agitation for the cause of black African nationalism.

> I don't know why I was released [she says]. Perhaps they made up their minds I would not talk after all. . . . The first spell of detention had not given them the information they wanted from me, nor the evidence in all its strength they needed to convict me. They could have been releasing me to watch me and catch me in the act. . . .

Mrs. Slovo is properly proud of her courage and constancy under difficult conditions and her refusal to incriminate herself or to divulge what she knew; but her admission that strong evidence would be required to convict her in the independent South African courts is scarcely congruous with the picture of a police state she has attempted to draw. It is more than probable that the decision of the authorities not to bring her to trial was due less to lack of evidence against her than to the fact that the revolutionary threat had been thwarted and the period of emergency had ended. A few weeks after she was freed the General Law Amendment Act was suspended, as the Minister of Justice had promised it would be.

While Mrs. Slovo was in jail nine men, two white, six black, one East Indian, were brought to trial before the Supreme Court of Pretoria in connection with the Rivonia conspiracy. One of the white defendants, Lionel Bernstein, was acquitted; the others were found guilty on one, two, or four counts of treason and sentenced by Mr. Justice de Wet, the presiding judge, to terms of life imprisonment. Among those convicted of all charges was Nelson Mandela.

Mandela belongs to the Xhosa nation, a descendant of its chiefs, highly intelligent and possessed of a thirst for learning and a genius for making trouble. In 1942 he obtained an arts degree at Fort Hare College; four years later he had completed nine of fifteen courses at the University of Witwatersrand. Then he began reading law, and after passing the bar examination, entered into practice at Johannesburg.

His agitation against the *apartheid* laws and incitements to disobedience earned him the close attention of the police, so that he was forbidden to appear at public gatherings. Thereafter he became an underground revolutionary and was one of the founders and leaders of *Umkonto we Sizwe.* In 1956 he was arrested with 155 others; twenty-seven of this group, including Mandela and some of those afterwards taken at Rivonia, were brought to trial on charges of treason. This trial in the Old Synagogue at Pretoria, which dragged on through four and a half years, attracted jurisconsults and reporters from all over the world.

Among the former was Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School, who had high praise for the conduct of the proceedings and for the qualifications, integrity, and fairness of the three judges. Among the journalists was that well-known *aficionada* of treason trials, Dame Rebecca West, who in her dispatches to the *Sunday Times* of London challenged the propriety of some of the questions directed from the bench by Mr. Justice Bekker, thereby giving rise to a lawsuit which resulted in a public apology and the payment of £10,000 in damages by her newspaper. In the closing days of the treason trial Mandela himself took over the defense of the accused and conducted it so ably that all were acquitted—something that would hardly have been possible in a genuine police state.

But in 1956 Mandela was again arrested and convicted of fomenting strikes and boycotts and other illegal activities and was sentenced to a five years' prison term. Thus he was in the Pretoria jail at the time of the police raid on "Liliesleaf"; but most of the men taken in the raid were his close associates and there is no doubt he was informed of their plans and deeply involved in them. Diaries and other documents in his handwriting showed that he had solicited and received funds for *Umkonto,* that he had engaged in recruiting campaigns in various African countries for volunteers to be trained in sabotage and guerrilla warfare, and one document attested his belief that "the transition from capitalism to socialism" cannot be attained by reforms but only by revolution.

The collection called *No Easy Walk to Freedom* includes Mandela's statement at the second treason trial of 1963, which since it was unsworn could not be admitted into evidence. It was obviously intended not for any effect on the court but for its effect on the world outside. It is, in short, a propagandistic speech, addressed primarily to European and American sympathizers with the black African Nationalist movement. It is remarkable both for its admissions and omissions. It leaves us in no doubt of the connection between the African National Congress and *Umkonto we Sizwe.* Mandela frankly admitted that his program included revolutionary sabotage, though he insisted that it was to be conducted in such a way that nobody would be physically harmed. Indeed there is no evidence that Mandela was personally responsible for the death of anyone, and the prosecutor at the trial, Dr. Percy Yutar, did not ask the death penalty for him or for any of the other defendants, although Mr. Justice de Wet observed that the crime of which they were guilty "is essentially one of high treason." Six months before the Rivonia raid a Government witness named Sipo Mange, whose testimony might have gravely incriminated several members of *Umkonto,* was removed by murder. A white sympathizer with the aims of *Umkonto,* a young schoolteacher named John Frederick Harris, planted a time bomb in the Johannesburg railway station, which went off at the peak hour of traffic, killing one person and crippling others.

In his speech Mandela referred to Chief Albert Luthuli, the Zulu who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, as "my leader." Luthuli's name had been brought into the Rivonia trial by a witness named Abel Mtembu, who testified that Joe Slovo had told him Luthuli knew what was being plotted at "Liliesleaf" and had approved it. Mr. Justice de Wet in his summation stated that, "It appears to me from evidence and documents that the leader of the African National Congress, Luthuli, was informed about the activities of the *Umkonto,* and consulted from time to time, but kept in the background."

Interestingly enough, Mandela made no mention at all of Robert Sobukwe. At the time of the disorders at Sharpsville and Langa, which led to the proclamation of a state of emergency, Luthuli was under house arrest and Mandela was occupied with the first treason trial. The Bantu malcontents who were in a mood for further rioting needed a leader, and young Sobukwe, a lecturer at the University of Witwatersrand, rose to the occasion. He tore up his reference book (the Bantu's passport) in front of a large mob and called on others to do the same. His incendiary oratory provoked a fresh epidemic of strikes and riots. But Sobukwe seems to have been acting independently of *Umkonto* and the African National Congress, and it may be that Mandela saw in him a potential rival and a threat to his revolutionary leadership. Whatever the reason, it was an indication—one of several—that the black revolutionary movement was already breaking up into schisms and splinter groups.

To the Bantustans, or self-governing tribal enclaves—which are the Government's solution to the race problem—Mandela made only a passing reference. The first of the Bantustans is in his native Transkei and its chosen head is his relative, Chief Kaiser Matanzima. Mandela spoke of it contemptuously as a reservoir of enforced cheap labor for the mines. The truth is that enforced labor is forbidden by the constitution of the Transkei and that the South African Chamber of Mines neither needs nor wants forced labor. Plenty of voluntary labor is coming in from countries outside the Union, attracted by the higher wages and living conditions. Prime Minister Hastings Kamuzu Banda of Malawi has estimated that 750 males leave his country

every week to work as "join boys" in the South African gold mines.

Mandela has stated that he opposed the admission of Communists into the African National Congress but was voted down by the membership. However, a document found in his writing indicates that if he did not subsequently join the party himself, he had adopted its ideology. At all events the record of the Rivonia trial leaves no doubt that the Congress and *Umkonto* are heavily infiltrated with black Communists working in close association with white ones. Communists are even more numerous in the several organizations of Europeans which are supporting the cause of African revolution, notably in the South African Students Union. Not all the whites who give open or clandestine support to the cause are Communists, certainly; many are pure idealists who have somehow persuaded themselves that the dream of universal human brotherhood can be made real by agitation, violence, and even terror and civil war. But the Communist interest in South Africa is not difficult to understand. It is the only country in Africa—perhaps the only country in the world—that would repay more than it would cost, if it were to be developed along Communist lines. Its geographical situation is of immense strategic importance; its industrial and agricultural potentials are almost limitless; it produces two-thirds of the free world's gold; it is among the leading producers of diamonds, wool, and that all-important commodity of our nuclear age—uranium. A very rich prize indeed for either Moscow or Peking!

It was by a strange irony that Ahmed Ben Bella, sometime totalitarian dictator of Algeria, was chosen to write the foreword for this collection of Mandela's papers, edited by Mrs. Slovo. Mandela's whereabouts are definitely known: he is in the penitentiary on Robben Island, still hoping perhaps for the African revolution that will release him. But where is Ben Bella? Nobody, at this writing, seems to know or to care.

Reviewed by ALLEN T. BLOUNT