

and rather spend the evening quietly at a political gathering — possibly a non-Government and non-Nationalist public meeting, possibly even one of ours. We would quite casually — familiarity, they say, breeds contempt — run the gauntlet of surveillance outside the hall by a group of plain-clothes detectives in a car outside. Once inside, sitting quietly, peacefully listening, we could experience that interesting South African political occurrence — a police 'investigation'. We would attempt to maintain our sang froid even when policemen armed with Sten guns burst in, and demand the names and addresses of all present, because they suspect 'high treason'. And we would spend the next few weeks anticipating a letter from the Minister of the Interior, in which he would curtly

inform us that, since he is satisfied that the objects of Communism would otherwise be served, we are prohibited under heavy penalty of again getting together with any persons whatsoever for any common purpose for, say, two years. This would, we feel, be an appropriate end to a serious attempt to see and hear South Africa for yourself, and a time to make a judgement.

"We regret we are unable to offer to conduct you on any such tour. Most of our leading figures have already been the victims of the banning process without trial or hearing. Most of their names do not, we repeat NOT, appear on a Government compiled list of former members of the Communist Party. Nevertheless, they have been subjected

to heavy restrictions on their liberty, their freedom of political expression and their movement, by decrees issued in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. For many of our foremost figures, who were also the foremost opponents of the Government and its apartheid policy, even a discussion with you would bring down heavy penal sanctions.

"In the circumstances, we regret that we can only offer you again our best wishes, and the hopes that you will see South Africa for yourself, untinted by the rose coloured spectacles which are standard equipment handed out by Cabinet Ministers to distinguished guests and visitors.

BY ANY OTHER NAME . . .

By ELWOOD C. CHOLMONDELY.

PERHAPS to you who had no hand in it, Dr. Nicol's announcement last month left you cold. But to me and many like me, it brought lumps to our throats. "From now on," said that glorious proclamation from Pretoria, "teachers training institutions for Non-Europeans will be known as 'Teachers' Training Colleges'; and those for Europeans as 'Colleges of Education'." Here is the full answer to those carping critics who ask repeatedly, "What has apartheid achieved?" Here at last is the fulfilment of all those dreams that have kept us, year in and year out, building the Party, talking Nationalism, even when sometimes the road looked hopeless.

It is difficult to write calmly about such glorious achievement. I remember as though it was yesterday the bitter battles of a small but loyal band of Nationalists against the liberalistic influences of the United Party, when we fought into the small hours of the morning for apartheid. How desperately we argued with them, bringing tears and reason to bear. But to no avail. Desperately they clung to the liberalistic concept of calling all such places "Teachers Training Colleges" whether they were for black or whites. Recklessly, almost criminally, they turned a deaf ear to our pleas that they save white civilisation. They laughed at our motions to call only white men's schools "Colleges of Education." They scoffed when the Vrouefederasie begged them not to open the floodgates to a bastard nation. The day of reckoning had to come.

And come it did. The people of the Transvaal rallied magnificently to the threat to white supremacy. Year after year, our vote increased. Throughout

the province, our growing band of militants stumped from meeting to meeting, from stoep to stoep, campaigning for our cause. In 1936, Potgietersrust took the lead, voting solid for the cause of "Colleges of Education". Four years later, twelve towns followed. We could sense the rising tide. Our offices were besieged by delegations of local patriots, urging us to make the change from "Teachers Training Colleges", before it was too late.

Our little band of Provincial Councilors fought like men inspired. While others fought their tinpot wars against the great German people, we fought for Colleges of Education. Always the need to keep South Africa a white man's land, and the Transvaal a white man's province was foremost in our minds. It is all there on the record. Ninety-seven hours of debate in 1941, before the SAP steamroller overwhelmed us. One hundred and fifty-five hours in 1943. Two hundred and twenty-seven in 1951. We knew that, with the people behind us, fighting as their forefathers had fought to beat back the outnumbering wave of black savages, our cause could not fail. And always, when our spirits would flag, there was Dominee Nicol to urge us on. "Did our women and children die in concentration camps" he would thunder, "that their sons should be educated in places of the same name as black mens? Does the proud name of Nationalist mean nothing to you that you are prepared to sacrifice white men, made in the image of God, to a fate like that?" We would return to the fray, chastened and uplifted.

And now it is over, the long struggle which has taken the energies of some of

our finest Nationalist sons. Though the thromboses and the ulcers have been many, we have won through. Our majority on the Provincial Executive have finally carried the day, against the stubborn rearguard struggle of the SAP liberals. From now on — let the words ring out—black teachers will go only to Training Colleges, and whites to Colleges of Education.

"Joy it was in that dawn to be alive. But to be Nationalist was very heaven."

We who have grown old and weary in the cause of our people would dearly love, now, to lay down our swords. But for us — for all the followers of our great leader and inspirer, Dr. Daniel Malan, there can be no rest. Even now, in the flush of our victory, new foes are coming up to challenge us, headed by communism and the liberals. Already underground forces are at work, undermining our great principle of separate roads for white and black. Everywhere the sinister challenge to apartheid roads is being organised. Everywhere the black men are being incited to resist special roads of their own, on which no white man will be allowed to walk or drive. Everywhere fantastic allegations of madness are being levelled against us. There is no time for us to rest.

Back into the fray! We must fight again like men inspired for apartheid streets, separate but equal, to preserve the sacred European heritage. Let there be no cowardice or falling back by Nationalists in this hour of crisis. We in the Provincial Council will play our humble part for posterity on this, as we have on the matter of teachers' institutions.

OLD ARTS ARE NEW WEAPONS

SAYS HILDA WATTS.

THE Bridge of Heaven — Peking's Tien Chiao — with its booths, stalls and motley amusements, was reserved for the pleasures of the poor. The well-to-do avoided it because of its dirt, beggary, down-and-outs and third-rate goods. Yet under the Bridge of Heaven flourished skilful performers of Tien Chiao — the magicians, tumblers, equilibrists, acrobats, sword dancers, jugglers.

There was the old man, over 70, who could make a 5-foot steel rod twirl in his hand like a propeller of light; and Hao Chu-wang, who can throw a 30-pound porcelain vase into the air and catch it on the point of its falling, either on the crown of his head or the tip of his thumb, where it rests securely, or spins like a top with a twist of his neck or wrist.

There is Kuan Yu-ho, the weight-lifter who holds a 500-pound block of stone on his hands and feet while four strong men wrestle and tumble on it. And the magician who shakes out a square cloth — and from its folds an 18-course banquet complete with a huge flower bowl; twelve red lanterns rise out of the bowl and a pair of doves flutter out like flowers. Cards and ducks disappear into thin air. Bowls of water and spinning plates on the ends of silver wands seem to defy the law of gravity.

Today the artists of Tien Chiao have been lifted out of their poverty, to form an honoured troupe that has toured not only China, but many countries of Europe, astonishing and delighting people everywhere with their skill, ingenuity and craftsmanship in entertainment.

These are peoples' artists — unknown once, except to the poor, like themselves; honoured today in an amazing new flourishing of folk arts that has swept the whole of China.

SHADOW THEATRE

And what a variety of forms these folk arts take!

There is the Shadow Theatre, for instance. A square of white cloth stretched between bamboo sticks, a trunk of 'props', a lantern to throw shadows on the screen. With cymbals, drum, flute and violin, the Shadow Theatre would arrive in a village and the shadows on the screen would enact famous folk tales and dramas.

The Shadow Theatre has a thousand years of history behind it. The figures are skilfully cut out of donkey-skin

parchment. Embroideries and hair, the leaves of trees and ferns, are indicated by delicately cut tracery. The bodies are supported on thin fillets of bamboo held in the operator's hand. The movable hands and limbs are manipulated with thin threads. The parchment is tinted with rich colours which have a rare translucence when thrown onto the screen.

As war and the reactionary Kuomintang regimes threw China into increasing chaos and misery, the Shadow Theatre disappeared. Finally in all Peking only one company was left, and when they could no longer pay gangsters 'protection money' they too disappeared, their leader Lu Ching-ta becoming a pedicab driver, his company returning to villages and farms.

But one rainy evening in Peking, after the liberation, two professors and a writer came to Lu Ching-ta's house and invited him to work at the Central Institute of Fine Arts. He gathered his company together again, and soon the Shadow Theatre was operating again with many new tales in its repertoire.

PING-CHU THEATRE

The theatre in China has many forms, many traditions. There is, for instance, the *ping chu* style, which is a dramatic narrative to music. It is a true peoples' art, the stories, the language, the atmosphere all coming from the hearts of working people. Old theatre-goers in Peking decried *ping-chu* as 'provincial', but the people loved it, for it had a lusty strength of its own. *Ping-chu* is just one more of the forms of peoples' art that have received new attention since liberation, and many regular troupes perform in Peking and other North China cities.

OPERA

Famous Peking Opera is traditionally played by men, even the female characters. It has no sets or scenery. It is one of the most conventional of "theatrical" theatres in the world. The stage is quite bare, except for a curtain backdrop and tables and chairs which are made to serve many purposes as stage props. Various flags and symbolic objects are used to indicate settings or actions. A whisk of horse-hair denotes a spirit; a whip — a horse; two flags with wheels on them — a chariot.

Traditional, well-known gestures indicate the opening or closing of doors,

riding a horse or entering a room. A letter is written on non-existent paper with an imaginary pen.

Shaoshing Opera (from East China) on the other hand, is performed entirely by women, giving a certain ethereal softness to its whole atmosphere. It stands midway between the 'conventional' theatre such as the Peking Opera and the modern 'realistic' theatre.

While its sets are three-dimensional and illusionistic, there is a slightly theatrical exaggeration about them. Skies are the bluest of blue, the perspectives extremely deep. Costumes, on the other hand, are symbolic or conventional, not realistic. But make-up is natural, showing off the fine features of the women of Shaoshing, noted for their beauty.

Shaoshing Opera troupes never dared risk a tour of Peking before the liberation, as it was disparaged by the high-brow critics. Today the attitude of public and critics is very different, and Peking applauded the shows of the Shaoshing Opera with real appreciation for the beauty and originality of its performances.

BALLAD-SINGERS

China's countryside is rich in songs, particularly ballads with or without musical accompaniment. Kwangsi is outstanding in this, and today new ballads are sung with new themes of contemporary revolutionary life. Each village has its own ballad singers, who compose impromptu songs on all festive occasions.

One famous ballad-singer is known simply as *Shanko*—"Ballad". He composes ballads quickly on any theme.

In September 1951, a ballad propaganda team was formed. They studied land reform policy and composed ballads about it, then toured the villages collecting new material as they went. In Lungta Village, *Shanko* sang about the crimes of the local landlord despot. "Every word is true!" cried the peasants. Another singer told how his brother had been killed by a landlord and how he himself had slaved for ten years as his serf. Singer and audience were moved to tears. "A hundred hours of straight propaganda work can't compare with two hours of your singing," said the cadres who were helping land reform in the district.

Many of the peasants' ballads have now been recorded and published to the delight of city folk.

FIGHTING TALK

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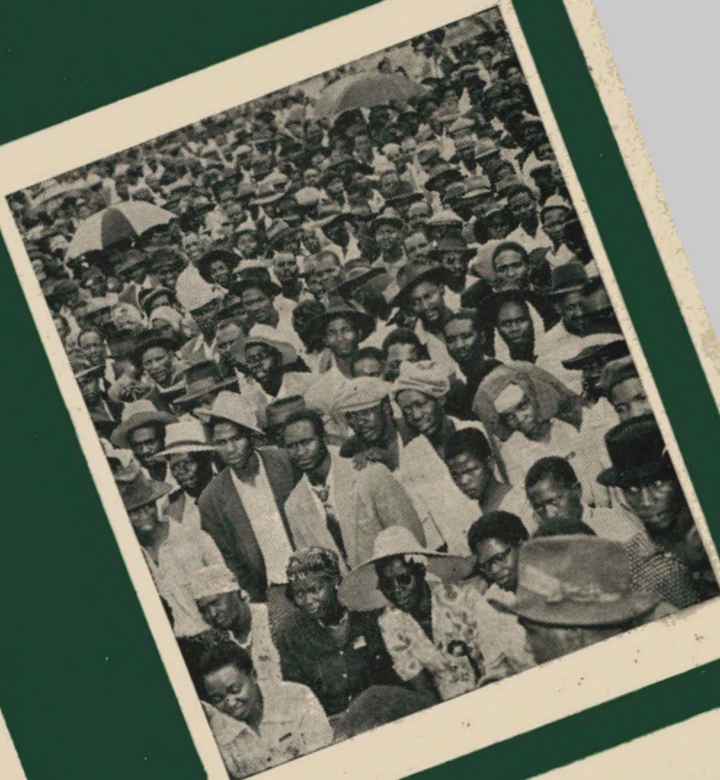
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OCTOBER, 1954.

Our cover picture shows the vast crowd to meet Chief Luthuli in the Western Areas — the day his banning order was served.

IN THIS ISSUE:

- Crisis Year for the Church.
- Education's Progress Backwards.
- Is National Theatre Worth While?
- Luthuli Speaks to Natal.
- Kesselring's License to Murder.



THE CREEPING SCOURGE

COMMENT

THE slow-motion transformation of South Africa, in the image of Hitler Germany, proceeds. Approximately choosing the Nationalist Party Conferences for their 'Nuremberg Rallies', Cabinet Ministers last month announced the next steps in the creeping fascism they are perfecting.. "Regulations will soon be made" which will prevent anyone leaving South Africa without a passport; "Certain Communist supporters not born in this country" are to be deported; Legislation is to be framed to ensure that the police have free reign to enter any private meetings without challenge. Slowly, Malan's iron curtain is closing down on South Africa; and the scourge of the Swastika coming into its own.

For every dictator, his own Reichstag Fire trial. And for every Reichstag fire, its own Goering. Once again, Brigadier Rademeyer is reported as telling the press that the Congress of the People aims at revolution, and plans high treason with the aid of foreign consulates. But given the opportunity to prove his case in court, in the action arising from Justice Blackwell's interdict on the police, the Brigadier's bluster vanished into thin air. "Only after long consultations with Brigadier Rademeyer's own senior legal advisers and with the Minister was it decided that it would not be in the public interest to disclose the information." Thus runs the Brigadier's affidavit, repeating the "sedition and high treason" allegations again under cover of the court's protection. He will have another opportunity to state his facts — if any — in the libel action which has been brought by members of the C.O.P. National Action Council. Thus far, it seems, the Reichstag Fire is blowing up in the face of its South African perpetrators. But the Nationalist Party juggernaut carries ponderously on.

THROUGHOUT the country, rents in municipal houses are to be raised by edict of the Government. Families — mark that, *families* — earning more than fifteen pounds per month are henceforth to be classed as "economic"; and will have to pay rents on a higher scale than hitherto. If the authorities had been looking for something to drive the African town-dwellers to a frenzy, they couldn't have found anything better. Anything from fifty to one hundred per cent. rent increase, at a time when cost of living figures are beginning to jump way above their former peak, though wages for most African workers have not moved since the mid-war years.

Former African National Congress Secretary, Walter Sisulu, reacted in typical fashion. Asked to complete a questionnaire by which the City Council would be able to class him as 'economic' or 'sub-economic', he returned the form with a caustic refusal. The people of Orlando, Mr. Sisulu declared, had given their reply to the proposals for higher rent as a mass meeting, which voted unanimously to oppose them. Though banned from the meeting by order of Minister Swart, Mr. Sisulu will honour their decision, and uphold it. Banned from gatherings though he is, in this he will not be alone.

LIFE has always been cheap in South Africa — black men's life. Just how cheap was never fully appreciated until an all white jury sat down in solemn consideration at Koster, last month. Before them, two European farmers and their African accomplices, who had savagely, deliberately and cold-bloodedly beaten and rebated an African convict, labouring on their farm, until he died. It was an old story; 'the kaffir would not work.' So father and son thrashed him with a hosepipe, for hour after hour. The farmers' jury called it "common assault". A shocked and outraged judge passed sentence; eighteen months for the father, six months and six strokes for the son. A black man had died, in terrible prolonged pain; and white-farmers' 'justice' had been done.

There will come a day when black men sit on juries. When that day comes, "common" South African assault will be dealt with as it should. That day will come with the liberation of the people of South Africa. There was a time before the liberation of Germany from Nazism, when the Allied leaders declared in advance their intention of prosecuting and punishing war criminals, who flourished under the protecting mantle of the Gestapo. A similar declaration of intentions from the leaders of the liberation alliance of South Africa might have a sobering influence on the unrestrained savages who get away with murder under the protecting mantle of an all-white jury.

IN China they have graphic phrases for the murder-and-run tactics Chiang's mercenaries are carrying out under the powerful protective cover of the American Seventh Fleet. They call them "running dogs" — dogs of the American war-mongers. Desperately, before their time runs out, they are trying to incite the Chinese People's Republic to retaliate, and thus set the stage for a new American war on the Korean pattern. The uniforms are American. The ammunition is American. The planes are American. Even the phrases are American — "Our forces achieved their objective and caused tremendous damage." And certainly the aims are American, the same old, threadbare aims which failed in Korea during the war, and at Panmunjon and Geneva during peace.

The ranks of the running dogs is growing thin. In Korea it was possible to muster a line-up which masqueraded as "The United Nations". Now only Chiang and Rhee are left. In typical ham-handed fashion, U.S. delegate Lodge presented UNO with a list of "38 warlike acts" committed by China. It was a faint Chinese fire-cracker against the thunder of American 1,000-pounder bombs dropping on the Chinese mainland and coastal islands from "Marshall Aid" planes. This was the real threat to world peace; and the whole world knows it. The 'Democrats' — Eisenhower's alleged opposition, could try to laugh it off. "The unleashing of Nationalist forces" they claim "is a 'phony' designed for domestic applause." The domestic applause might grow a little weak if the 'phony' were reversed — as Dulles hopes it will be — in a Chinese retaliation against the Seventh Fleet. Or perhaps, Long Island?

LICENSED FOR MURDER

WHEN they think of the dark days of war, when the German Luftwaffe's terror-bombing was at its worst, they think of Kesselring in Coventry and Rotterdam and Warsaw. Albert Kesselring, the butcher, former Field Marshal of the Nazi air force. They are remembering him today, while the Western governments press ahead to rearm Western Germany, Kesselring's Germany. For Kesselring looms large amidst the new German militarisation—large as he did in Hitler's day.

"One day they will blame me for putting humanitarian considerations into the forefront at the expense of tactics." This is Kesselring's only regret for his murderous past, as he speaks — it is September, 1954 — to 800 district fuehrers of the Stahlhelm—Hitler's front-line shock-troops. Next time, he implies, it will be different. And already he is preparing for that 'next time'. "The Germans are the best soldiers in the world. The Western Allies have founded their policy on Wehrmacht efficiency . . ." The hands shoot up again. 'Heil!' The man condemned to death by a British court martial in 1947, the war criminal who directed the air attacks on Warsaw, Coventry and Rotterdam, the thug who signed the order for the killing of ten Italians in reprisal for every German — the butcher is confident now that his day has come again.

ROAD BACK

One can trace the path by which he has returned, from the day the Red Flag was hoisted over the ruins of Berlin, to the day when the Western Leaders solemnly prepare to place him once again in charge of a military machine they hope will take up the 'Drang nach Osten'. There was the court martial, and the sentence of death, never carried out. There was an agitation in Britain, led by Lord de Lisle and Dudley — now the British Minister for Air. An obliging Labour Government commuted the sentence to life imprisonment. There was further agitation, led by Field Marshal Lord Alexander — now Britain's Minister of Defence. An eager Conservative Government released the criminal, two years ago. These were careful, deliberate moves in the cold war, designed to draw a veil across the German war criminals, and to prepare their support for a new German Wehrmacht, and a new war.

The whole groundwork has been laid. The Generals have been set free: Krupps have been compensated and his arma-

ment plants returned; the Stahlhelm and the Wehrmacht have been revived from their hiding places, and rallies to whip up their martial spirit have become part of West German life under the Adenauer Government, E.D.C. was to be the closing chapter in the tale of preparation — the next phase was to be action. But the French Government, under pressure from the people, scuttled

THE RETURN OF THE WEHRMACHT

that close. Once again, the closing chapter has been prepared in the nine-nation discussions recently ended in London. And still the people of the world — West Germany included, have to be reckoned with before Kesselring and his General Staff are once again let loose.

MURDER WILL OUT

Too much of the secret plot to revive Hitlerism has leaked out. The biggest leak came from Herr Schmidt Wittmack, West German M.P. and former confidant of Adenauer. Disgusted at the new rising Nazism, Herr Wittmack lifted the lid, for the world to see what lay underneath the 'rearm Germany' campaign. Secret agreement, he stated, has already been reached between General Gruenther, the American Supreme Commander in Western Europe, and ex-Hitler General Heusinger for a Germany army of 48 divisions, 1,600,000 strong. "It must be the Prussian system again" Herr Lothar Steur, member of the Ruhr State Parliament told the Sahlhelm gathering in Bonn. "That is what made tough men at arms. If the world wants our soldiers, it must let us train them our way. We, the Germans, have made a comeback through clever politics. That we lost the war doesn't mean a thing. The world appreciates that we fought to the end."

JUDGEMENT GIVEN

"If the world wants our soldiers . . ." The world doesn't. That has been made clear everywhere. Only a few of the old-guard of imperialism. Americans dreaming of global-conquest, British hangers-on, French and Italian collaborators with Hitler — only these want the German soldiers, for a new attempt to upset the socialist order of Eastern Europe. For the rest, the world remembers the trials, and the dread, incontestable evidence that was quietly, conscientiously piled up and judicially sift-

ed at Nuremberg and elsewhere. Of Kesselring it remembers the speech of Mr. F. Elwyn Jones, the British prosecutor. Kesselring's orders — "I will protect any Commander who exceeds our usual restraint in the choice of severity of means he adopts against the partisans . . ." Mr. Jones described as ". . . in effect licensing German commanders to kill hostages, burn down villages, hang suspects without trial." He was guilty then; he is guilty today. Only now he realises that he was too "humanitarian." He prepares for the second round.

And who will forget the International Tribune at Nuremberg, passing judgement on the Waffen SS. "These units were also involved in the widespread murder and ill-treatment of the civilian population of occupied territories. Under the guise of combatting partisan units, units of the SS exterminated Jews and people deemed politically undesirable . . . Units of the Waffen SS were directly involved in the killing of prisoners of war and the atrocities in occupied countries."

Once again, the Waffen SS is gathering together for its next round of murder and atrocities. On September 25th, members of the unit planned a two-day rally at Iserlohn, in Westphalia, to demonstrate their "comradely solidarity." Only a German workers' strike of protest forced its "temporary" postponement. For them all, the convicted murderers and the unconvicted, the West German Government is providing the atmosphere and Mr. John Dulles the inducement to gather their ranks once again, for a new war of the new anti-Comintern axis.

FEAR THE FUTURE

For them all, Kesselring has set the tone. His first words on his release from prison in 1952 were: "Get on with the German army. The Russians are still scared of German soldiers." The Russians are; with good reason. Not because they fear their own ability once again, if needs be, to drive them back, crippled and carved, to the ruins of their own territory; but because, like ordinary people everywhere, they fear the mad dogs, trained and raised in the Hitler pattern, and their tremendous capacity for murder, destruction and ravaging of all that is worth-while and valuable in a world of peace. People everywhere fear the German soldier, with the SS Generals at their head. But this time, as the fate of E.D.C. shows, the people are a force to be reckoned with.

"LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM"

In the Name of our beloved Africa I greet you all!

It is an encouraging sign of the growth of our Liberatory Movement when Indians, Coloureds, Europeans and Africans can become, through their respective national organisation, co-sponsors of a multi-racial, all South African Assembly, the Congress of the People, wherein all areas and centres in the Union of South Africa will contribute through their elected representatives to the formulation of a Freedom Charter.

This Congress of the People, in its Provincial and National levels, will be a practical demonstration of what the first so-called National Convention that brought about the Union of South Africa in 1910 should have been like in its composition, instead of being an affair of Europeans only, as were all Union Parliaments that were to flow from "the Act of Union" created by that Convention.

A CALL FOR 50,000

I reiterate my call for 50,000 Freedom Volunteers. I call upon Natal, my own province, to play an honourable and effective part in this, our second large effort to give a forward kick to our Liberty Movement, and thus help to keep up the spirit aroused by our non-violent Defiance of Unjust Laws campaign, now of historic fame.

The memory and fear of that campaign apparently gave the Government and the police unnecessary sleepless nights when they heard my call for 50,000 Freedom Volunteers; a harmless army of non-violent voluntary organisers and propagandists whose twin task will be to interest and enrol people for the Congress of the People meetings, and under the call "RESIST APARTHEID," educate the people on the evils of apartheid.

The ascendancy of the Nationalist Party has sharpened the challenge that faces the progressive forces in the Union. It has posed questions which all true South Africans can no longer shelve or evade. This challenge of our time is: **Shall it be freedom for all in our land or for whites only? Shall it be an indefinite continuation of the status quo? or a marching together to freedom?**



Congress President

CHIEF ALBERT R. LUTHULI'S

Address to the Natal Congress of
the People Conference.



Even British South Africans, who are the kith and kin of the British people whose magnanimity in granting the Boer Republics responsible government, shortly after defeating them in the Anglo-Boer war, set the Afrikaner on the road to the full freedom he now enjoys, are being scornfully and most arrogantly called upon to toe the line of Nationalist policy or else suffer the indignity of having no direct effective say in the governing of the Union.

INTO MOULDS

The challenge is much sharper for non-whites, especially Africans who are the worst victims of the Nationalist Government policy. According to the Nationalists, non-whites, especially Africans, must be made to fit into the rigid apartheid mould designed to ensure their subjection and permanent relegation to a position of inferiority and servitude.

In the process of fitting them into this rigid apartheid mould, any of their limbs that protrude outside the mould are ruthlessly chopped off, as in the mass removal scheme of Africans from the Western Areas of Johannesburg and from Charlestown in Natal, and as will be the case when the implementation of the Group Areas Act is under way.

In the Industrial and Land Tenure laws of the country, re-enforced by a reactionary hostile white public opinion, the ability of non-whites, especially Africans, is suppressed and compressed to fit into the lower unskilled categories in industry and farming.

In the Bantu Authorities Act Africans are being cut off from the democratic stream which should reach its highest water-mark in his participation as an equal partner in all legislative organs of the State — local, provincial and national.

In the Bantu Education Act of 1950, on the pretext of fostering self-help in African communities, the contribution of the State to this most important service is frozen to £6,500,000 for all time; and no doubt in content education will be inferior to that of whites, since it must fit the African to be only a good servant or a conservative docile peasant in the already congested African Reserves.

The situation intensified by the Nationalists is not a challenge to non-whites only, as the main victims of Apartheid; but is a challenge to all freedom-loving fellow white South Africans, who would be false to democracy if they remained quiet or indifferent to the oppression of non-whites.

The situation presents an inescapable challenge to religious leaders in our country, especially Christian leaders who proclaim a God-inspired message that all men are created in the image of God and so "are born equal", and that divine approbation, now or in the hereafter, will be determined by the efforts one makes to help his less fortunate brother, and not on his efforts at self-preservation and self-elevation.

NO MORE BANS

It is no exaggeration to say that in the mass banning, deportation and imprisonment of non-white leaders the Government is unwittingly confessing to a fear it has of the leaders of the people, and no doubt, by removing or silencing them, hopes to demoralise the people and create chaos among them and so pave the way for a "Bhengu-type" of Congress. Remotely the authorities might even anticipate violence among the leaderless masses, and so have excuses to shoot down non-whites to instil fear into them.

I invite you to condemn most strongly the action of the Government in indulging in the mass banning, deportation and imprisonment of the leaders

(Continued at foot of next page.)

WEST MEETS EAST

The Labour Party Mission To China

ACCORDING to a survey conducted before Mr. Attlee and his party left the shores of England on their goodwill mission to the Soviet Union and China, only 20% of British opinion opposed the idea, while 43% indicated their full approval. In the ranks of the Labour Party itself there was a 68% poll in favour of the visit.

Were a Gallup poll held today, it is likely that the figure would be even higher, for the friendly meetings between the Labour Party delegation and leaders of the Soviet Union and China have immeasurably increased the area of understanding between East and West.

As Attlee himself put it when he addressed a civic banquet at Shanghai: "The more you get to know people the more you find things on which you agree."

The "Manchester Guardian" correspondent cabled from Peking "... not for a long time have Sino-British relations been closer." (23/8/54).

The visit was warmly welcomed by the Socialist countries. A broadcast by Budapest radio said: "It is about the most important positive move since the Geneva Conference towards strengthening East-West relations and consolidating the gains of Geneva." (The Listener, 6/9/54).

Treating the visitors with a respect usually reserved for a foreign government, the Chinese government made every facility available to the visitors for top-level policy discussions with Mao Tse-tung and Chou en-Lai, and other Chinese Ministers.

The result of these discussions, and the things the delegation had witnessed personally in China — the genuine desire for peace, the mammoth works of socialist construction, the multiplicity of reforms in health, labour and education, the deep satisfaction of the common people with their new life — made a profound impression on the trained observers of the Labour delegation.

Consequently it came as no surprise when Attlee, braving the stimulated anti-red atmosphere of the spy-haunted Australian government, declared in Melbourne: "The greater the contact between China and the West, the greater the chance for peaceful co-existence", and went on to describe the Chinese government as "the most honest gov-

ernment China has ever had" — quite a bouquet to a government with 5,000 years of predecessors.

Nye Bevan, who rarely sees eye to eye with his party's leader, echoed Attlee's conviction that China's intentions were peaceful and expressed gratification, as Attlee has done on numerous occasions since, at the better understanding engendered by the visit.

Said Bevan on his return to England: "I think we have opened doors that were closed and have made it possible for understanding to be reached where a great deal of misunderstanding exists."

So far, so good: everybody agreed that the visit had meant a decline in antagonism between East and West. But it wasn't everybody that was pleased at this thawing of international relations:

By Ben Giles

very different interpretations were placed on the admitted facts in different parts of the world. Some welcomed this easing of the unpleasant cold war atmosphere as beneficial to the interests of mankind; in the camp of peace there was happiness, rejoicing and encouragement. In contrast, others writhed with frustration and anger; in the camp of war there was bitterness, cynicism and abuse.

Using the yardstick that those who approve of reductions in tension are for peace, and those who oppose it are against peace, it is not difficult to determine to which camp the United States belongs.

Said the Wall Street Journal, "It can hardly lead to an effective Anglo-American defence against Communism" — a statement greatly revealing in its failure to recognise that today people are growing more and more interested in coming to terms with their neighbours rather than in fighting them.

Vying for the first prize sourpuss remark the influential New York Daily News stated: "Britain has now adopted an all out policy of mustn't be beastly to the Bolshies". It is quite a spectacle this sudden swap of love and kisses . . ."

These comments are typical in tone. Great prominence was devoted in the American press to the remark of Hec-

tor McNeil, a British M.P. who denounced the visit as "highly irresponsible and ill-timed". Not a solitary American newspaper which has been quoted, or is available here, has something kind to say about Attlee's trip. To borrow the tag of the Daily Herald (Labour), the American press indulged in a "circus of spite."

Behind the resentfulness of the U.S. press was the undoubted fact that the Washington Administration and the Pentagon were deeply disturbed at the blossoming friendship between China and Britain. A number of factors account for this:

Firstly, the existence of a socialist China greatly contracts the area for capitalist investment and exploitation in the Far East, and further is an obstacle to U.S. expansionist schemes in that part of the world, both because the example of the Chinese people has made other Asian colonial countries restless of the yoke of foreign control of their economies, and because China herself is now a trade competitor with the U.S. in the East.

And so the policy has been to keep the truth of China from the rest of the world and at the same time to attempt to undermine her, by means of economic blockades, slander campaigns, sabotage and military operations executed by U.S. satellites on Formosa and in Korea.

Secondly until two years ago Britain was an obliging and complaisant accomplice in the execution of U.S. global designs, but Britain's growing dissatisfaction at having to toe the line with regard to China, of which Attlee's visit was a symptom, represents a revolt against the leadership of the U.S. in formulating "Western" policy.

With luminous clarity Attlee's visit has brought to the surface the carefully-concealed divergences between British and American policies towards China.

On the one hand there is the intransigent refusal of the U.S. to recognise Mao tse-Tung's government and to agree to its admission to the U.N.O., her support for the discredited regime on Formosa of the puppet Chiang Kai Shek and her increasing militarisation of Japan and Formosa. On the other hand there is the more realistic attitude of Britain that

(Continued on page 12.)

A 20TH CENTURY PASSION

HOWARD FAST writes outstanding books. I don't know what will be thought of his works in twenty, fifty or a hundred years from now; but for today they are magnificent. In short novels and reportage, filled with action and emotion, he catches the very essence of the human conflict with which he is dealing, and conveys this essence to his readers in simple and dignified language. We have become accustomed to expecting work of exceptional merit from Fast. And 'The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti' is certainly no exception.

Once again, Fast has taken as the content of his novel, man's struggle for freedom, justice and human dignity: the form is the tragic story of the 'legal' murder committed on the 22nd August, 1927, when Sacco and Vanzetti were executed in Boston, U.S.A. It has become fashionable today, among polite literary circles, to sneer at the concepts of justice and freedom that used to be the theme of the great novelists of the past. But for Fast, the very fact that these are the dreams and ideals which move men and women to action, makes them the stuff of literature.

"The Passion . . ." is a story spun around the actual events that occurred during the eighteen hours from dawn to midnight on the execution day of the two men. Our author takes us into the innermost thoughts of a number of people closely associated with the prisoners. He traces for us, through the 'thought-streams' of protagonists and antagonists of Sacco and Vanzetti, a reconstruction of the times and events that made up their seven years of martyrdom.

The story is well known to many people; but the light thrown on it by Fast is new and penetrating. It can be no accident that this book was written and published during the infamous case of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. The parallel is unmistakable. The same mass hysteria whipped up and kept at fever-heat by reactionary forces, to conceal the real crisis in the national life of the United States; the same savage cruelty and prolonged agony; the same witch-hunt, and the same courageous struggle of a few real democrats that led, eventually, to world-wide protest. Above all, the same staunch fight, right to the electric chair, of the condemned buoyed up by the support of millions, and by their visions of a better future for men. In Vanzetti's faltering and imperfect

English is the spirit that even in death defeated tyranny.

"If it had not been for these things, I might have lived out my life talking at street corners to scorning men. I might have died, unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. Never in our full life could we hope to do so much work for tolerance, for man's understanding of man, as now we do by accident. Our words — our lives — our pain — nothing! The taking of our lives — the lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish-peddler — all! That last moment belongs to us — that agony is our triumph!"

Howard Fast shows that, although the two Italian workers were not themselves Christians in the church-going sense, yet their martyrdom is similar to that of Christ. Their sublime faith in men, and their suffering at the hands of a threatened, automatic authority is a twentieth-century 'passion'. In adversity, the fate of these two becomes the symbol of the desperate fury of a ruling group that has outlived its time; and their brave fight against this barbaric fury became the tangible expression of the hopes and dreams of common men and women the world over.

WEST MEETS EAST—Continued from page 11.

Communism enjoys the near-unanimous support of the people of China, and that the manoeuvres to deny China her rightful place in U.N.O. and her opportunity of peaceful development frustrate the creation of normal relations between the socialist and "capitalist" sectors of the world.

And then there is the vexed question of Formosa — a part of China, occupied, under American auspices, by the unsavoury Chiang Kai Shek, who has been using the island lately as a basis for provocative and dangerous military operations against the mainland. This is the injury. The insult is that while banning China from UNO the U.S. persistently, and in the face of growing world and diplomatic opinion, continues to recognise this parochial, rejected, and corrupt grouping of politicians, as the genuine government of the 620 million who not so long ago kicked him and his cronies decisively in the pants and have never regretted it.

Even the polite Attlee, did not trouble to mince his words about Chiang. Speak-



Here one may level one criticism at the author. Although the motivation and emotion of individuals drawn into the struggle for the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti are clearly portrayed, the author fails in his handling of the mass protests and frustration from all parts of the world at the conduct of the case.

The events of the Rosenberg case are all too painfully close; but one great hope emerged from that struggle. That hope lies in the response to the call to action to help save the Rosenbergs, in the bitter anger and hate against reactionary forces of murder. The same hope grew from the 1927 'legal' murder. Fast is fully aware of it. He tries to weave it into the threads of his plot, but fails to do so with anything like the conviction with which he handles the individuals in the book.

This criticism aside, 'The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti' is a fine book, in the true Howard Fast tradition of great story-telling that teaches great lessons.

A.L.

ing at the Labour Party Conference last month he said: "Undoubtedly the Chinese feel very bitterly on the subject of Formosa and I think they have a case. I believe the right thing to do would be that Chiang Kai Shek and his immediate adherents who are utterly discredited, should be retired away to some safe place to live their lives in peace."

Attlee also reaffirmed his belief that the People's Government of China should be admitted to the United Nations, said the report. He also urged that Formosa be united again with China.

How much influence the Labour Party's delegation's opinions will exercise over Churchill and the U.S. government remains to be seen. But there is no doubt, that in Britain and European countries, at any rate, it will be considerable; for despite the abuse hurled at Attlee and his "yellow travellers", their words still carry weight, and for many it will be simply a confirmation of what they have always believed was the right attitude to adopt towards China.

HITTING BACK

COMMENT

BEFORE ever E.D.C. was thrown out, and the new formula for rearming West Germany adopted, Adenauer's state had started on the production of the latest and most destructive weapons of war — including electronic and atomic weapons. This is the story disclosed in the Paris independent paper *La Tribune des Nations*. Columnist Jerome Cerdan states that a factory for the production of a radio-active "death dust" is already functioning, with a carefully camouflaged atomic pile. This, says Cerdan, explains the decision of Minister Schmidt-Wittmack to leave West Germany for the Eastern Republic. On Lake Constance, the Degussa factory is turning out titan reaction blowers. Visol fuel for jet engines is being made in the 'Ruhchemie' plants in Oberhausen-Holten; and the deadly nerve gas is being cooked up in the Mannheim and Ludwigshaven plants of the former I. G. Farben combine. The last, says Cerdan, accounts for the remarkable epidemic at the end of 1953 of officially-recorded "suicides by the use of insect exterminators."

There is nothing missing from the list for another full-scale world war, 1954 model. Submarine detectors made by Lehfeld and Co., at Heppenheim; infra-red detectors for night-fighters and long range bombers by Schmitz & Co., Frankfurt, which ensure that all night bombs are hits, and no misses; jet bombers at the Borsib Loco factory; Bailey Bridges by Ferdinand Rhode Eisenbau at Hanover; bacteriological weapons at the Bayer factory in Hochts, formerly I. G. Farben; atomic cannons at the Krupp works; napalm at the factories of the Rheinprussen Company.

"If E.D.C. is not ratified, and if any basic change in the situation should lead to quadripartite inspections, then Germany will have gambled and lost", say Cerdan. As it is, Adenauer and his American backers have gambled and won. Temporarily. The arms production of frightful weapons is now legal in the land of the Nazi revival. There is still time — a little time — to see they don't beat the gun again, and try their weapons out on new battlefields of Europe. E.D.C. was the beginning. But ordinary people everywhere have it in their power to say the last word! The battle against German rearmament is entering its decisive, fateful last stage.

THE acts of police despotism come too thick and fast to be separately recorded. Mr. Swart's Suppression of Communism powers are rapidly being extended to include any and all opponents of the Nationalist juggernaut. The newspaper "Advance", the most widely-read

IRON CURTAIN

and effective organ of South African democracy has been arbitrarily suppressed, without charge, trial or hearing, and with no reasons given. A dozen leaders of the Congress of the People campaign have been summarily banned from gatherings and from membership of a host of democratic and progressive organisations. It is, perhaps, a sign of the extent to which the spirit of democracy has corroded, that all this takes place in a blanket of impenetrable silence from the daily press and the leaders of the parliamentary political parties. But nothing so adequately illustrates the purposes to which the Government is putting its sweeping dictatorial powers, as the banning of Mr. Len Lee Warden from all gatherings for a period of two years.

Lee Warden is a candidate for "Native Representative" in Parliament for the Cape Western ward. He is also National Vice-Chairman of the Congress of Democrats. He is not listed as a member or an active supporter of the former Communist Party. His offence is clearly that he puts forward a policy of full and equal rights and opportunities for all South Africans, regardless of colour. His banning is clearly an attempt to handicap his election campaign, and assist his more "acceptable" opponents, who have none of his uncompromising democratic faith. If the Cape Western voters were as chicken-hearted as the daily press, Lee Warden's election campaign would be lost without a vote being cast.

But Cape Western has a tradition which might still unsettle Mr. Swart's best laid schemes. Based on three past elections—Kahn's, Bunting's and Ray Alexander's—a banning order from Mr. Swart seems to be the passport to election victory. We trust the Cape Western will keep the tradition up; for it is this spirit of fighting back that keeps our withering liberties from complete extinction. In the same spirit is the launching of a new weekly paper "New Age", published in Cape Town to fill the vacuum left by the strangling of *Advance*. To its editors, we give our warmest greetings and our fullest support. More power to your arm!

WHEN Johannesburg citizens lobbied their Councillors in mass deputations against the Western Areas Scheme some six months ago, some of the more cynical Councillors declared the deputations were a "put-up job."

VERDICT GIVEN

Last month, the voters gave their verdict in the municipal elections. Mr. J. J. Page, foremost United Party protagonist for the removal of people from the Western Areas, went down to defeat in the ward he has represented for 25 years. Not even the belated United Party opposition to the precise methods adopted by the Government to effect removal could save the day. Mr. Jack Cutten, standing as an independent candidate, tumbled him from his traditional seat. The election was fought on the Western Areas removal; and Mr. Cutten's name has consistently been linked with the opposition to any forcible, mass deportation of the African people from those areas. He favoured neither the Nationalist nor the United Party schemes for forcible eviction. And this traditionally United Party ward voted for him and for his policy in the heaviest poll of the day. It was a tribute both to the man, and to the democratic principles for which he campaigned, backed by a small band of members of the Congress of Democrats, the Liberal Party and some non-party progressive citizens.

The lone "Bekkerite", former councillor Klipin, went crashing to a defeat in which he forfeited his deposit. This renegade from the United Party not only supported the Nationalist Removal Scheme, but accepted Verwoerd's nomination to the Resettlement Board which will carry the scheme through. Yeoville voters have removed the last shred of justification for the Government's specious claim that Mr. Klipin represents the voters of Johannesburg on the Board. With him to political eclipse went Observatory's Mr. Weiner, another supporter of Western Areas Removal, and one who riled the protest deputation from his ward by his refusal to say outright whether he would even toe the United Party line and oppose the Verwoerd removal scheme. Johannesburg's voters had made their opposition to mass removal clear beyond the doubting. It was, no doubt, a bitter pill for the United Party to swallow.

THEY MARCHED TO VICTORY!

PEOPLE who live along Louis Botha Avenue become accustomed to the noise of traffic that races along the highway night and day. They become accustomed to the uproar caused by the Alexandra buses, the roar and the rattle, the grind of gears. The Alex. buses start very early in the morning, before traffic fills the roads.

One morning in November, ten years ago, those living in the houses and flats along Louis Botha Avenue were woken by an unfamiliar sound.

Perhaps the first thing that woke them was the absence of noise, for it was unusually quiet. Or it might have been the strangeness of an entirely new sound that woke them, and brought them from their beds to see what it was.

It was the sound of thousands and thousands of people walking.

The watchers from doors and windows saw an amazing sight. They saw men and women, walking singly, in twos and threes, in small groups, straggling out as far as one could see along the Avenue. The walkers came on and on, endlessly. The first ones had passed long before it was light, and they continued to come with the swift Johannesburg dawn, and they went on coming as cars and lorries filled the road. They walked on either side of the road, they spilled over into the road, an endless stream of people nine and a half miles long.

The people of Alexandra Township were walking to work. It was the first day of the seven week long bus boycott.

THE FIRST PROCESSION

It was not the first time that the people of Alexandra had walked to work. Over a year before the Transportation Board allowed the companies that were then operating the Alex. buses to raise fares by a penny for each journey. On the 1st August, 1943, a huge procession of about 15,000 people left Alexandria and marched the 9½ miles to Johannesburg. Stretching out for about three miles, and blocking all traffic to and from the northern suburbs, it was one of the greatest demonstrations Johannesburg has ever seen.

It was a demonstration of the unity and determination of the people of Alexandra Township. It was also a demonstration of the extreme and bitter poverty of the African people. Thousands of white people learned with amazement that Africans would rather walk 20 miles a day than pay an extra 2d. bus fare.

That march lasted for nine days, and at the end of nine days the bus owners

gave in. The fare was reduced once more, and the Government appointed a Commission of enquiry on the question of bus services for non-Europeans.

CLASSIC COMMISSION

The findings of that classic Commission are worth remembering today, when Africans in municipal townships are threatened with greatly increased rents:

"The vast bulk of the African workers in the areas covered by the Commission's enquiry were, in 1940, unable from their own earnings, even when supplemented by the earnings of other members of the family, to meet even the minimum requirements for subsistence, health and decency . . .

"The items which make the most rigid and urgent demands upon the African workers are rent, transport and tax. They cannot be escaped. The worker is compelled to live far away from his work . . . Owing to the compulsion imposed upon Africans by State policy and housing requirements, rent and transport should always be considered together, and these together take too high a proportion of the family income . . .

"Transport charges, in relation to the workers' wages, or even to the total family income, are beyond the capacity of the African workers to pay. Indeed, it may be said that they cannot afford to pay anything. They certainly cannot afford to pay anything more in any direction, except by reducing still further their hunger diet."

But the Government deliberately held back the Commission's findings until they had framed an Emergency Regulation requiring employers to pay any increase in transport fares. Then the new fare for Alexandra of 1d. extra each way was fixed.

The Government's proposal that workers were to collect the increased fare from their employers was completely unrealistic, and immediately recognised as such by the people of Alex. It applied only to those travelling to and from regular employment, and even in those cases placed the onus of collecting the extra 2d. a day on the worker. It

did not cover people visiting friends, attending hospital, going to town for shopping; casual workers; washwomen; children.

The evening before the higher fares came into force, a meeting of over 6,000 people took place in Alexandra. They decided to boycott the buses, and to walk to work.

A policeman mounted the platform and read a notice banning processions and gatherings of more than 20 people as from the following day.

ARMOURD CARS AND BROKEN SHOES

The great march started on 15th November amid a show of police force. Lorry loads of police swooped down on the township at 3 o'clock in the morning, when many people began their three-hour trek to town. Armoured cars waited in the background, and a military plane flew overhead.

The buses were completely empty, except for those filled with conductors — a stupid attempt to make people think

that others had started using the buses. The conductors were soon recognised, and jeered at by the people of Alexandra.

From the beginning, the march stirred public sympathy. It was something that thousands of people saw for themselves; they saw people plodding along bare-foot, others with old and broken shoes; they saw washwomen struggling along with heavy burdens; they saw babies, women with veined and swollen legs; they saw men whose faces bore the marks of diseases of poverty and the slums. Coming from the close summer heat of the city each day, tired out and glad to get in swift cars or buses to their homes and gardens, they witnessed these other people — the black people — straggling along the road on their weary walk home.

Three nights after the boycott began, a severe storm broke over Johannesburg in the evening. It reached its height as most Africans were on their way back from Alexandra, spread out for miles along the shelterless stretches of road. After the violent thunder and lightning, driving rain and hail beat down on the

people. Motorists stopped their cars to give lifts to some of the walkers, particularly the women.

NO LIFTS

The following night a storm broke again, and many people with cars drove out along the road to Alex, picking up passengers and taking them to their homes. Some made the journey several times, and as the days went by an increasing number of Europeans with cars gave lifts each night. Soon the Transportation Board stepped in, taking names and addresses of drivers and warning them they would be prosecuted for carrying passengers without a licence.

In the second week of the boycott it was arranged for lorries to assist with transportation. Each evening hundreds lined up to get lifts on lorries, dray-carts and in private cars, but the majority still had to walk.

The increasing public sympathy was reflected in the press, in editorials and correspondence, and in statements of

MILESTONES TO LIBERTY

Hilda Watts recalls the great November, 1944, Alexandra Bus Boycott

many well-known people in church and commerce.

The Government, however, remained unmoved, while the City Fathers acted in a most peculiar fashion. At first many suggestions were put to them of action they could take — such as running a bus service as far as the municipal boundary at Bramley; or trying to get the Government to subsidise buses, or subsidise them themselves. Each suggestion was turned down with long explanations as to why it was not practical.

As days and weeks went by, however, the Councillors became uneasy. Public pressure is a most powerful weapon, and Councillors felt the breeze blowing around them. Finally they were forced to make tentative proposals to the Government — some of the proposals they had formerly rejected themselves. All proposals were turned down by the Government, which was condemned by the press for being unwilling to take any action itself and for not being prepared to allow anyone else to intervene, an attitude "out of touch with public interest," reported the Star, adding "little support is forthcoming in commercial,

municipal and other circles for the Government's attitude."

Organisations such as church bodies and the National Council of Women sent deputations to Government and Municipality. Letters streamed into the press.

FESTIVE SEASON

After a month of the boycott, the character of the daily procession had changed. At night the road to Alex was packed with bicycles, a tremendous procession of them. While thousands still had to get lifts, or walk, more and more bicycles were being borrowed from friends in other townships, or supplied by employers.

Christmas came and went — and still no solution. The people went on walking. Thousands of pairs of shoes had been worn out, thousands of people still exhausted themselves in the gruelling December heat.

Just before Christmas a remarkable test was made of the tremendous unity and spirit of the people. All lorries had been withdrawn under instructions from the Road Transportation Board, and this naturally angered the people of Alexandra. If the lorries could not run, why were the buses still allowed to travel up and down — empty — but taunting the tired walkers all the time? They decided that if lorries could not enter Alexandra, nor could the buses, and they threw a cordon across the road.

The bus owners protested that only intimidation and force were preventing people from travelling in the buses. The cordon was broken by police. Under police escort the buses entered the township and drew up waiting for passengers. Not a single man, woman or child attempted to board them, neither while the police were there to 'protect' them, nor after the police had left. The buses remained empty.

VICTORY

Finally, at the end of December, the Council sent another deputation to interview Mr. Hofmeyr, with new proposals: that books of coupons should be sold. Passengers using them during the week would pay the old fare, those without coupons would pay the increased fare, while at week-ends no coupons would be available, the full fare being charged. On the 1st January the proposals were discussed and accepted by a mass meeting of residents held at Alexandra. The scheme was to operate for a trial period of three months. On the 4th January the new scheme began. After seven long weeks of walking, the people of Alexandra took to the buses again. The boycott had ended, with victory for the people.

Not long after, while the City Council was negotiating with the bus owners to purchase the buses, it was unexpectedly announced that a new private company had bought out the buses, and reverted to the old fare of 4d. without the coupons during week-days. The new company also replaced the old, broken down buses with the present-day "Tigers", so that today while transport to Alexandra is still completely inadequate — only a proper train service can provide the answer — it is still vastly better than it was before the boycott.

Yes, the people of Alexandra won a tremendous victory. Everything that could be done to break their spirit and prevent a settlement was done by the Government. The display of military force when the boycott started, the banning of meetings and processions, police visits to Alexandra, the obstinate refusal to countenance one proposal after another, the statements from Cabinet Ministers (including the 'liberal' Hofmeyr) that they would not depart from their obviously unacceptable and unworkable scheme — all this gave the impression that the Government was pursuing a vindictive and petty vendetta against the people of Alexandra, disregarding the forthright findings of their own Commission, disregarding the poverty and suffering of the people.

LOOKING BACK

For too many years the people of Alexandra had endured discomfort and inconvenience in ancient, rickety old buses, with torn and flapping canvas at the windows, with long waits in all kinds of weather at seatless and shelterless bus stops.

The bus boycott drew sharp attention not simply to these poor transport conditions, but to the hardships and poverty of the African people as a whole, their low wages and the long distances they are forced to travel with inadequate services.

The bus boycott was a triumph of solidarity and unity, a wonderful demonstration of the mass strength of the people, of unbreakable determination among all sections. Not a single person from Alexandra, young or old, boarded the buses for seven weeks, until the old fare had been won back.

Remember this Alexandra bus boycott. Such militancy, such unity, can win the day. The people of Alexandra, ten years ago this month, demonstrated to all South Africa the qualities of courage, unity and determination that can defeat reaction and win victories on wider fronts.

FOR WHOM NOBEL TOLLS

THERE is no better story teller in America than Ernest Hemingway. A great artist, but limited, narrow, and mutilated by his class egotism, the very brilliance of Hemingway's talents has served only to illuminate the poverty of his mind.

It is poor because its owner has for years lived the limited life of a rich sportsman and tourist. Hemingway's novels so often express this spectator without responsibilities, who holds a box seat at the crucifixion of humanity, and is a connoisseur of the agony and sweat of others.

You go through the Hemingway country and find it a world of cafes; bullfighters; long-limbed, gallant, 'aristocratic' women who succumb easily; and expensive pleasure fishing; and expensive travelling hither and yon; and bootleggers; prizefighters — a colourful if sterile world and one completely divorced from the experience of the great majority of mankind.

It is interesting to search through Hemingway's writings for a single portrait of a man at work. There is never such a hero. The bondholder lives by coupon clipping or other abstract financial means. He can be very philanthropic and even as "pure in heart" as a lean, ironic, hard-drinking, Hemingway hero. But he knows nothing about the factories and fields where men must work and where the sources of his income arise.

All these traits account for the strange distortion that affects Hemingway's novel of the Spanish Civil War, "For Whom the Bell Tolls".

The hero, Robert Jordan, is the same lean, ironic, hard-drinking, very, very noble Gary Cooper-Ernest Hemingway hero. He meets the same long-limbed gellant Hemingway-Greta Garbo girl (this time a Spanish maiden). Against the backdrop of the civil war, they go through the same gallant, skilfully arranged death. (The Hemingway pattern of love, by the way, is as juvenile as the Hemingway picture of society. Just as money comes from somewhere, by magic, and not from the most fundamental fact of life: which is labour; just so does love never become marriage, and babies, and common domesticity. Just as he has never been able to portray a worker, so he has been unable to draw the figure of a single mother).

Robert Jordan, former Spanish instructor at an American university, now

a volunteer in the International Brigade, had been doing guerilla work back of the fascist lines. Hemingway's story is concerned with the last four days of his life when Jordan is assigned to blow up a certain bridge in enemy country.

The inner life of this young volunteer, however, is not that of any loyal member of the International Brigade, so far as one can judge from the letters, writings, speeches and other public records of the majority of them.

It is obviously Hemingway's inner life, intimately resembling the philosophy, or lack of philosophy, of the autobiographical heroes in his other books. It is interesting to note first that this

This extract from an essay on Ernest Hemingway, the 1954 recipient of the Nobel Prize for Literature, was written by columnist and critic, Michael Gold, and published during 1940 in the New York Daily Worker.

Hemingway-Jordan cannot work up any real hate of the fascists. He is forever searching for excuses for them; he wants to find the "humanity" in these people.

He is so anxious to be fair to them, that he goes to the length of spending more time telling of Republican cruelty than of fascist cruelty.

That there must have been, in a mercile civil war, some typical peasant excesses against landlords, cannot be doubted. But Hemingway is unable to see . . . that peasant terror is sporadic and individual, but fascist terror is organised in cold blood, on a mass scale.

But from Hemingway's book, it is obvious that he cannot see the class difference. The war to him is exciting, terrible, dangerous: really a bullfight on a vast scale. If one takes sides in it, it is for this very personal reason: "He fought now in this war because it had started in a country that he loved and he believed in the Republic and that if it were destroyed life would be unbearable for all those people who believed in it."

But the majority of the Spanish people fought not only for the forms of a republic. They also fought for bread, against feudal taxes, against the great estates. They were fighting against the

fascists so fiercely because they hated the landlords, usurers and bloated hierarchs and generals who had oppressed them for centuries.

Regarding these class lines, or the enormous central fact of hunger in Spain, Hemingway has not a sentence. Not a word. Not a hint. He doesn't know it exists. The war is some sort of vague battle over words, without roots in man's earth. It is like every other war. It is a thrill.

One of the tricks of the Hemingway style consists of its short, positive, declarative sentences, each of them a final and authoritative judgment on everything. This rhetorical device never admits modifying clauses, or doubt, or, let us add, the painful processes of thought.

Thus, with the usual swagger, Hemingway-Jordan explains all there is to be known about that little subject, Communism. What is Communism? It is bigotry, he dogmatizes airily. And what is bigotry? Bigotry is something that happens to you when you have not slept for a long time with a woman. "Maria was very hard on his bigotry." After he slept with this long-limbed, gallant dream-girl, he tells us, his bigotry and his "Communism" left him. But drunkenness would have served just as well. A drunkard is as little "bigoted" as an adulterer, he says.

Based on this piffing barroom philosophy, this class persiflage of the rentier, is it any wonder that Hemingway-Jordan, after respecting "Communist discipline, because it is the soundest and sanest for the prosecution of the war," immediately repeats the filthiest slanders that appeared in the fascist press during the war? He employs and even adorns their slanders of Andre Marty, a man who lived for twenty-five years the life of a heroic leader of the people, a man who was the brains of a great naval revolt, who was the first Communist deputy of France, who spent years in prison for his beliefs, who led great strikes. No rich tourist can ever understand the mind or the heart of such a man. It must always remain a mystery to him; since, if understood, it might shatter his own smug universe. He is fatally compelled to slander all the ethical and moral values forming such a mind, lest they destroy him.

"For Whom the Bell Tolls" is only the story of Hemingway in Spain. It is

(Continued on next page)

Simon Zukas' London Letter

All God's Chillun

CANON COLLINS' first report-back meeting was well attended and he gave his audience a brief but true picture of South Africa under the Malanazis. A good section of his audience already knew the set up: there were many South Africans in it, including a bunch of Nats. who took copious notes and squirmed right through the Canon's speech. These Nats — I found myself sitting next to them — had evidently been here long enough to know that their views were far from popular here, and remained silent through question time.

Collins was sure enough of his facts to deal with a few cunningly phrased questions from a United Party type and a wishy-washy South African liberal. The audience was obviously convinced that something must be done at this end to support the struggle for freedom in South Africa; but unfortunately no resolutions were moved to canalise this feeling into some concrete channels. The audience were left with the question posed by Victor Gollancz who chaired the meeting: "What can we do to help?" But to those who complained that nothing could be done here to change the

course of events in South Africa, because South Africa is a Dominion, Collins showed that one of the most effective things they could do was to exert sufficient pressure on Parliament to pursue progressive policies in Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and the Protectorates and thus exert *indirect* pressure on the Government of the Union.

NOT ALONE

Canon Collins will find wide support in the Labour Movement and amongst liberal Christians if not in the Church itself; but he will first have to establish some sort of unity between several bodies that claim to be interested in gaining support for the S.A. National Liberation Movement. I gather that the Canon originally intended to have this meeting sponsored by several such bodies but having failed to get the co-operation of the newly-formed "Movement for Colonial Freedom" he held it under the auspices of Christian Action.

The best British Press Comment on Dr. Malan's retirement announcement is a cartoon, entitled "Design for a Memorial", by "Vicky" in the Daily Mirror. Mounted on a pedestal is a bloated Malan in cave-man attire and club in one hand standing on an African who is making a desperate attempt to rise up. Inscribed on the pedestal are the words: "All God's Chillun . . ."

T.U.C. BATTLES

At the Annual Trade Union Congress militant trade unionists joined the battle for colonial freedom, but tried in vain to gain official condemnation of Lyttleton's colonial policies. The T.U.C. leadership, dominated by men like Deakin who fails to support even his own union members when on strike — as was the case recently at the Hull dock strike and now in the London bus and dock strike — opposed the following resolution: "*Congress condemns the policy of the present Government, directed by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, as one which has worsened Britain's relations with Colonial people all over the world. Congress calls for an immediate cease-fire in Kenya and Malaya and for negotiations for a peaceful settlement and for a policy which provides for higher living standards; full trade union and democratic rights; abolition of colour bar.*"

The motion was moved by the Fire Brigades' Union which has, for some time, been campaigning for solidarity with colonial peoples and recently invited the President of the N. Rhodesian African General Workers' Union to attend their Annual Conference. (The N. Rhodesian Government refused to issue a passport to Mr. Chimba, the President.)

Mr. Abe Moffat, President of the Scottish Mineworkers, seconded the motion which was also supported by Arthur Horner, General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, in his personal capacity.

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The President of the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen (Mr. Doughty) tried to get the Council to reconsider their attitude towards financial support for African trade unions in South Africa, but the Council would not budge, claiming that such support would jeopardise within-reach trade union unity in South Africa!!

LABOUR'S TIMIDITY

And what does the Labour Party offer the colonies? Its Annual Conference approved an evasive statement of policy which would enable a future Labour Government to continue where the Tories leave off. The statement pledged the Labour Party to self-government for the colonies, but statements by Tory Governments have gone equally as far — except in the case of Cyprus. And this is where the Labour Party does differ from the Tories. The Conference accepted a resolution deploring the Government's policy on Cyprus and called on the Parliamentary Labour Party to oppose it on all occasions.

So the Labour Party does stand for self-government for *all* the colonies and protectorates. But does it stand for immediate self-government? "Oh no," says former Colonial Secretary James Griffiths, "Britain could not abandon its responsibilities for 50 territories" just like that. A time-table for self-government in stages must be worked out by consultation with the responsible peoples! The never-never system once again.

Hemingway

(Continued from previous page)

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Yes, this is the story of democracy itself that Hemingway has missed.

WEHRMACHT IN THE SPRING

The Overseas News Reviewed by Ben Giles

MINISTER HELLWEGE: "Germany was always a bulwark against Asia — the hour of proving has come. We need the strong arm of the Wehrmacht so that we can pass the test." (May, 1953).

MINISTER SEEBOHM. "The German frontiers of 1937 in the east must be removed, in order to create an economic unit large enough to form the basis of life for our people and for the European nation." (December, 1951).

"If the go-ahead comes soon, the first West German soldiers can be in uniform by next spring," says the latest issue of the American magazine *Time*. The Americans can hardly wait.

With the restoration of "sovereignty" to West Germany (but foreign troops, in terms of the London Treaty, will remain until the end of the century), an army of 500,000 men will be added almost immediately to the strength of the Anglo-American bloc. It will consist of 12 divisions, four armoured, each with 1,200 tanks — twice the strength of a Hitler panzer division. The air force will have 1,500 front-line planes, and the navy 180 ships.

According to the *Manchester Guardian*, "the officers and men of the new German army will wear American-type khaki uniform and American-type helmets." Maybe they will also chew American-type gum.

Adolf Heusinger, once chief of operations under Hitler, is the most likely candidate for chief of staff. Hans Speidel, once chief of staff to Rommel, is likely to represent West Germany on the military control body established by the London Treaty.

Old SS men and war criminals will probably flock to the colours at the first opportunity. Recently released war criminals Kesselring and Meyer were received by their old comrades with frantic enthusiasm, and have given the Nazi forces in West Germany a big boost since their return. Kesselring heads the revived Stahlhelm.

No wonder Dulles considers the London pact the greatest diplomatic triumph of the 20th century; and the Queen has knighted Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Secretary who made it all possible.

MISCALCULATION

But the warmongers have made a great miscalculation if they think they have already won the diplomatic battle for Europe. Before the ink was dry on the London Treaty, the Soviet Union staged a counter-offensive which has

already split the shaky Western alliance wide open.

Speaking at the opening of the United Nations assembly in New York, Mr. Vishinsky announced a new plan for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction. Central feature of the new plan is that the Soviet Union proposes to begin disarmament in the land forces in which she is strongest — and she has done this specifically to meet the wishes of the West.

Mr. Vishinsky's plan is:

"All states, in six months or a year, to cut their armaments, armed forces and arms budgets by half their size as they stood at the end of 1953.

"At the same time a temporary International Control Commission to be set up under the Security Council with power to observe the carrying out of these steps and to ask for information from the Governments concerned.

"When this first cut has been carried through, the remaining 50 per cent. of the cuts would be implemented, atomic weapons banned, their manufacture stopped, and 'all existing atomic materials used for peaceful purposes only.'

"A permanent 'international organ of control' would be established to ensure that the provisions of the treaty on the banning of atomic weapons and reduction of armaments is observed, with powers of inspection on a permanent basis."

FIRE AND SWORD

Commenting on the London agreement, Mr. Vishinsky warned that the 12 West German divisions now planned would soon become 60 divisions, and within a few years the Germans would have an army of a million men "which, as soon as it feels its strength, will ply its neighbours and all of Europe with fire and sword."

The only solution to the German problem, he said, was the peaceful unification of East and West Germany within the framework of a European

collective security agreement to which the Soviet Union as well as Britain, France and the other European powers would belong.

"The West has to recognise the possibility of co-existence", he said. "As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has always stood square on this position, and this is our position today."

Mr. Vishinsky's call was followed within a few days by the speech of Soviet Foreign Minister Mr. Molotov in Berlin on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the foundation of the German democratic republic.

Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union should agree now on the withdrawal of occupation troops from East and West Germany, said Mr. Molotov. The Soviet Union considered that German unification on the lines laid down in the Potsdam agreement was the basic solution to the German problem, and with a view to achieving this, was ready to discuss the proposals put forward at the Big-Four Berlin conference on Germany, as well as possible new proposals on free all-German elections.

German unity was impossible if the London agreement was carried out, he said. "A remilitarised West Germany would conjure up a direct danger to peace in Europe."

IN CONFUSION

Mr. Vishinsky's and Mr. Molotov's speeches, containing as they did the very concessions on which the West had insisted before they were willing to resume talks on either Germany or disarmament, threw the whole Western war camp into confusion.

At the United Nations, Mr. James J. Wadsworth, the United Nations delegate, admitted Mr. Vishinsky's proposals "do appear to open an avenue for future discussion," while Britain's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, said: "The Soviet Government appears to have moved toward the Anglo-French proposals (on disarmament) — that is a fact to be welcomed." The

French delegation said it had listened to Mr. Vishinsky's proposals "with satisfaction."

But behind the scenes the U.S. and British top-flight politicians were already thinking of new methods of avoiding agreement with the Russians. "Britain has no intention of accepting any delays," reported Nora Beloff in the *Observer*. "Nevertheless the British Minister of State has no intention of running against the formidable tide of optimism which has swept over the United Nations since Mr. Vishinsky's speech renouncing the basic Soviet principles of disarmament which for so many years prevented any constructive negotiations."

On the continent of Europe itself, the Vishinsky-Molotov proposals naturally had far wider repercussions.

Mr. Jules Moch, former French Minister of Defence and now French representative on the Disarmament Commission, cabled the French Premier Mendes-France urging him to insert a suspensive clause in the London agreement so that an opportunity might be provided to explore the Russian offer, which had brought about a "sensational change" in the world situation.

Mr. Moch said that if his advice were ignored, he would do everything in his power to secure the rejection of the London agreement in the French Assembly.

As it happened, Mendes-France was able to bull-doze the London agreement through the French Assembly despite Mr. Moch; but only by undertaking to use the period before German rearmament came into force to explore the possibilities of peaceful reunification of Germany according to the Vishinsky-Molotov plan.

Mendes-France said he would never have accepted the London agreement if there were any danger of its "straining our relations" with the Soviet Union. He added:

"You know, and the Soviet Union knows well, that time is needed, two or three years without doubt, for the London decision to result in arms for Germany. It is not too optimistic to hope that during this period negotiations (with Russia) will have (ended) in disarmament."

Mendes-France is clever, perhaps too clever, at playing off one group against another. He has won provisional endorsement for his policy from a reluctant Assembly but, as the Paris correspondent of the *New Statesman and*

Nation reported after the debate: "The feeling in the Assembly against German rearmament in any form is strong; indeed, the principal objection raised during the debate — the existence of an independent German General Staff — is shared by a clear majority of the Assembly . . . It is quite clear that to get the final texts (of the agreements on German rearmament) through the Assembly will take a great deal of hard work."

GERMANS UNWILLING

Strangely enough, the most formidable opposition to the London agreement has come from inside West Germany itself.

The Social Democrats, leading opposition party in the Bundestag, pressed for negotiations with the Soviet Union. Party leader Ollenbauer calling Mr. Molotov's offer a "real change", said: "We Social Democrats believe that the federal republic should not accept any new obligations in connection with Western defence before new serious attempts are made by negotiations with the Soviet Union to solve the question of German reunification on the basis of free elections."

Even Dr. Dehler, leader of the Free Democrats, partners in the Adenauer coalition, embarrassed the Chancellor by calling for immediate negotiations with the Soviet Union on the basis of Mr. Molotov's offer. Commented the *Observer's* Sebastian Haffner: "This is the sharpest publish clash on fundamental questions that has yet occurred."

On October 9 the West German Trade Union Congress, representing 6 million workers, passed a resolution at Frankfurt rejecting a West German military contribution to European defence "as long as all possibilities of negotiations for international reconciliation are not exhausted and the union of Germany is not restored." Only four votes were cast against the resolution. All the speakers stressed they were neither Communists nor pacifists, but just anti-Nazi.

At the end of September, the 670,000 members of the trade union youth groups had voted unanimously against an armed contribution of any kind.

Clearly the German people, as opposed to their rulers and the old Nazi gang hoping to stage a come-back, want unity and peace, not rearmament and war. Adenauer may get his Bundestag majority, but it looks like he will also get very reluctant soldiers when the time comes for them to get into uniform.

BANTU BLACKOUT

In ancient times, it was a practice of certain panderers to the despotic rulers of the East to rear children in pots. The pots distorted and cramped their bodies into weird shapes. They were then sold to the wealthy as jesters and objects of amusement.

In this day and age, notwithstanding the cruel practices of Hitler Germany, there is no country in the world where such practice would not be treated as a crime — a crime against humanity.

The Bantu Education Act does not propose to rear children in pots to distort their bodies. Nothing as crude as that. Nor does it intend that they should be sold as jesters and objects of amusement. It proposes, instead, to rear them in pots which will distort, cramp and limit their mental development, so that they will be docile, uncomplaining servants of the whites. And this, it is claimed, is being done in the sacred cause of preserving "white civilisation" — and on behalf of every white-skinned South African.

The South African Congress of Democrats gives the lie to this claim, in its latest, hard-hitting pamphlet about Bantu Education — "Educating for Ignorance." The pamphlet pulls no punches. It strips Bantu Education bare of all the airy philosophising, and reveals its crude, mediaeval bones by extensive direct quotations from the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd. It explains what the Act is; what it aims to do; what effect it will have on both pupil and parent, teacher and nation. There is a foreword by Father Trevor Huddleston C.R.

It is a pamphlet you must not be without. And one you should pass on to every friend you have who wants to know what is happening in his own land, to his fellow men.

EDUCATING FOR IGNORANCE is obtainable from the S.A. Congress of Democrats, P.O. Box 4088, Johannesburg. Price 3d. per copy, post free.

LABOUR SAYS "NO!"

TREMENDOUS opposition has been aroused at the proposal to permit Western Germany to re-arm her military machine and to once again train and equip a huge military organisation. With the memories of World War II still very bitter and very evident in many parts of the world, especially in those countries which suffered from the Nazi onslaught, opposition to German re-armament has reached mass proportions.

The lead in favour of Germany being re-armed is being taken by the United States of America, which has in all facets of its policy, both openly and secretly, encouraged the most evil and most reactionary circles in Germany, and bolstered up with solid injections of dollars the tottering remnants of the Nazi régime. Thus, the decisions of the Potsdam agreement signed by the big powers which lead the coalition that defeated Nazi Germany, and included clauses such as the break-down of German cartels, like the Krupp Armament works, the public ownership of the most important industries formerly controlled by Nazis, the extermination of all vestiges of Nazism from German life, and the eventual unification of Germany on democratic lines, all these good decisions have been jettisoned as a result of American pressure, which in turn has influenced official policy in Great Britain to support this reactionary line as well.

SMOKE SCREEN

Elaborate political steps accompanied these moves to give the world the idea that all these steps were being taken to counter so-called threats from the Soviet Union and from "communism" typically in the same strain that Hitler & Co., carried on their nefarious work which lead to the disasters that preceded World War II and the horrible War itself. Thus we have had such political moves as the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the European Defence Community (EDC) all designed to give people the false impression of threats from the East, whilst plans were rapidly being carried to fruition to maintain huge armies and build up huge armament industries including the revival of the Krupp organisation in Germany.

This policy has been carried out in the face of fierce opposition in many parts of Europe, particularly in France and in Italy, as well as in Western Ger-

many itself — opposition which has assumed mass proportions, and which has led even to Governments being compelled to reject the more blatant plans of German re-armament so that public support would not be completely destroyed in their nefarious schemes.

LABOUR'S NO!

How about opposition in Great Britain itself, which also suffered at the hand of the Nazi war machine, though not so severely as the European continent? Many people are puzzled by the fact that the British Labour Party and the Trade Union Congress, the two most influential labour organisations in that country have officially agreed to German re-armament, which is being openly pushed by the Conservative Government

VETERAN TRADE UNIONIST

I. WOLFSON

REVIEWS TWO BRITISH CONFERENCES

at present in office. On the face of it, it would appear that all sections of the British people, Tory as well as labour, have given their blessing to this reactionary policy of re-arming the greatest threat to world peace the world has ever known — a reactionary anti-democratic Germany. Yet this is not really the case as can be briefly elicited from the following facts.

Widespread opposition to German re-armament has been voiced and demanded by hundreds of Labour Party branches and Trade Union branches and National organisations in Great Britain. Some of the most influential unions in Britain, such as the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and many others, have officially declared their opposition to the rearming of Germany. The Co-operative Congress representing many millions of co-operators in Britain went on record by an overwhelming majority in spite of official opposition from the top executives, against German re-armament.

STAGE MANAGING

In the Labour Party, the left-wing led by Aneurin Bevan has won the support of the rank and file of the Labour Party against rearming the Germans. Yet

at both congresses of the Trade Union Congress and the Labour Party official votes have been recorded in favour of German re-armament. At both congresses the favourable vote was achieved by bringing into operation the "big guns" that is the official leadership such as Attlee and Morrison in the Labour Party and Deakin and Tewson in the T.U.C. By itself even this manoeuvre would have failed were it not for the fact that owing to the "Card-vote" structure of these Congresses, bloc votes of millions of trade unionists can be exercised by a few individuals, and outvote the views of the rank and file. This is exactly what did take place. For instance Mr. A. Deakin as spokesman of the most powerful British Trade Union, the Transport and General Workers' Union with a million strong membership was able to cast his vote in favour of German re-armament and thus swing the conference along reactionary tracks. What real influence Mr. Deakin can exercise when it comes to a show-down has been exemplified in the recent Dockers' Strike in England when, despite his denunciations and his attacks on the leaders of the strike, the Dockers remained out, without official Trade Union support, and won a great victory. By such means have the leadership been able — for the time being — with narrow majorities to give a public declaration that the Labour Party and the T.U.C. in Britain support German re-armament.

Yet in Britain there is a mass movement in the Labour Party branches and Trade Unions, as well as in the British Peace Movement against German re-armament. Millions of people in Britain know that with the development of nuclear weapons, Britain is no longer an unsinkable and unapproachable island base, but merely one of the first "expensible" targets in the American war plans for letting hell loose when the mad dogs of war get the upper hand, and War once more faces the world. It is with this realisation in their minds, coupled with their experience and knowledge of the Nazi war machine, that millions in Britain will yet make their voices heard more strongly still, so that they will sweep aside all such manoeuvres as *card votes* and call upon the British Government to oppose German re-armament and to unite with all other powers in a world-wide movement for peace and for the eventual abolition of war and all that it entails.

Simon Zukas' London Letter

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