

FIGHTING TALK

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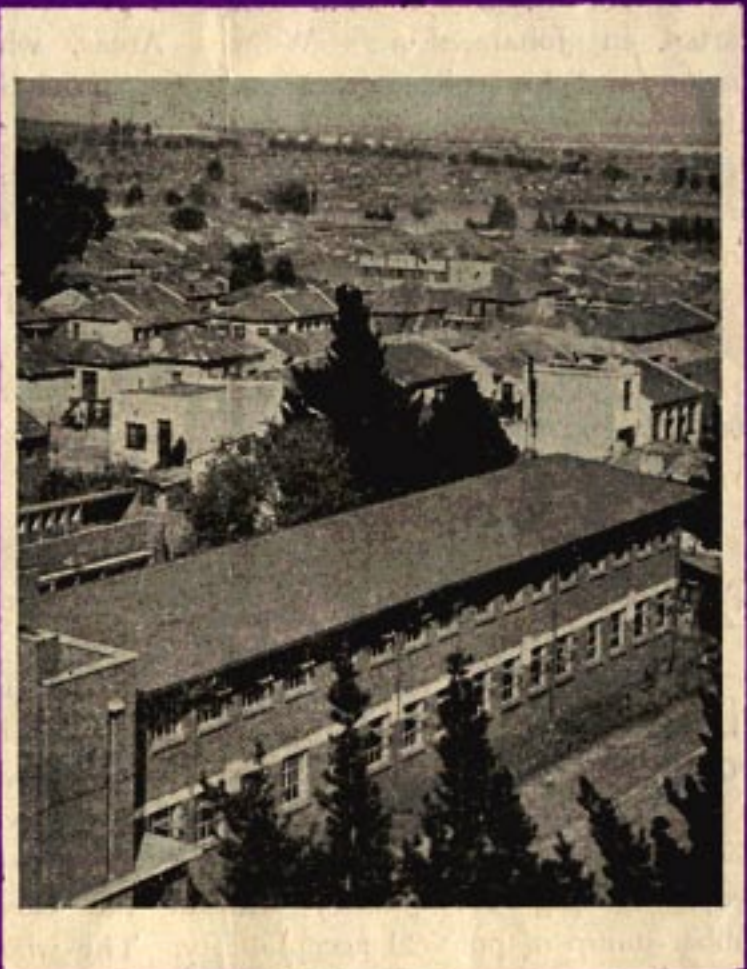
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Our cover picture shows a view of Johannesburg's Western Areas, scene of the first enforced population removal scheme under Apartheid.

IN THIS ISSUE :

- Formosa — Target for War
- Sartre on Atomic Terror
- Apartheid Backfire, by C. W. M. Gell
- A.N.C. Conference
- Bantu Education



The Protection Racket

COMMENT

THE insanely cackling scientist, who touches off H. bomb explosions between cups of tea, exists, fortunately, only in horror comics. But something of his diabolic power-madness seems to have infected some South African politicians. Witness Secretary for Native Affairs, Dr. Eiselen. Into a sleepy, morning session of the S.A. Bureau of Racial Affairs he dropped a casual, off-hand bombshell. "Our aim" he announced on behalf of the Nationalist Government, is to clear all Africans from the Western Province. Lebensraum? Far from it. Only the kindest feelings of humanity for the suffering Coloured people moved the Government. Tears came to the eyes of the kind-hearted apartheid scientists as they listened to the harrowing tales told by the good Doctor — Coloured men being pushed from jobs by pressing competition from Africans; Coloured women being degraded and seduced; Coloured children being condemned to a blank, displaced future. The only people unimpressed were the Coloured people themselves. From their national leaders of various shades of political colour came stringing rejection of the Eiselen plan. The Coloured people, they said in no uncertain terms, need no Government "protection" from their African neighbours; they want the right to live freely without Nationalist racialism, not only for themselves but also for their African neighbours.

This appropriate fighting talk from the Coloured leaders can not be expected to cut much ice in Nationalist Government circles. 'If you don't like protection, you can lump it!' is the official attitude in Union Buildings as it is in Chicago's underworld. The protection racket started in Johannesburg's Western Areas, where Dr. Eiselen and his colleagues are busily "protecting" the inhabitants — even over their dead bodies — from "racketeering landlords." If it succeeds here, it will be extended on a four-fold scale to the Western Cape. And thereafter? There is no limit to their appetite. If they are to be stopped, they must be stopped in their beginnings — the Western Areas, before they become too bold. There is the strong resistance to mass deportation amongst the people who live there. It is time for a second front in the Western Cape.

EVERY day there is something new. Another step taken to cement in place another stone in the cell which fascism is closing on the people of South Africa. Yesterday it was a commission to investigate how best to censor what is printed and written in this country. To-morrow it is legislation to prevent people leaving the country without the Government rubber-stamp of political acceptability. The whole hated history of Hitlerism in slow motion. The mass deportations are starting, and the exiling of political opponents

to remote places, virtual concentration camps, has come, and gone almost unopposed. The bans and prohibitions issued under the Suppression of Communism Act have spread far beyond the list of members of the former Communist Party, and still it grows. The length of the bans — first one year, then two years, has stretched out in recent months to five years. The restrictions on the right of entry of the police are to be abolished; the voters' rolls are to be made still more exclusive and restricted; education is to be carefully tailored to the ideology of the herrenvolk.

Yet in the midst of it all, there stand many self-styled democrats and liberals with their heads buried deep in the sands. Their objection to the whole process is not that their own necks are coming perilously close to the chopping block, that the dark night of fascism falls for them too, but that Government policy "plays into the hands of the Communists." This was the burden of much of the wailing against the Government policy at the recent Institute of Race Relations' Conference. Are they merely finding debating points to cover the poverty of their own opposition? Or are they happy with the process so long as "Communists" can make no capital out of the excesses of fascism? Common-sense demands that they discard this tinpot playing with words. Nero, it is true, fiddled while Rome burned; but not when the flames were scorching the seat of his own toga.

THE bubble of many South African Information Office pretensions scattered so lavishly abroad about 'separate but equal' has been well and truly pricked for many an American sailor, by the visit of aircraft-carrier Midway to Cape Town. Negro sailors had equal rights with whites to step ashore — using the Non-Europeans Only entrance — but there the equality ended. After that, they could do anything except ride in the best parts of the suburban trains, enter restaurants and bars, visit the theatres and cinemas, or get polite service in shops. All in all, not the happiest of landings at the Cape of Good Hope. No doubt the Peace Committee's pickets with slogans "Friendships—not warships" and "Armed Might is not Right" did little to atone for the coldness of white South Africa's welcome. Nevertheless, one can be forgiven for being somewhat cynical about the statements of outrage mouthed by certain American senators, who have managed to keep Washington the most Jim Crow town of the United States, outside of the Deep South. Equality, like charity, could well start at home.

This is the first issue of FIGHTING TALK since November. Due to printing difficulties, publication had to be discontinued for a while. We apologise to our readers for this break in publication and promise that 1955 will see FIGHTING TALK more vigorous and outspoken than ever in the democratic cause.

FORMOSA**THE TARGET: WAR**

By L. BERNSTEIN

"Do the Red Chinese, without a navy, really intend to challenge the American control of the Formosa Straits?" Rand Daily Mail.

"But how can the Chinese Communists attack Formosa? . . . An attack on Formosa would mean retaliation by the most powerful nation on earth." The Star.

TRUTH is, as usual, the first casualty of war. The picture of "Red Chinese" fanatically plunging the East into a suicidal war is an attractive one to the pundits of the daily press. But it is a lying picture, taken over intact from the deliberately distorted propaganda pictures of American reaction.

PART OF CHINA

The truth is different. Formosa is, and always will be part of China; its destiny lies with the destiny of the Chinese mainland; and any attempt to deny that basic truth can be accomplished only by war. Such an attempt is now being made by the United States, at deliberate risk of large-scale war.

"Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory. The liberation of Taiwan is a matter of China's sovereignty and internal affairs. No outside interference is allowed." The words are those of China's Premier, Chou En-lai. The Rand Daily Mail describes them as "sabre rattling." But their memories are short. Chou's statement follows accurately the statement issued by Roosevelt, Churchill and Chiang Kai Shek after their wartime meeting at Cairo. In their declaration of policy, Formosa is to return to China as part of her undisputed territory. It is nine years since the war against Japan ended. But the promise remains unfulfilled.

There is sabre-rattling in plenty to ensure that those promises remain unfulfilled. But they come from the United States, and not from China.

The road to the present war crisis is littered with broken promises — deliberately broken. In January, 1950, President Truman handed out a written statement to a press conference. The statement promised that the United States would not give "military aid or advice" to Chiang on Formosa, and would not "pursue a course which would lead to involvement in the civil conflicts in China." That promise lasted for seven months, till the Korean war. Without regard to past promises, or the international rights of other nations, President Truman ordered the American Seventh Fleet to patrol the straits which separate Formosa from the Chinese mainland, to "prevent attacks from either side upon the other" — or so it was said. The fleet would be withdrawn when hostilities in Korea ended, or so it was said. That promise has gone with the wind.

The language has changed, subtly. Five years ago, the future of Formosa was a matter of "civil conflict." Four years ago, it became a matter of "preserving peace in the Far East." A year ago it was a matter of "defending the free world." But today, it is a matter of American right.

"Until Congress can act, I would not hesitate . . . to take whatever emergency action might be forced on us in order to protect the rights and security of the United States." Thus runs President Eisenhower's message to Congress, asking for powers to launch American troops, sailors and airmen in war against China. (*My emphasis L.B.*)

ORIGINS

How does it happen that Formosa has become the focus of the threats of war, threatening to touch off a new world holocaust? The answer does not lie only in broken American promises. It must be sought even more in deliberate American policy. Let theorists prattle about the "warlike natural impulses of men;" *this* war has been planned and worked for. Its instigators are in America; Chiang has been in this, as in everything since China's liberation, only a 'running dog,' for foreign masters.

Chiang's armed forces have been subsidised, armed and equipped by American "aid," trained by American officers, encouraged by American politicians. While the American fleet held out its protective mantle, there have been invasions of islands, hit-and-run raids on the mainland, bombing and strafing raids on Chinese towns. "We will liberate China," Chiang boasted, confident in the strong-arm backing from America.

No government anywhere, and no people anywhere would tolerate this warfare without retaliation — least of all when the warfare is waged from a part of the nation's own territory. Can there be any doubt that the American rulers deliberately incited Chiang in the hope of provoking retaliation, and thus setting the stage for all-out war? Chiang might have had illusions of grandeur; but there were less illusions in Washington.

"Hardly a single American today believes that there is any possibility of Chiang's forces ever overthrowing the Communist government of the mainland", says a press dispatch from Washington, two days before Eisenhower's demand for full powers to launch war. Into the breach — not to "preserve the free world", not to "keep the peace in the East", but to take up the burden of overthrowing the People's Government of China — come the armed forces of the United States. The well-laid plot has finally matured.

THE TARGET

Ostensibly the U.S. Congress has authorised Eisenhower to "assure the security of Formosa and the Peascadores." There have been illusions in the past as

(*Cont. on next page*)

**LONDON LETTER FROM
SIMON ZUKAS**

COLOUR BAR IN BRITAIN

NOTHING has done more to bring home to the people of Britain the degree of poverty and exploitation in the British Colonies than the mass immigration of West Indians to Britain. Even the Times has had to admit that this migration is caused by widespread poverty and unemployment in the West Indian Islands: "a mass exodus . . . from islands on which . . . an economic plight has fallen" — (8/11/54). (It would, of course, be asking too much to expect the Times to admit that this "economic blight" is nothing but the direct product of imperialism; that it results directly from the capitalist drive for maximum profits).

In 1954, some 10,000 arrived; the year before about 5,000 came. In response to Tory demands to check this 'influx' the Government has announced that it is considering the possibility of setting up a Committee to study the matter. The Labour Party too is urging an inquiry, but on the grounds that the Coloured immigrants are suffering discrimination. The British Union of Fascists is busier than ever chalking on walls such slogans as "Keep Britain White".

If some racially prejudiced Tories are objecting to the influx, there are many who are only too ready to use it to depress the standards of the British workers. London Transport, suffering a labour shortage, refuses to attract more bus workers by paying living wages and recently the London bus drivers and conductors were out on strike on this issue. No sooner had the strike ended when the management began recruiting Coloured workers in order to defeat the wage demands of the workers already in the industry. Now the Non-White worker in Britain finds it difficult, because of prejudice, to obtain employment readily, and is usually forced to accept wages below the average. This suits the capitalists and they are ready to use the Non-White immigrant to reduce the bargaining power of the British workers.

Economic fear of being undercut is now prevalent amongst British workers even though there are no more than some 80,000 coloured workers here. The fascists are exploiting this fear and attempting to turn it into racial prejudice but the left wing of the

Labour Movement is working hard to explain to the British Worker that the only way to get over the problem is to allow the Non-White worker in and immediately to organise him in the existing trade unions. A large measure of success has already been achieved in many trade union branches.

Many papers have written about "Britain's Colour Problem". Recently The Times surveyed the position at length in two articles. The articles are significant in that they admit about conditions in the West Indies much more than a Times review of the West Indies would have done.

"Nobody may talk to the immigrants without realizing that they have lost faith in the future of the West Indies . . ."

"He has not immigrated here out of patriotism . . . but . . . for bettering himself . . . and to live in grander style than he would at home".

The blessing of imperialism makes thousands of workers lose faith in the future of their country; makes their living conditions so low that a monthly wage of £30 seems worth migrating thousands of miles from home!!

to where American policy was heading; let there be
WAR TARGET

(Cont. from previous page)

none now. "The danger of armed attack against that area compels us to take into account closely related localities and actions which, under current circumstances, might determine the failure or the success of such an act," runs the gobbledygook of Eisenhower's message to Congress. United Press put it more tersely. "United States officials said today that the United States might attack Communist Chinese troop concentrations on the Asian mainland — if they appeared directed to an attack on Formosa." (SAPA-UP.) The target is not the security of Formosa; the target is China. The target is war.

In Korea, too, the target was war. Twentieth century war, dressed up as a crusade of peace, as a United Nations police action against aggression. The Korean devices are being pressed back into service.

"The situation is one for appropriate action (?) by the United Nations" says Eisenhower's message. "We would welcome the assumption of such jurisdiction by that body. Meanwhile, the situation has become sufficiently critical to impel me, without waiting action by the U.N., to ask Congress to participate now in measures designed to improve the prospects for peace."

FORMOSA —

As in Korea, America strikes, and U.N. under-writes — or so it is hoped.

"The Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles, said last night that failure to act on President Eisenhower's request would increase the risk of war in the area." (SAPA-Reuter report.)

As in Korea, who wants peace must come out fighting. And as with Korea — the rushed, uninformed U.N. session, acting precipitately on an unconfirmed report from American sources — there is the precipitation — the lack of considered weighing of the evidence by which Eisenhower is granted power of life and death for Americans no less than Chinese.

"The House acted on what members called a "war or peace resolution" after its rules committee had limited debate to three hours and prohibited the introduction of any amendments." (SAPA-Reuter—United Press Report.)

In an atmosphere prepared long in advance by McCarthyism, black-listing and hysteria, the United States Congress voted 'WAR' — only three members daring to vote for peace. The plot had matured. Only the peoples, and the pressure they can exert in the next few weeks, stand between the plotters and their fulfilment.

The Conference of the African National Congress Reviewed

TEMPERING THE STEEL

By A Correspondent

I
ONLY the most superficial observers still imagine that the real Opposition to the Nationalist Government is constituted by the United Party or any other Parliamentary Party. The very pretence that important issues are seriously debated and decided in the House of Assembly is falling away, as the Nationalists go through the boring farce of Parliamentary procedure with more and more obvious contempt. Long before the Speech from the Throne, all the important Bills have long been announced by Swart, Verwoerd or Donges, or even by Rademeyer; nobody imagines that the debate in the House or the Senate will defeat or substantially change them. The U.P. will go through its usual agonising routine of deciding which way to vote, as if anybody cared any more. There will be some trenchant criticism from the handful of Liberals and labourites, a devastating exposure by whoever happens to be representing the Cape Western seat at the moment. Then the well drilled Nat. caucus will march into the division and it will be all over; another piece of poisonous law in the statute book.

When Strauss proposed his routine vote of no confidence, Strijdom didn't even bother to answer his charges of nepotism. "The lion does not fight the mouse!" he said. His admirers were enchanted with this piece of bucolic wit, and indeed it does not express badly the sort of affectionate contempt in which the Nats have come to regard the "loyal opposition" in the Hous.

It is a very different matter when it comes to the real opposition in the country — the anti-fascist liberation movement headed by the African National Congress. Then the wild beast of prey bares its claws and its fangs. Swart's Gestapo of the Special Branch are busy night and day at their work of spying, hounding, intimidation and persecution. Daily the vicious banning notices go out, condemning the victims to eternal solitude. An era of Tsarist banishments has begun. This is war. All these are signs the the Government itself has given *de facto* recognition to the Congress movement as its principal antagonist on the road to the totalitarian slave state.

II

By the same token, the Congress movement itself is the main bastion and hope of that great majority of South Africans, and their hundreds of millions of sympathisers the world over, who repudiate and detest the Strijdomites and all their works. It is natural, then, that the proceedings and decisions of the Congresses, and in the first place of the African National Congress, should evoke the keenest interest both at home and abroad. The few days occupied by the annual conference of the A.N.C. are of far more ultimate significance and moment than the routine pattern followed by the various political parties of the country: they are days filled with the awareness that history is being made. We have come to expect great things from the A.N.C. conference —

the assembly that has in the past initiated the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws and the Congress of the People.

The December, 1953, A.N.C. conference did not disappoint us. The report to the conference is a striking document, notable for its very clear formulation of the A.N.C. attitude towards democratic unity. There was a time when Congress suffered from European "sympathisers" of the "Race Relations" type who (no doubt themselves afflicted by unconscious chauvinism) took upon themselves the role of "advisers" and would-be directors of A.N.C. policy and organisation. Their "advice" was invariably in the unfortunate direction of counselling "moderation", compromise and concession, and opposing outspoken demands for equality and militant forms of struggle. It is not difficult to understand how the new, vigorous leadership of Congress, which has come to the fore in these years of Nationalist repression, in a powerful reaction against these unwanted "advisers", may have tended at times to swing to the other extreme, and to follow an almost isolationist "ourselves alone" policy. But, since then the sincere and unconditional co-operation of the South African Indian Congress, and later of the new Congress of Democrats and the S.A. Coloured People's Organisation, has fully convinced the A.N.C. leaders of the possibility and necessity of a genuine alliance of democrats of all races, based upon complete equality and mutual confidence, in the common struggle for democracy. President Luthuli expressed this attitude unequivocally in his opening address:

"While the African National Congress must naturally work for its growth, yet it is equally committed to the policy of forming a multi-racial united democratic front to challenge the forces of reaction in this country".

The same note is struck in the Executive Committee's "Report to the Conference".

"The policy of the African National Congress . . . is inter-racial co-operation on the basis of mutual respect and equality . . . In the fight against fascism we must see to it that more and more of the other groups are part and parcel of the struggle".

The most important practical step taken this far in the implementation of this policy has been the initiative taken by the A.N.C. in calling the Congress of the People. For there can be no doubt that practical political work, undertaken together for a great common ideal, is the surest way of hastening and cementing that alliance in which the Congress leaders believe. Moreover, it should not only be co-operation "at the top" between the national executives of the various bodies. To become a really united force, the peoples' alliance must carry the concept of working together down to provincial and to branch level.

Another direction in which Congress shows a marked development is the clear-cut statement in the executives'

report on the question of foreign policy. Recognising the definite link between the policy followed by reaction at home and abroad, the A.N.C. sharply distinguishes its foreign policy from that of the Government "who represent less than 20 per cent. of the country's population."

"The cardinal points of our foreign policy are opposition to war and an uncompromising stand for world peace, and opposition to colonialism and White domination."

Perhaps the greatest mark of the steadily advancing maturity and seriousness of Congress is its highly self-critical approach to its own organisational failings. Section Four of the Report contains an absolutely merciless analysis of these weaknesses, together with proposals for rectifying them, which carry conviction in every line. There can be no doubt that, given serious attention by the whole Congress organisation to these proposals, as endorsed by the Conference, the A.N.C. will advance tremendously both quantitatively and qualitatively in the coming year.

An organisation which can show such a spirit, in times of the fiercest repression, breathing confidence in itself and the masses, is a source of great pride and strength to the African people.

III

What of the decisions of the Conference itself, and of the proposals for the coming year? A great deal of the space in the meagre reports carried by the newspapers about the Conference was devoted to the conference resolution to boycott schools inculcating "Bantu education". This resolution, which set April 1 as the day on which action should commence, was based upon a passage in the Report which stated that "to fight against this Devil's piece of legislation" plans had been drawn up. . . . "Which recommended a withdrawal of

children for at least one week".

Since the publication of the resolution there has been widespread speculation as to whether the proposed boycott of schools is intended as a temporary or a permanent measure. To my mind this is a completely false and unreal sort of antithesis. "Bantu Education" is, as is by now notorious, blatantly aimed at inculcating a servile mentality among African children. From this point of view, those who contend that nothing less than a complete and permanent boycott of Dr. Verwoerd's schools for serfdom will suffice are undoubtedly correct. But to imagine that the A.N.C. has as yet the power to bring about such a boycott in a few months would be totally unreal. It will mean much hard work and organisation, including the planning of alternative means of education. An immediate, short and temporary boycott, seen not as an end in itself, but as part of a campaign for the total rejection of Bantu Education by the African people is not incompatible with that conception. It is, however, urgent that Congress should now clarify this matter.

All the decisions of the Conference, however, are ultimately dependant upon the adoption by the Congress movement in the provinces and in the branches, of vigorous and effective measures to translate them into action. Conference has given a sound and inspiring lead to the people. It has shown that, so far from destroying the movement, the blatant repressions of the Government are developing its qualities to new heights. A few members, of baser metal, may have been broken on the anvil of persecution: but the fierce blaze of Swart's police state has tempered the Congress movement to a keener and stronger weapon of liberation than ever before.

It remains for us of the rank and file to win new thousands for Congress, to respond to the call of our leaders assembled in conference, and to clothe their ennobling vision of freedom with the solid stuff of reality.

The writer, an outspoken critic of the Group Areas Act, here shows that it denies even that small area of justice and fairplay which the Nationalists originally undertook in framing the Act.

GROUP AREAS BACKFIRE

by C. W. M. GELL

IN one of the purple passages of his by now notorious Group Areas speech at Nylstroom in October 1953, Mr. V. G. Hiemstra said: "If the outlook is dark for the Indians, I say it is only because the sky is clouded with the wings of chickens coming home to roost". He was then referring to his own very onesided account of how the Indians arrived in the Transvaal. But this article is concerned with another and much more recent chicken which, to Mr. Hiemstra's discomfort, is showing a strong inclination to roost.

During the third reading of the Group Areas Act, Dr. Donges gave the

following assurance on June 13, 1950 (Hansard 8834): "This is one measure, and one of the major measures, designed to preserve white South Africa, while at the same time giving justice and fair play to the non-Europeans in this country." (italics mine.) Certainly, the evidence on which the Government relied for the necessity of Group Areas and the speeches of several Nationalist backbenchers left little doubt that the Act was principally directed against the Indians. Probably it was on this assumption that some Opposition members from Natal abstained from voting against and a few actually supported the Act.

But the leading Government spokesmen, both in the parliamentary debate and in discussing the refusal of the Indian Government to continue Round Table talks if the Act was passed, went out of their way to emphasise that the Group Areas Act was non-discriminatory, that in segregating each race group it segregated all and singled out no one group for exploitation. On this ostensible basis the Act was passed, despite the protests of those who doubted that the Europeans could be trusted to act as executors and judges in their own cause with the jurisdiction of the normal courts

of justice excluded from the main activities of the Act.

INTO THE OPEN

That this fear was far from unjustified soon became apparent when one country town after another—the cities having more complex problems—proceeded to draw up plans which, with monotonous regularity, expelled Indians to or beyond the municipal boundaries. Lydenburg, Carolina, Nylstroom, Balfour, Wolmaransstad, Dundee, Glencoe and many others which have not yet come to a public hearing—everywhere the general scheme was the same; to remove the Indians from their present trading centres and dump them in separate ghettos outside municipal limits where (though this was only said publicly at Nationalist Party congresses) “parasite can prey on parasite”.

The most explicit statement of municipal intentions was given at Nylstroom, in 1953 by Mr. Hiemstra, who appeared as counsel for many of these town councils before hearings of the Land Tenure Advisory Board. “We would have no need,” he said, “to set up all this elaborate machinery created by the Group Areas Act, if we only want to have a Pegging and a keeping of the Indians where they are today. The mere fact that the Act was passed indicates a much more drastic separation than can be achieved by any Pegging measures. My learned friend (counsel for the Indians) has been much concerned about justice and fairness.” (Had he, perhaps, been reading Dr. Donges’ speech?) “These words apparently mean to him that the Indian must get exactly what he wants. It has been put to witnesses that these alternative areas (proposed by the town council) do not afford the same opportunity for trade as the areas where the Indians are today. Well, Mr. Chairman, of course they do not. I am not here to go through the hollow pretence of arguing that they are equally fit for trade. I say immediately that there are going to be losses, there are going to be substantial losses and no one can hope to deny it.”

THE VICTIMS

But a marked feature of all these plans was that the losses fell largely or wholly on the Indian communities, although it was not their wish—but the Europeans’—that they should move. And since nothing has been said then or since on behalf of any

municipality about paying compensation for expropriation and loss of trade, which the Act does not make obligatory, we and the Indians are left in doubt as to whether or not any is to be offered. Not that compensation can ever fully balance the loss of long-established homes, businesses and civil rights. But quite certainly there cannot even be a pretence of the “justice and fair play,” to which Dr. Donges referred, without the fullest possible financial restitution. This is the least that can be done to mitigate the inevitable injustices of mass removal.

To their credit, many town councils realise this. They recognise also that the sums involved will often be far beyond the abilities of their revenues to meet. Many of them sent unofficial deputations to Pretoria to interview spokesmen of the Government or Government-appointed Land Tenure Advisory Board. These spokesmen told them that it was Government policy to move the Indian communities out of the town, hence the otherwise astonishingly dutiful uniformity of municipal plans. Some of the deputations remonstrated that such a course was financially impossible without considerable Government assistance. This was refused, though there is some talk of establishing a public corporation to help spread the burden of compensation for expropriated properties. But even if this corporation is set up, it will still leave municipalities to compensate for loss of trade—probably the more heavy, because continuing, liability. The municipalities thus have to carry the major financial burden and the public odium of the inescapable injustices created by the Group Areas Act, while the Government remains officially pledged to justice, fair play and no discrimination.

HANGING FIRE

However, the end of the councils’ willingness to carry the Government’s baby seems to be near. Scandalised by the Land Tenure Advisory Board even bothering to consider a proposal to leave the Indians of White River where they are, Mr. Hiemstra announced on November 5th, that he would advise municipalities to postpone further planning until they are authoritatively informed of the intention of Parliament. He declared that it was a matter of principle whether the Indians should live within or outside existing towns. He admitted that municipalities had received “official

encouragement to make the type of proposal which has been put forward here” (i.e. total expropriation and eviction)—“municipalities have been led to believe that Indians will be removed from the established townships to a place outside, whether it is bare veld or not. Is this impression which has been widely fostered, to the knowledge of the Board, completely unfounded?”

It is not, of course, completely unfounded, as Mr. Hiemstra well knows. But the Board and the Government have gradually been brought face to face with some of the practical implications of their policy—that there will be heavy losses, personal hardship, much avoidable suffering, that these things will not improve South Africa’s already lamentable prestige before the bar of world opinion and, even more immediately disconcerting, that European farmers and others are not always ready to provide the “bare veld” for the new Indian ghettos. Now Mr. Hiemstra, who conceded that if these considerations are valid and relevant “then no proposal made by any municipality so far has any merit,” has raised questions which the Government itself can no longer evade.

Is there to be any “justice and fair play” in applying the Act? If so, does this not sometimes mean that Indians must be allowed to remain in the town? If they have to be moved, must there not be full financial compensation? Who will pay this? Can it be, as Mr. Hiemstra complained, that in giving the Indians areas in which to live and expand, the Act “will mark their greatest advance since 1885?”

EMERGING FROM COVER

It is possible. Apartheid may backfire in quite unexpected directions. But if the Government does not intend this, once again it will have to say so quite frankly, instead of trying to slip racial discrimination through under cover of platitudinous remarks about justice and fair play. If it wishes town councils to fulfil what it has unofficially been telling them, it will have to explain publicly that *all* Indians must be removed *everywhere*, that Dr. Donges’ pledges of only four years ago were not sincerely meant; and so face the world in all the stark nakedness of its baaskap ethic.

"THE BANTU-BACK-TO-BARBARISM" ACT

By An African School pupil, Motsoakae K. Peloo

BANTU education aims at indoctrination and not education. It is to teach the African child that the White child shall for ever be his superior, and the African child an inferior by the will of God. The African child is to be taught to fit himself for his place in South Africa; taught that whoever is White is "Baa"; that he should never dream of leading a life like the Whites; and that he was born a slave and a servant and will die one. We are to be educated for a goal. Just as a man trains a dog to bark when he sees a stranger, so we are to be taught so that we will serve the Government's purpose.

BACK TO BARBARISM

This Bantu education aims at taking the African people back to where they were 200 years ago so I consider the appropriate name for this Act should be the "Bantu-Back-to-Barbarism Act".

There are many reasons why I oppose this measure.

I am opposed to the transfer of education to the Native Affairs Department — and the very existence of this Department. The Union Education Department and no other should administer our education. The very transfer of our education into Verwoerd's hands causes our suspicion. It is surprising that the Native Affairs Department claims to know the interests of the African people, for it certainly does not. Is the N.A.D. not the same Department handling the removal of the Western Areas and the Youth Labour Camps? Why then should we expect a cow to give birth to a donkey? The Bantu-Back-to-Barbarism Act will be one of the most fatal weapons that the governments of this country have ever used against the African people.

THE DICTATOR

The power put in the hands of Verwoerd make him even more than a dictator. He has the right to shut down an African school. He has the right to dismiss a teacher. He has the right to register a school or refuse registration, as he may feel. He has the power to prescribe the curriculum, and the duties of the Bantu school committees.

Verwoerd is the man in whose hands the future of the African people lies. What are his views about us then?

His grandfathers believed the African to be the closest relation of the baboon, and he comes with a new idea: we are oxen, donkeys and asses, all just beasts of burden. With the education of our young people in the hands of a man like Verwoerd what hope have we for a better life?

MIND IN CHAINS

Bantu education, they say, will help the Bantu to "develop along their own lines". These people see that we are developing at too fast a pace, and they want to slow us down because they think the lines along which we are developing are not the right lines. We are moving out of serfdom. We are demanding our political and economic rights, and for those who dread this, the phase of the moon is about to change. So we are fined and threatened with imprisonment if we do not co-operate with Verwoerd and his plans. *Yet, better the slave is chains than a slave with bonds of chains in the mind.*

This Verwoerd is a great inventor. He invents a double-decker bus with two storeys, and twice the number of passengers. He is the driver. The double-decker has to go uphill at a specified speed, and where the slope is steepest the bus has to stop and a thorough silt is made of the passengers. Some are dislodged to lighten the load, and then the journey continues. This is how I view the double-session in the schools. The schools are over full, under-staffed and the few teachers cannot cope with the work. What is to happen to the passengers (pupils) sifted out after standard two and dropped on the wayside to lighten the load? The Youth Labour camps will answer that question. African children will be sent there under the pretence of giving them help and they will end up on the plateland doing odd jobs, supplying the farmers with cheap labour.

The teaching profession is also in danger. The Government has already begun with the large-scale recruitment of women teachers, who are to be used to indoctrinate our brothers with Verwoerd propaganda, while they are paid barely anything. These teachers will be trained to take Lower Primary Certificates. Low-paid women teachers

Verwoerd's Pattern of Education

The school must equip him (the African) to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose upon him.

... school hours for pupils in sub-standards will everywhere be shortened to three hours per day.

... at the end of the lower primary course they (pupils) will be carefully selected for promotion to the higher primary course.

... handicrafts, singing and rhythm must come into their own ...

If "fundamental" education can also be obtained on the farms the trek from the farms will be combated, especially if the training contributes towards more remunerative employment in farm work, owing to the greater skill and usefulness of labourers.

... (on farms) Bantu mothers can ... erect walls where farmers allow it, and the Department will provide the windows, doors and roof. If the farmer withdraws his permission these can be removed ...

will gradually replace all teachers taking classes below standard two and no men teachers will ever fill these posts again.

The Bantu Education Act was supposed to begin on April 1, 1955, but the Native Affairs Department is in such a hurry to take over that we find that the Transvaal students who wrote the Junior Certificate examination this year have certificates carrying the letterhead of the Native Affairs Department. We are wondering what kind of matriculation standard the Native Affairs Department will set for our African students in the near future.

TRAINING FOR INEQUALITY

All Christians in this country, with the exception of the Dutch Reformed Church have condemned Bantu Education as contrary to the will of God. Why? The reason is twofold: (1) Because Bantu Education is based on Apartheid and (2) Because Bantu Education limits the African to a pre-determined place in society, irrespective of his ability or character.

APARTHEID IN EDUCATION

Bantu Education lays down that in future no European teacher may take part in African education, and that those now on the staff of any school will be regarded as merely "on loan" to Bantu Education. No more are to be allowed; thus one of the few remaining bridges between black and white will be destroyed. Not only is the African to be segregated from the European; the Africans are to be separated from each other. The policy of "ethnic grouping" seeks to force the African back into the tribal society which he has largely left behind and which Africans themselves as a whole no longer desire to retain. Dr. Verwoerd put the matter clearly when he said that what had been happening in South Africa was that people had been growing together and his policy was to make them grow apart. Against this is the fact that Our Lord came to break down the middle wall of partition: that His great prayer before He offered Himself was "that they may be one". The Church must set its face against all the divisions of race and class and, as Our Lord commanded, "Judge not after the appearance but judge righteous judgment". The early Church broke down the strictest apartheid the world has ever known — the division between Jew and Gentile; and the Church in our day has to fight the same battle against any division based on race.

... education should stand with both feet in the Reserves. Steps will be taken deliberately to keep institutions for higher education away from urban areas, and establish them as far as possible in the Native reserves.

Dr. Verwoerd, speaking in the Senate, 7th June, 1954.

I agree with the man who said: "He who does not oppose the Bantu Education Act is as guilty in the eyes of God as the man that implements the Act". It is the duty of everyone who claims to have the welfare of the Africans at heart to oppose the Act to the bitter end. Let us stand together to build a country fit for all our children not a South Africa that will question the colour of a man; that will pay a man according to what he contributes; and that will educate every man to take his place in the world as an equal.

Dr. Verwoerd, speaking in the Senate, 7th June, 1954.

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Dr. Verwoerd, speaking in the Senate, 7th June, 1954.

AN ANGLICAN CHURCHMAN CRITICISES THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT

be spent on Bantu Education is to be pegged at its present figure; the decisive test for the child is to come as early as Standard 2; the child who fails twice will be forbidden any further schooling and so at 12 will be on the streets.

The intention behind the Bantu Education Act is made abundantly clear in the statement Dr. Verwoerd made to the Senate; it is to train the African people to be efficient servants for the White race which is to be for ever dominant. The Minister of Native Affairs is completely honest on this point: "I want to remind Honourable members that if the Native in South Africa today in any kind of school in existence is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake" (Para. 3586 Hansard, 17/9/53).

AIMS

In his statement to the Senate, Dr. Verwoerd said: "The school must equip him to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose upon him". This is not the aim of the school, is the Christian way of thinking. The aim of the school is to enable him to develop to the full the gifts and potentialities God has given him, since Our Lord said: "I came that they might have life and have it in greater abundance". If we prepare children with this Christian end in view, then they will be able to meet any demands, whether they be economic or political or social, which life makes on them.

The Christian believes that every person has a value in himself, since he is made in the image of God and has been redeemed by the Blood of Christ; Dr. Verwoerd seems to regard the African as of use only as he can be made to fit into the economic life of South Africa and by his labour preserve the high standard of living for the White man.

REV. J. SHAND.

THE ATOMIC BOMB AGAINST HISTORY

This is a speech made by **JEAN - PAUL SARTRE** at a conference of the World Peace Council. The people's army and the bomb are the two opposed characteristics of our time, he says.

IF the atomic bomb were dropped it would inflict on men a danger we know only too well. But even when it is only a threat, it constitutes a radical change in the relations between nations. It is the atomic bomb that characterises what we call the cold war.

The appearance of national armies had the effect of enormously increasing the massacre of human beings, but all the same they could, to a certain extent, restrain the leaders. But yesterday, you needed millions of men to kill millions of men and to get the masses to accept death and to inflict it, the conflict had to reflect, if not their interests, at least their passions to a certain extent, and it had to avoid shocking their sense of justice. It is the entry of the masses into the national army which has obliged the governments to distinguish between wars of aggression and defensive wars — wars of aggression being those waged by others, and defensive wars being those waged by ourselves. Thus, even in the bourgeois democracies, at a time of national war, opinion exercises a control. But especially during the Second World War and after, in occupied Europe, in the Soviet Union, then in China and in Indo-China we have seen the appearance of popular armies which live among the people and not on the people, which take to the people, as the Chinese say, as a fish takes to water. In this instance, the people take over complete control of the war they are supporting, and immediately they win Peace. A people's war is conducted against an aggressor, an occupying power or a colonial power; the people's army is formed on the spot, and sometimes it takes the place of a national army which is retreating or being routed. A people's war can only be a war of defence or of liberation; a people's army defends itself on its own soil, and it could not attack another nation nor cross its borders without losing its character. This was made quite clear when attempts were made to enlist our resistance fighters for the war in Indo-China.

But the people's army has found its exact counterpart in the nuclear weapon; the people's army and the atomic bomb are the two opposed characteristics of our time. At a time when the participation of the whole people in war has been finally seen to be a factor making for Peace, a terrible power enables the leaders of the West to make war without the people. At a time when the people's army is becoming a political organism living in complete harmony with the workers and often helping them to work, a handful of men, an instant of time, and an order given far away by a bureaucracy which is cut off from the nation, are all that is needed to blow up a capital. War becomes detached from mankind, it is no longer restrained by the masses who fought it and suffered in it. But yesterday, there was class conflict inside the army; today atomic war is in the hands of a few wealthy men and their

mercenaries. An American journalist said to me frankly one day: "In the United States, people are so Peaceful that they would prefer to drop atomic bombs on their enemies rather than mobilise the infantry."

That, of course, is unjust and the American people as a whole want peace. But the more they are persuaded that they are not needed to make war, the less action they exert on events. Because of fatalism which is inculcated into them, atomic war is getting out of control, it could be launched tomorrow by a few Cabinet Ministers against the will and interests of the nation. That is perhaps the greatest danger.

Violence is always abstract, it ignores the natural course of things, their normal development, their affinities, and their organisation. It wants to force things and smashes everything. In this sense, the nuclear weapon is the most naked image of violence and makes of war the most abstract of abstractions. For this very reason, the atomic bomb is the only weapon suitable for oppressive minorities. Without it, their task would be impossible. Their task is the maintenance of abstract barriers between the nations and between people inside each country, and to govern against the necessities of history and political economy. But it is becoming more and more difficult to use men against their will and interests. How can one hope for long to use the Germans themselves to keep Germany torn in two? How can one use Frenchmen to set up a European army which would destroy them? How can one use Europeans to continue the cold war, since they are its first victims? Today, the oppressors are finding fewer and fewer accomplices among the oppressed. Diplomacy, propaganda and even money are losing their potency. When the American government sent dollars and arms to Chiang Kai-Shek, did that prevent the Kuomintang soldiers from going over to the Communist people's army? Today the die is cast, German unity must be achieved, the sovereignty of Viet-Nam must be recognised, Chiang Kai-Shek must return to obscurity and Communist China must be recognised. All this must be done because it is in conformity with the movement of history, that is to say, with the interest of the people who make history. It must be done because it will be done, because it is already done. Our soldiers are lacking neither in courage, discipline, nor intelligence. We have lost Indo-China because it was contrary to the necessity of history that a professional army, thousands of miles away from its bases, should defeat a people's army. There remains but one way out — the atomic bomb. The atomic bomb is a weapon against history.

Though brutal and violent, the ultimatums of the past were challenges and provocations. An ultimatum

At Maidanek the Death Ovens were still warm... ...And They're Re-Arming the Nazis!

by Ralph Parker

EVERYBODY, I suppose, has some things he wants to forget, things he encourages the censor in his own mind to suppress.

Sometimes it is an incident in which he played a shameful part; sometimes an experience too painful to bear remembering; and sometimes the reason belongs to quite another order.

There are times when the behaviour of man to man is so terrible that to recall them is to risk losing one's faith in mankind.

That is why I tried to forget the things I saw one July day near the Polish town of Lublin.

It was at Maidanek, a name that meant nothing to the world outside the borders of German occupation, but which to millions of those who lived within its borders spelled the vilest humiliation that modern man has ever had to endure.

But the plans and measures of the West to revive the Wehrmacht and take a rearmed West Germany into a military bloc show that no man who loves peace should forget Maidanek.

Let me tell you what I remember most clearly of that July day ten years ago.

Loot

Above all the boots. Hundreds of thousands of boots piled up higher than an man in a building as big as an aeroplane hangar. Overflowing through the doors to spill for yards over the dusty field.

Old galoshes, children's sandals, felt slippers that came off tired old feet, smart boudoir slippers with dyed feathers on them, the shabby boots of the ghetto and shapely shoes off lasts kept with the customer's name on them in the Burlington Arcade, and the most exclusive shops in Florence.

No footwear was too worn out or too excentric to be thrown away by the meticulous storekeepers of Maidanek, to whom nothing was valueless except human life.

It was this nightmare character of impeccably managed massacre and robbery, of an accurately audited book-keeping of death on the seven-figure scale that I remember with most clarity.

You have to strip a great many people to be able to fill the whole side of a room with worn, broken arch supports; you have to wrench the teeth out of very many jaws to collect as much gold as I saw the receipts for in the office of the S.S. and Polizeifuehrer in Lublin; you have to kill many men and women to make a collection of several thousand artificial limbs.

Roaring Trade

And what I saw, remember, was only what the great store in an unfinished cinema in Chopin Street had left over when the Russians and Polish liberators arrived. For two years it had been doing a roaring trade.

I have on my desk an accurately typed letter on well-printed notepaper written on September 23, 1942 to the German S.S. chief at Lublin by the commander of the Lublin security forces. I removed it from the files in the Chopin Street store.

It requests the S.S. chief to supply him with a number of very ordinary articles of daily use from the stores of the annihilation camp, "these objects being no longer available in the shops or from my head office."

Room after room in the store was filled with such objects, all of which were second-hand, in other words removed from the suitcases that new arrivals at Maidanek were invited to leave "for safe keeping" when they passed into the harmless-looking "bath-houses" just inside the gates where a Gipsy band played to welcome them.

I saw thousands of old shaving brushes, cases of spats, shelves of pocket mirrors, of watch-dials bearing the name of every watchmaker I have ever heard of, whole libraries of cookery books in all the languages of Europe, a shelf 20 feet long of rolls of paper, an incongruous collection of Mickey Mouse toys and, perhaps most pathetic of all, a roomful of cracked enamel children's pots.

Here and there a name—Sara Leyser of Dusseldorf; Ernst Weils, Prague composer of a violin sonata picked up among a pile of manuscripts; a Polish woman, Amelia Strylowski, born in 1873; a Greek called Zaruni, a teacher at the Commercial College at Piraeus; Mauric Javaneau, farm ser-

vant of Tours, France; Henrik Visser of Laandam, Holland.

These are some of those who were butchered at Maidanek and who left Fighting Talk — Galley 8 no trace save a scribble on a fly-leaf or a laundry mark on a garment disposed of by the Gestapo.

But there are other names that I noted at Maidanek and which may be more easily traceable—the names of German firms who contributed to building the place.

"Bath-houses"

Tesch and Stabenow, of Messberghof, Hamburg, for instance the manufacturers of Zyklon B, the pale-blue crystals that used to be sprinkled on the dark concrete floors of the "bath-houses."

The rooms were 17 square yards in area and there were six of them at Maidanek.

When 2,000 naked men and women were packed into them the temperature soon rose to the height required to dissolve the crystals. After that, it took from two to ten minutes for people to die. The dead did not fall—the rooms were too closely packed.

Or Dinas, the manufacturers of the stoves, and engineer Teloner the designer of the stoves used for disposing of the corpses brought from the "baths".

A first-rate job, these incinerators, No wonder the makers proudly put their name over the small iron doors into the furnaces (six corpses in each, seven if you chop the legs off.)

For some time the incinerating department was the bottle-neck at Maidanek. The lust to kill generally outpaced the capacity to burn. Even towards the end, when the supplies of victims was running low, there were hitches on the conveyor of death.

Still Warm

All the same, it must be admitted that the Ruhr manufacturer who handled the job did it pretty well. He put in electric fans to supercharge the heat in the furnaces. They burned non-stop. They were still warm when I felt them.

The work of monsters? Undoubtedly. Yet when I sat facing these monsters a few hours after I left
(Cont. on next page)

BOOKS**ZAMBESIA MARRIAGE**

A PROPER MARRIAGE — DORIS LESSING

(Michael Joseph)

IN five years Doris Lessing has produced three novels and two volumes of short stories. For "Five", her second volume of short stories, she received the Somerset Maugham Award for 1954 — a tribute to her talent and her achievement. Though she has lived in England since 1949 her stories and novels are, almost without exception, about Africa. She writes of the legendary country of "Zambesia", easily identifiable as Southern Rhodesia. And for those who believe that it is Afrikaans nationalism which is responsible for the viciousness of our class society, a reading of her work will show that the British Dominion north of the Limpopo has little to learn from us in practice of racial discrimination.

In her last novel, "A Proper Marriage", she continues the story of a young girl, growing up in Zambesia and rebelling against every accepted standard and belief of her own milieu — that of the White Herrenvolk. The first novel in this series, "Martha Quest", dealt with Martha as an adolescent. In "A Proper Marriage" — the second of the series which will eventually cover five volumes — Martha is newly married to Douglas Knowell, and the book is a minute and painful analysis of her relationship with her husband and her disillusionment with him and their life together. She strives for values and ideals which are beyond his comprehension, while he is bewildered and defeated by her

rejection of everything he offers her — the economic security of his safe job in the Civil Service, a large house and garden, four servants. What more could any woman ask?

Their honeymoon is shared by another newly married couple with their own gang in hot pursuit, and the marriage celebrations consist of three days and nights of 'giving it stick' and 'giving it a bang'. Within one month Martha is doubtful and unhappy. At a sundowner party "Martha's glass was refilled for her. She was becoming depressed as the alcohol took effect . . . She felt the nets tightening around her. She thought she might spend the rest of her life on this verandah, or others like it, populated by faces she knew only too well." In describing the futility of the leisure hours of the Whites, Doris Lessing excels — the same group mouthing the same sounds; drinking to excess and meeting the next night and the next so that solitude may be defeated.

Every major event in Douglas' life must be shared with 'the boys'. His discharge from the Army as medically unfit after a year 'Up North' is a bitter blow, because he is now excluded from 'the gang'. Martha reflects that she is "married to one of the boys; he would always, all his life, be one of the boys. At sixty he would still be a schoolboy." On his first afternoon at home, on his return from active service, he insists that Martha should come with him to the club. As they enter he stares about him. "His face was sagging with helpless disappointment. The long deep verandah was crowded with

people as it always had been; but they were all new faces . . ."

There are no African characters. The descriptions of Martha's contacts with progressive Europeans; her first attendance at an inter-racial meeting, are vague and unreal. Yet despite this, Doris Lessing conveys unerringly the uneasy awareness on the part of the Whites of the ever-present submerged African population. At the outbreak of World War II "Douglas announced ruefully that women were already sitting shuddering in their homes, convinced that Hitler's armies might sweep down over Africa in 'a couple of days', and more — the Natives were on the point of rising. In any Colony, a world crisis is always seen first in terms of a Native rising".

Although Doris Lessing is a controlled writer, with a deep insight into patterns of human behaviour, this novel has, for me, one major fault. It is a photograph of the society she describes; an exact reproduction; a mirror, giving back an unflawed reflection. I do not believe that this is sufficient. Whereas in a portrait the artist reveals, with a frightening clarity, the empty eyes, the cold mouth, the grasping hands, a photograph cannot have the same depth. One reads "A Proper Marriage" with the mind, not the heart. Because the writing is so cold one cannot appreciate Martha's revolt emotionally, or share it with her. Throughout I had the uneasy sensation that I was reading a case history, compiled by a psycho-analyst — a psychologically accurate description of a sensitive individual who cannot adjust to a particular environment. There is nothing large — no humour, no compassion or hatred — only amused cynicism, guilt and resentment. I did not feel that I was sharing a human experience.

Because of the extreme objectivity of the writing, the book becomes tedious; the almost clinical discussions of sex are dull; the atmosphere of Zambesia at war is flat. I feel that Doris Lessing should free herself of her bondage to White Zambesia — a sterile society — and take the world in her stride.

PHYLLIS ALTMAN.

MAIDANEK — (Continued from previous page)

Maidanek camp and saw them in the uniform of the German army and its auxiliary police services they looked — well, like many of those pictures you see in West German magazines and newspapers today — and not only in German ones.

Herman Vogel, of Maulhausen with the greying hair and gentle smile. Did he consider himself a good German patriot? Yes. A good Catholic? Oh, yes. Did he know that the 18 wagon-loads of children's clothes he had sent to Berlin in two months had been murdered children's clothes? Yes, but he was obeying orders.

He was not the only one who gave that answer when faced with the evidence of the murder of a million people, the victims of the Nazi desire to subdue Europe.

The voice of that million whose dust was scattered from the Maidanek hill-top is silent in the chorus of protest against West German rearmament. But the haggard-faced, swollen-limbed survivor whose first act after liberation was to write "Remember" on the gates of the camp was expressing all that the dead of Maidanek, and other scenes of German savagery, would have to say to us today.

Clause 77 of the new Industrial Conciliation Bill is

Carrying Apartheid into Industry

By E. van Vuuren

A MONSTROUS pattern of apartheid privilege in the economic life of South Africa. This is what the Government is planning to stamp on our country in the course of this session's legislative programme. And it is to be done under the pretty slogan of "safeguarding employees against inter-racial competition".

In the only clause of the new Industrial Conciliation Bill in which the definition of the term "employee" is extended to cover the bulk of South African workers, the Africans, the Government plans to set up a system of job reservation according to race, which in effect means that the Non-Europeans will be banned from progress and opportunity as far as their occupations, professions or trades are concerned.

Thus it is intended to retard the forward march of the Non-European and particularly the African, and to maintain the baasskap system. The Industrial Conciliation Act under which trade unions are recognised has excluded Africans. It is ironic that the only clause in which the Government has acceded to the traditional plea of the trade unions that Africans be recognised as employees will, in the new amending Bill, be to make sure that they remain menials.

CLAUSE 77

This provision — Clause 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Bill — is consequently the one which *directly* affects *all* workers:

Naturally the rest of the Bill which severely curtails trade union rights must also interest all workers, even those who at present are deprived of trade union rights, because it determines the pattern of trade unionism in our country. We have read much about the Bill, but all too little about this clause.

It is the worst clause in the Bill, which has been passed through its Second Reading "in principle" and is now the subject of a Select Committee investigation.

What is the machinery which it sets up?

The Minister of Labour is empowered to instruct the Industrial

Tribunal — a new stooge body set up by the Bill — to investigate a particular industry, trade or occupation. The tribunal will make a determination reserving any particular occupation or operation, or whole sections of jobs for any race in any factory, region or throughout the whole country. The Minister will be able to issue exemptions from the operation of the determination.

PRESERVING PRIVILEGE

What does this mean? The Minister of Labour can debar workers from jobs according to their race. What he (with the help of the Minister of Justice) has been doing to individuals under the Suppression of Communism Act because of their politics, he will now do to whole communities, whole population groups, because of the colour of their skins. Every time he reserves an occupation for one race, he bans it from all the other races. He wants full power to do this, even in the professions.

Of course this system can never work, except at the cost of wrecking industry.

Why this madness? It would seem that the clause, apart from being an instrument of apartheid, was intended as a sop to White workers.

The unity of the trade unions having been destroyed by splitting them on colour lines, each union would conclude a separate agreement with the employers and there would be differing wage standards for the same jobs. Cut-throat competition between racial groups would then destroy the higher wage standards of the "registered" workers. Profit-hunting employers would take on the more easily exploited workers. White workers would walk the streets. The Government would lose support.

Having caught a glimmer of the results of their own apartheid policies towards the trade unions, the rulers brought along in their Clause 77, what they hoped would be the antidote . . . along the proper apartheid lines.

They will declare the White workers into jobs, by law exclude Non-Whites, and thereby demonstrate how conscientiously they protect the voting section against the "Non-White menace."

From the title of the Clause: "Safeguard against Inter-racial competition", it seems fairly certain that the above was the course of Nat. reasoning.

The rub of course is that it will not work.

There is nothing wrong in safeguarding the welfare of employees against under-cutting. Workers' organisations don't believe in inter-racial competition but in inter-racial co-operation. Standards can only be preserved by a policy of equal pay for equal work, firmly coupled with a policy of equal opportunity for all.

Clause 77, as the antithesis of such a policy, cannot safeguard the welfare even of the White workers. It will result in greater competition between the races, increased animosity and the destruction of the peaceful conditions under which such welfare can be achieved.

A man's usefulness to industry does not depend on race or colour, but on training, ability, aptitude. Any attempt to establish an artificial pressure for some groups to certain occupations can only interfere with industrial efficiency, and lower living standards.

Will White workers benefit from the edict establishing their privilege but blocking progress to hundreds of thousands of Non-Whites? How can they gain from the disunity which will prevent a common struggle for the welfare of all workers?

We could quote figures endlessly on the tremendous flow of Africans and other Non-Europeans into industry, and into the higher occupations. There is a genuine shortage of skilled workers and the Non-Europeans are naturally advancing into them. This is not because of the "altruism" of employers, but because of the essential requirements of industry. It is a phenomenon to be welcomed. It benefits all South Africa, threatens none.

By his decrees, the Minister (with the help of the tribunal) will perhaps help apartheid along, but he will harm even those workers for whom he craves to be "a little father."

(Cont. at foot of page 15)

THEATRE — Review by Cecil Williams

“The Winslow Boy” *presented by the National Theatre Organisation.*

THE play, ‘The Winslow Boy’, sets out to show that in England — in 1912 at any rate — the rights of the individual are more highly valued than the prestige of pompous admirals, the patience of exasperated judges, even the precious hours of hard-pressed parliamentarians — an inspiring and exhilarating theme.

It is a pity, then, that after seeing this present production of the play, I was left with the wish that the author, Terence Rattigan, and the producer, John Roberts, had cared more passionately for the rights of the individual. Excellent, as in many ways this play and this production are, they nevertheless failed to generate a glowing, communicable passion, an emotional fervour, which would have left the audience satisfied that “right had been done” — and glad of it.

NO CONVICTION

Rattigan, when writing the play, was no doubt very careful not to beat too heartily the propaganda drum. ‘Propaganda and Art don’t mix, old boy’; ‘It won’t do for the box-office’, his friends told him, and he listened. In consequence, he allows his characters hardly any time at all to discuss the theme of the play, to state a warmly-held viewpoint on ‘the rights of the individual’, ‘the evils of tyranny’, ‘the dangers of bureaucracy!’ Indeed, Mr. Winslow, the character most determined to clear his boy’s name, once admits that his fight goes on mostly because of his “obstinacy”. Only daughter, Catherine, is given to an occasional utterance to the effect that it will be a bad day for England when she can no longer be bothered about justice being done to a scruffy little school-boy.

The producer, I felt, underlined the author’s lack of passionate conviction by having the actors throw away the few utterances of principle. On the whole, then, we were cheated of the full measure of exhilaration which is usually felt in the theatre, when ‘right’ prevails.

BASED ON FACT

‘The Winslow Boy’ has a most unusual story, based on fact. In 1911 a student at an English naval college was expelled for, it was alleged, having stolen and cashed a postal order of five shillings — belonging to an-

other student. The play opens with the surreptitious return to his home of young Winslow. His father, once convinced of Ronnie’s innocence, takes steps to have the wrong righted. He sacrifices his money, his health, his elder son’s university career, his daughter’s fiancé, the domestic quietude of his years of retirement to this end.

When the naval college authorities refuse to set up an inquiry, Winslow *père* and Sir Robert Morton, a celebrated advocate, agitate until their lordships of the Admiralty are compelled to take notice. Their response being unsatisfactory, the matter is forced upon an unwilling House of Commons, who compel the government to order due legal processes. The lawcourt’s final verdict is one of ‘Not guilty’ — “Right has been done”.

In the course of the play Catherine Winslow’s fiancé shamefacedly wriggles out of the engagement, because his father and he think all this fuss about the ‘Winslow boy’ and the paltry postal order are disproportionate and a waste of Britain’s time. One detects towards the end of the play a mutual interest and admiration between Catherine and the apparently egoistic advocate.

CRAFTSMANSHIP

It is an arresting story, one which at the time, according to Alexander Woolcott’s account, had the people of England on their toes, feeling that all of them were being wrongfully accused by a stupid bureaucracy and their rights ignored by a dark conspiracy. One realises, of course, that the real occasions of dramatic excitement in this story must in the theatre occur ‘offstage’ — the obtuse stand of the Admiralty, the tension in the Commons and finally the fever and suspense of the case in the court. It shows how clever a craftsman Terence Rattigan is that his play, apart from a lapse in the fourth act, commands our close attention throughout. Rattigan produces some excellently contrived situations of great interest, most manageable dialogue and a lavish supply of humour.

On the whole the N.T.O. company throw none of their opportunities away. John Roberts has the play proceeding at an exciting pace, with subtle variety of mood. There is an

impression of a crisp, knowledgeable mind at work in this production. For my taste, the producer seemed to blur the dramatic climaxes by hurrying on to the following lines of dialogue, not allowing my emotional system time enough to absorb the full effect of the well-worked up climax.

THE CAST

The actors and actresses acquitted themselves well. Clifford Williams gave Sir Robert Morton an impressive dignity, aloofness and brusqueness at the same time managing to convey to us — what Catherine missed for so long — a genuine, selfless love of justice and right. In appearance, manner and gesture he showed a nice flair for ‘period’, which most of the others on the stage lacked.

Joanna Douglas was a rather young, likeable Catherine, warm and feminine, missing, I thought, the strength and fervour of a militant suffragette. She was at her best in her expression of sympathy with her brother and her father.

A most effective piece of characterisation came from Sheelagh Ross in the part of Mrs. Winslow. She was tender, fussy, humorous, anxious, motherly. I felt she did not show enough awe of Mr. Winslow, but that might have been because Frank Wise, as Mr. Winslow, was not as stern and intimidating a person as I had expected. Mr. Wise has marked in effectively the outlines of his character, which he will no doubt fill in as he becomes more at home in the part.

Leonard Graham and Brian Proudfoot gave very good pictures of the two Winslow boys, the former being debonair, carefree, dashing; the latter timid and sincere, brightening as danger recedes into a likeable, ordinary schoolboy.

The setting, the dressing of the stage and the women’s costumes fell below the high standard achieved by all other aspects of production. The architecture of the set was satisfactory, but the colour of the walls was ugly, monotonous and oppressive. I daresay many Edwardian drawing-rooms were oppressive, but the job of the theatre designer is to create and convey that atmosphere without actually oppressing the audience.

Nevertheless, this aspect of production apart, I was very well entertained by this latest N.T.O. production and I anticipate for it a very successful tour throughout the country.

SARTRE on the Atom Bomb (Continued from page 10)

meant: if you don't give in, we shall fight, and if we have to fight, it is we who shall win. But the atomic bomb is a permanent ultimatum and it has nothing whatever to do with the ancient custom of the challenge. Those who try to intimidate us with the Bikini experiments do not speak of victory, because they know that other nations have split the atom and could also use it for destructive purposes if provoked. Because they also know that a hydrogen bomb can wipe out a people's army, but that no national army can defeat them. In fact, it is blackmail on the destruction of the human race. They try to stop history as Joshua stopped the sun, by threatening to blow up the world. "We will drop the bomb if the French lose the war, and it is just too bad for man, we will drop them on Indo-Chinese, on the Chinese or on the Russians, it does not matter."

In order to stop the world turning round they are threatening to suppress history by liquidating those who make history. It is all they can do: wipe out man in case he changes. The bomb is in itself the basis and the sum total of a policy completely hostile to the true development of humanity which wants to impose this alternative: the status quo or total destruction. It is this dream of collective death which makes us realise that the atom bomb is in itself reactionary.

Fortunately, the warmongers are defeated by their very power; the catastrophe which they are preparing for us is too complete; it threatens everyone of us, but they do not dare unleash it. Can one wipe out the whole of humanity because of the retreat of a regiment of Marines in Korea or the loss of Dien Bien Phu? The weapons is too horrible, it cannot be controlled, every day it deviates further from concrete reality; too sure

of their power, those who have this weapon have forgotten even the most elementary diplomacy; they confine themselves to threats but do not turn their threats into action. But meanwhile, barriers are falling, more contacts are made, the people cease to put fear in the hearts of their neighbours, new unity in Europe and indeed in the world, a new association of European states is maybe developing and there are no means of stopping it. Because it wishes to fly in the face of history, the atomic bomb thereby risks falling out of history altogether.

Up till now, anger, blundering, wrong calculations, stood in collective history as unimportant accidents; at present, they can become formidable. The moods of a leader can become historical factors. History must remove the warhead from the atom bomb, or else the bomb will blow up the world. The peoples have a double task, they must unite against the bomb, instead of war impose peace, replace abstract opposition by definite alliances, win victories for peace, without ever giving the nuclear weapon the time or the pretext for being exploded. Peace must be preserved, we must bring about German unity, in the face of the unshakeable unity of the peoples the abstract character of atomic blackmail must show itself in its true colours. And then, we must fight against atomic terror. The peoples have demanded and still demand that the representatives of the Five Great Powers should unite to prohibit the manufacture and use of the nuclear weapon. These two tasks are also ours, those of the World Peace Movement. We must redouble our efforts; in the past history was often made by war but today since war would mean the end of the world, peace alone can make history.

(Cont. from page 13)

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 23, states the following:

"1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

"2. Everyone, without discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work."

By means of Clause 77 the Government wishes to extend discrimination on a hitherto unprecedented scale. It is an extension of the industrial colour bar as contained in the Mines and Works Act. It clashes with every concept of civilisation.

It must be fought by Africans for whom the chains are being forged, by all other Non-Europeans against whom they will be applied equally, by every White worker whose standards will be destroyed in the process, by all industrialists who feel the jackboot of fascism at the cost of their progress and profits, but every South African whose welfare will certainly not be "safeguarded", but wrecked.

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