

FIGHTING TALK

ORGAN OF THE SPRINGBOK LEGION

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A TRULY NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

FROM the Queenstown Conference of the African National Congress has come a stirring call to the ordinary South African man and woman of every race — a call to break through the lull which has gripped the democratic opposition since the ending of the Defiance Campaign. It is a call for an Assembly of the People — all the people — where a Freedom Charter can be drafted and proclaimed.

The outline shape of the People's Assembly is still vague, still waiting to be detailed in at a joint meeting of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the Congress of Democrats, together with any other democratic bodies who are willing to participate. But already there is this: the Assembly is to be composed of representatives of the people chosen by free and equal vote; the Assembly is to be open to men and women from town and country, from all occupations and all races on a basis of full equality; the Freedom Charter is to be a living

Where tradition prohibits the meeting of black men and white save on the basis of master and servant, the Assembly brings them together as community leaders and spokesmen.

It is events such as these that make history.

If the Assembly succeeds, as it should succeed, in becoming the most widely representative gathering ever held in South Africa, it will be a landmark in the history of struggle for human rights. It will mark the turning point at which the once small, outcast band of staunch, anti-racialist South African democrats of all colours emerge as the spearhead of the overwhelming majority of the population. It will mark the first clearly and formally expressed creed of democratic belief which the majority of South Africans today counter to the bitter, racialist and repressive ideology of South African fascism and its Nationalist exponents.

From such beginnings, there can be no turning back

*"What is this, the sound and rumour?
What is this that all men hear?
Like the rolling on of ocean on the eventide of fear?
Like the wind in hollow valleys when the storm is drawing near?
'TIS THE PEOPLE, MARCHING ON!"*

expression of the people's aspirations and desires as debated, voted on and crystallised in the course of the nationwide campaign for election of representatives.

The Assembly will cut like a knife across the three-hundred year tradition of South African history. Born of the new strength, maturity and confidence of the Congress movement, it will proclaim to the world and South Africa that the traditional racial exclusiveness of South African affairs is being challenged and approaches its end; that the universal ideas of brotherhood, equality and co-operation of races has flowered in the bitter, hostile South African soil, and now represents the main stream of our people's consciousness.

Where tradition reserves the right to vote to an all-white minority, the Assembly opens that right to all who wish to exercise it.

Where tradition strengthens and bolsters the inequality of citizens, the Assembly proclaims the equal stature and importance of everyone.

for the rising democratic cause, no prospects before us but victory and freedom, in our own lifetime. If the Assembly succeeds . . .

And succeed it must, and will. To this end, every effort of which lovers of liberty and South African patriots are capable must be turned. It must and will succeed if the effort is made to rouse the hearty and ready response to the call which can be evoked from every corner of the country, from every rural district and urban suburb. To this end, Fighting Talk will, during the coming months, devote its energies. This is our New Year pledge, as it should be of every true democrat, from whatever racial group he comes.

On behalf of the Editorial Board of Fighting Talk, we offer the hand of full and unstinting co-operation to the African National Congress in the great crusade they have initiated to summon the first, truly national Assembly of the South African People.

THE EDITORS.

WHAT PRICE THE UNITED PARTY?

THE fact must be recognised that the U.P.'s future is not very promising. Its chances of survival as a big party are slight.

It has compromised on its principles so often that today no one knows what it stands for or what it will put in the place of apartheid if it is ever returned to power. It is constantly adjusting its policy to be more in tune with apartheid, and with every successive "sell-out" its supporters lose a little more of their remaining enthusiasm and the general morale of the party declines further. This has gone on for so long that the end is now in sight. The U.P. has started actively disintegrating.

There is even more to it than this. The U.P.'s attitude to the Malan Government is not simply a passive one of evading action: It has its positive side — coalition-mongering. The revolt of the rebels was a definite attempt to strike a deal with the Nationalists. They have been defeated, but that is not the end of the affair by any means. They have a considerable number of supporters who are still respected and accredited members of the Parliamentary caucus and who are hankering after some form of "re-alignment" of political forces. It would be foolish to imagine that the rebellions within the United Party are over. They have just begun.

The United Party imagines that all the compromises and "sell-outs" are not noticed by its supporters, or that if they are noticed no one really objects to them. The United Party leadership is convinced that its followers will stay behind the party whatever happens — whatever compromises are made. This is an incorrect view. The U.P. electorate are disillusioned and disheartened. The extent of their dissatisfaction with the Strauss leadership is known to anyone who has made it his business to make a few inquiries among the ordinary citizens. The blunt truth is that the United Party is already much weaker than it was during the election in April. The Liberal and Federal parties have drawn off a small number of its followers, but a much bigger number are lapsing back into the political apathy that was so prevalent before the 1948 election. If Mr. Strauss thinks that the U.P. voters are still standing behind him, he is mistaken. The U.P. is in the process of breaking up. The day of reckoning has at last arrived. The Nationalists are succeeding in their aim of destroying the United Party.

PUTTING IT OFF

Because the U.P. is a big White party, and therefore a slight curb on the Nationalists — who after all are

dependent on White votes — a number of democratically-minded South Africans have prayed for the continued existence of the party. They have accepted the wholesale abandonment of principles, although it left a bitter taste in their mouths. They have been waiting patiently for the U.P. to make a stand; and every time the U.P. fails them, they hope that tomorrow it will justify their hopes. But tomorrow never comes. And now these people, the real backbone of the United Party, the section that has given it its stamina and will to oppose, are throwing up their hands in despair and looking around for something else. One by one, they are writing off the U.P. as a dead loss.

An important test faces the United Party as soon as the next Parliamentary session begins: the Coloured vote. At the moment, the U.P. seems determined to vote against the removal of the Coloureds from the common roll, but it will undoubtedly face a revolt among those of its members who believe that the Government should now be supported on this issue. What the outcome will be no one knows — but if there is going to be a fierce clash, it is almost certain that the U.P. will waver at some stage or other. It simply has no guts left.

CLEARANCE SALE

It is comparatively easy for the U.P. to make a stand on the Coloured vote, because it has developed into a major issue with a considerable part of the White population strongly in support of the U.P.'s case. But what about all the other measures that will be brought forward by the Nationalists during the next Parliamentary session? Is the U.P. going to repeat its behaviour of the last session and capitulate on one Bill after another? One would like to believe that the U.P. is really going to oppose the Nationalists, but its whole sorry record gives one no grounds

by a Special Correspondent

whatever for holding this belief. All the signs are that the U.P. is going to continue selling out.

The essence of the trouble is that the U.P. is not prepared to put forward a policy which is markedly different from apartheid. Firstly, it fears that it will not get enough White votes for such a policy; secondly, a positive alternative to apartheid means granting certain minimum rights to the non-Whites. The U.P. is not prepared to do this. For more than five years, the U.P. has formed part of the general anti-Nat. front — so much so, that a myth has been created, the myth that the U.P., fundamentally, is a progressive party, a party which is really liberal but which conceals its liberalism in order to capture the votes of near-Nats. Nothing could be further from the truth. The U.P. is not a progressive party. It is a party of big business, with all the aims and objects that usually go with big business. It has much more in common with apartheid than with the cause of the workers or the non-Whites. Its dispute with the Nationalists is over methods: It objects to the Nationalists being so exclusive — it wants to join them and take part in the general exploitation of the workers of South Africa.

This, of course, refers to all the U.P. supporters, who have stood by through thick and thin in the struggle against the Nats. They have been disillusioned: it was inevitable. Now they must look elsewhere.

JUMBLE WANTED

Johannesburg members who can collect Jumble should contact the Office (33-0975) to arrange for its collection.

FIGHTING TALK

INDEPENDENT MONTHLY REVIEW.

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FRAME A FREEDOM CHARTER

THE Governor-General's speech from the throne was another, weary repetition of last year's Nationalist clichés. 'Intolerable meddling of UNO'. 'Indian interference'. 'The survival of the whites'. It was a fitting opening for a new session of Parliament, where every matter proclaimed solved by last year's Malanite majority reappears for face lifting.

Once again the bill to 'Suppress Communism'; the measure to curb the trade unions, to bleach the 'black spots'; to deprive the Coloured voters of a substantial, unsegregated vote.

And once again the pitiful, anaemic 'No Confidence' motion, moved by Mr. Strauss, which accuses the Government of failing to prevent the 'integration' of Africans into South African life, of 'lack of realism', of undermining white supremacy.

Once again, the rebels with their revolt-in-a-teacup, stoutly trying to keep one hand in the United Party election-fund casket, while reaching out with the other for the lucrative Government 'favours' which are showered on loyal party hacks and necessary fellow travellers.

The casual observer concludes that, in the South African Parliament, "the more things change, the more they are the same."

And yet there is a sinister difference. The topics, and the clichés in which they are discussed are the same, warmed over from the cold remains of former years. But the substance is different. Last year there was an Act to regiment African workers, to illegalise their strikes, 'to bleed their trade unions to death' as Mr. Schoeman graphically described it. That Act passed without the bitter opposition of the established, registered trade unions. A bastion has been lost; and this year there is a bill to cripple, hamstring and 'bleed to death' the registered trade unions of the European, Coloured and Indian workers.

Last year there was a decision to remove from Parliament Brian Bunting, M.P., Native Representative for the Cape Western Constituency. That decision passed without protest from the 'official opposition', without bitter struggle by the voters to maintain their right to choose their representatives. A bastion has been lost; and this year there is a Bill to automatically unseat any 'listed' opponent of the Government, and to declare elected a defeated candidate who polls even a minority of the votes.

This has been the pattern of every year of the Nationalist Government's reign in office. Year by year it has struck down one or other of our rights and liberties, one or other of the bodies that throughout the years of fascism have stood as the guardians of those rights and liberties. And each time it has struck, it has singled out one group only for its attack, in the hope that others would sigh with relief that their turn had not yet come, and would stand aside. Each attack has weakened the capacity of South Africans

to resist, torn down one of the bastions of resistance, cleared the way for the next onslaught. Those who fail to stand together are cut down separately.

Even at this late hour, the old illusions survive, the old beliefs that the encroachment of fascism can be halted without all its victims standing and fighting together. Even at this late hour, the Torch Commando, Federal and Liberal Parties refuse united action with the Non-European people and their Congresses. While they talk bravely of fighting and resisting separately, each in their own 'field', they prepare the way for each and all to hang separately.

If this were the whole picture of South Africa, it would be a bleak, hopeless and despairing future. But Parliament and its doings are far from being the whole. When the bombast has been cleared away, South Africa's Parliament stands revealed for what it is — but the sounding board for the views and policies of a small minority of the South African people. The millions who built the country, pioneered the country, ploughed its soil, dug its mines and built its factories are outside, unrepresented. These are the makers of South Africa's history, now, as they have been at every stage of our existence.

Neither the Government nor the 'opposition' in Parliament speaks for these millions, nor with their voice.

Under the shadow of the 1954 session of the minority Parliament, they are preparing for their voice to be heard in a mighty "Convention of the People". Already, on the initiative of the African National Congress, the preparatory and planning discussions are under way, with the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the South African Coloured People's Organisation taking part.

For the first time in South Africa's history, elected representatives of the people — all the people — are to be summoned to deliberate together, to plot together the future course of South African progress and development.

It is here that history will be made; it is here that South Africans of all races and colours will re-establish their unity of purpose and their fraternity for the future; it is here that South Africa will turn its face away from the dark fascist age of Malan, towards the free future; it is here that South Africa will once again enter into the community of peoples of the world as a liberty-loving equal, not an outcast and a pariah.

The 1954 Parliament prepares for new, more draconic Nuremberg laws. But the Convention of the People prepares for a Freedom Charter. These are the two streams now flowing in South Africa's political life. And those who do not stand with the Nationalists on the Hitler road, must stand and work together with their fellows of all races for the successful summoning of the Convention, and for the winning of the majority of our citizens for the Freedom Charter.

“ . . . The task of resisting the Nationalists is being shifted from Parliament on to the democratic white and non-white bodies in the country . . . ”

PARLIAMENT THIS SESSION

THE Nationalists are preparing to fan the flames of racialism again this Parliamentary session. Another series of apartheid measures are to be launched by the Ministers of Native Affairs and Labour. It is becoming increasingly apparent that apartheid is incapable of being modified or soft-pedalled: it must proceed from one atrocity to the other. At the same time, it is sowing the seeds of its own destruction.

The prospects of the Nationalists meeting with strong opposition in Parliament are remote. The only real resistance comes from the Native Representatives and the Labour Party. The United Party, divided and bewildered, is compromising more and more. It is not prepared to take the one step that will enable it to survive as a political factor — oppose apartheid.

U.P. COMPROMISE

From a Parliamentary point of view, therefore, the chances of a united front against the Malan Government are almost non-existent. The apartheid measures will go through, the Nationalist grip on South Africa will be tightened further, and the United Party will sink deeper into the mire of opportunism. Increasingly, the task of resisting the Nationalists is being shifted from Parliament on to the democratic White and non-White bodies in the country. Nationalism is on the verge of achieving one of its major aims: the crushing of bourgeois White opposition.

Consider the measures now being polished up by the Nationalist racialists:

(1) *Black Spots Legislation.* Dr. Verword has announced his intention of introducing legislation dealing with the Western Areas removal scheme. He is determined to make it a major issue. The U.P., with only a short time left in which to make up its mind, is in the throes of a policy struggle and is being pulled in various directions by special “Mentz report” committees and by its individual Members of Parliament. The pattern of thought in the U.P. is the old familiar one. There are the same three groups: One group wants to reject the Mentz report entirely; another wants to accept it; a third wants to both accept and reject it. It would be most

surprising if the final policy decided upon by Mr. Strauss and his tight-rope walking lieutenants is not the good old stand-by one of — compromise.

(2) *Industrial Legislation.* Mr. Schoeman plans to arm himself with further powers to destroy the trade unions. He may meet with some resistance from the United Party on the broad trade union aspects of the bill, but probably not on the provisions which will seek to prevent racially mixed unions.

(3) *Coloured Vote Bill.* There are signs that this measure will not be sprung upon Parliament as soon as it meets. It may be held over until later in the session. According to reports, the U.P. and the Nationalist members of the commission of inquiry into the bill have not reached a compromise. No purpose will be served by introducing the bill, having it defeated, and then re-introducing, say, the Appellate Division Bill. It looks as if the Government will hold over the coloured vote bill and try to split the United Party on some other apartheid issue.

(4) *Economic Council.* Mr. Louw has threatened to bring in this measure. It aims at setting up a council to control economic activities more rigidly. It is part of the Nationalist plan to convert South Africa into a corporate state, with the economic council playing the part that Mussolini's Chamber of Corporations played in Italy. The U.P. no doubt will oppose it vigorously — it is a measure affecting its pocket.

(5) *Suppression of Communism Act.* Mr. Swart has declared he will close the “loophole” in this Act which allowed banned persons to address meetings. The U.P. is planning to resist amending legislation, but strictly on legal grounds — the right to a hearing, etc.

One thing emerges clearly: The U.P. is prepared to put up some sort of a fight, but not where it is on a controversial colour issue. Its policy on these matters is always one of—compromise.

This is the background against which Parliament is meeting this year. A further dose of apartheid is being concocted, but the U.P. refuses to put up a fight. Mr. Strauss is devoting all his efforts to maintaining unity in his party, although to what purpose it is difficult to see. Instead of standing firmly on certain principles, he is avoiding taking a stand in the vain hope that in this way he will be able to hold his ranks together.

INNER REVOLT

The election was no sooner over last year than a rebellion broke out in the U.P. It was suppressed, but that certainly was not the end of it. Clearly, there are going to be further attempts this year to split the United Party and to come to an understanding with the Government. And, this time, Mr. Strauss might not be able to suppress the revolt as easily as the last one.

This is the basic fault in the U.P.'s thinking: It imagines that it can preserve unity by avoiding policy issues, whereas events since the Nats came to power have proved conclusively that this is the surest way of precipitating the breakup of the party. The only way to bind the various U.P. elements, or at least to command their reluctant obedience, is to have firm policies, not ambiguous ones.

The session that lies ahead is likely to be a most important one. It will witness a further avalanche of apartheid legislation; it will witness further attacks on democratic rights; and it will witness an all-out attempt to destroy the United Party. The need for democratic organisations and individuals to be on their guard and to resist the Nationalist tyranny is more urgent than ever before. The country can no longer afford to look to the United Party as the spearhead of the attack.

AFRICAN ROUND-UP

Kenya's... War

IN November Britain's war against the Africans of Kenya was one year old. General Sir George Erskine announced that the security forces he commands had killed 2,208 Africans and wounded 699 (an extraordinary ratio of killed to wounded). They had also jailed 138,325 Africans of whom 82,065 were released. Fighting the Kikuyu in Kenya at this time were five regular battalions of the British Army, six battalions of the King's African Rifles, one battalion of the Kenya Regiment, a squadron of bomber aircraft, 12,000 regular and reserve police, and about 18,000 Kikuyu Home Guards — a total army of about 60,000. According to General Erskine, the number killed in combat on the British side during the year consisted of only 21 Whites, 11 Indians but 704 "Loyal" Africans.

U.S. Money

THE U.S. Mutual Security Agency has agreed to allocate 6,692,000 dollars for port improvements at Mombasa and Tanga in Kenya. This will be half the cost to provide for the transport and export of supplies of raw materials to the United States.

U.S. Censorship

A REPRESENTATIVE of the people of the Cameroons, Mr. Ruben Um Nyobe, sent to the United Nations to demand independence for his country, now divided under British and French trustee rule, managed to reach U.N. only after being kept under surveillance by the U.S. Embassy in Paris for 42 days. Protesting at this and attempts by the French administration to prevent him from reaching Lake Success, Mr. Nyobe said the colonial powers were trying to stop petitioners of whom they did not approve from being heard by the United Nations. One of the first cases of this nature was that of the Rev. Michael Scott who was at first refused visas to appeal to the United Nations on behalf of South West African tribes.

Paul Joseph reports on

The Vienna World

Trade Union Conference

ATTENDED the Third World Trade Union Congress held in the city of Vienna in October of last year.

It was there that I met many of the world's most famous working class leaders. Among them were Christians, Moslems, Hindus, Socialists and Communists. They had come across many mountains, oceans, and lands and through many obstacles; they had braved police terror and victimisation — yet they came.

They came to this magnificent Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions. From 79 countries — 819 men and women in all representing 88,600,000 workers. This was the most representative gathering in the history of international labour ever held.

From capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries there were 613 delegates; from Socialist countries 150.

The workers of Egypt, Ecuador, Pakistan, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Thailand were prevented by trade union repression in their countries from sending delegates.

AT Vienna we discussed frankly and fully our problems in the struggle for better living standards, democratic liberty and world peace.

There I saw international working class solidarity in the making. People with a diversity of religious and political opinions united against racial discrimination, the threat of war, reduction of wages and trade union splits.

MET a delegate from Western Germany, Comrade H. W. who had been in a concentration camp for 12 years during Hitler's time. He had smuggled himself out to the Congress. Still determined and unwavering, Comrade H. W. continues his fight for the German working class against Adenauer's police terror.

Also from Western Germany came Walter Billing and Konrad Ertt representing 50,000 unemployed workers of Western Germany. Both men have been unemployed since 1949.

From Vietnam came guerilla fighters

Ngugen-Thi-Dieu and Do Van Quyen who walked from the occupied territories for 15 days to the free territory to come to the Congress. Both had been elected to represent their fellow workers living under French occupation.

From Trinidad came Pearl Branche who came near to tears as she spoke of the persecution her fellow women workers were going through.

AMONGST the 819 delegates were our own Frank Marquard, Cape Trade Union leader, who as a lad of eight worked on the farms under the tot system.

And Greenwood Ngotyana who knows well the hunger cries of children of the Transkei.

SOME of the most outstanding and internationally known leaders were Alain-Le Leap whose release from prison was secured as a result of the eight million-strong French workers' strike in last August; S. A. Danges, General Secretary of the powerful All Indian Trade Union Congress; Nicolai M. Shvernik, former president of the U.S.S.R., now president of the Soviet Trade Unions (34 million strong). Latin-American workers sent their powerful orator and leader Vincentes Lombardo Toledano. From China, came Lin-Ling I, Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Labour. From Italy came Fernando Santi, Secretary of the five million-strong Federation.

Above all there were the two human volcanoes Guisepe D. Vittoria, President of the W.F.T.U. and Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the W.F.T.U. who were again unanimously elected to the Federation leadership.

THESE, then, were the men who had come to voice demands of the Rand African miners, the tobacco workers of South America, the sheep shearers of Australia, the tea pickers of Ceylon, the unemployed of Western Germany and the dock workers of France.

We left Vienna determined and inspired to continue the fight of the working people for peace and happiness.

BEHIND THE OVERSEAS NEWS

BACK TO BERLIN

By BEN GILES

CONJURERS, it is said, make their living by getting people to watch their right hands, while their left hands unobtrusively palm cards and manipulate rabbits in and out of hats.

Something of the sort is being tried by the press over the negotiations for a four-power meeting in Berlin. While the right hands grind out interminable words from typewriters — about Russian intransigence over a meeting place, about Russian intransigence over Chinese participation, and about Russian intransigence, — left hands prepare to deftly produce bombshells from a hat. The trick deceives few people; perhaps this time the audience is sitting too close.

ATOMANIA

President Eisenhower's rabbit-from-hat "plan" for atomic energy failed to bring even a timid round of applause from anyone except the paid scribes. Understandably, people everywhere recognised the "plan" as the warmed-up remains of last-year's hash. More politely titled 'The Baruch Plan', it proposes to leave existing stock-piles of atomic weapons intact, without any prohibition on their use, while turning over to an international agency a proportion of new fissionable material, to be used for peaceful aims.

The Soviet viewpoint on the Baruch plan has been forcibly stated and expounded in UNO Assemblies on more than one occasion. Firstly, the 'international' agency, set up by UNO would unquestionably today have a guaranteed American majority — and no veto right for minority views. Second, it would be a means of maintaining the real or alleged American superiority in atomic-bomb stockpiles, by outlawing new bombs while tolerating old. Third, it would hand to an American dominated agency a right to exploit other countries' sources of fissionable materials, and to direct or forestall their use even in peaceable fields.

WHERE WE CAME IN

Soviet objections to the Eisenhower-Baruch plan remain. So do the Soviet proposals for unconditional banning of the use of atomic weapons, the destruction of existing stockpiles of bombs and the establishment of international inspection agencies for atomic energy plants. Eleven times the Soviet plan has been put to UNO, and eleven times it has been vetoed by Britain and America. It is on the record: June, 1946; June, 1947; September, 1947; June, 1948; February 1949 (twice); September, 1949; November, 1950; December, 1951; November, 1953.

Also on the record are the decisions of the meeting in Bermuda from the 4th to 7th December. This was the Western caucus for the Berlin four-power talks; the American whips brought their members into line for the "free" debate which opens this month. Here, if anywhere, is to be found the real "Voice of America."

"If the danger of aggression now appears less imminent, we attribute this to the mounting strength of the free world and the firmness of its policies. . . . The Atlantic Treaty is, and will remain the foundation of our common policy. . . . In the continuing development of a united Europe, including Germany, we see the best means of achieving greater prosperity, security and stability. . . ." The communique can be stripped of its verbal flowers. 'We believe in rearmament, and pressing ahead with atomic stockpiles. West German rearmament is a fundamental policy.' This is the preamble to the Western appearance at the Berlin Conference.

NACH OSTEN

But there is worse. "We cannot accept as justified or permanent the present division of Europe." In this carefully drafted communique there are no idle, ill considered words. "The present

division of Europe" means what it says, the division between capitalist west and socialist east, the frontiers between peoples' democratic Czecho-Slovakia, East Germany, Hungary with North Atlantic Treaty Powers — West Germany, Austria, and allies Yugoslavia and Greece. Far fetched? Think back — it is almost a year behind us — to President Eisenhower's inaugural speech, to the denunciations of "secret understandings" about frontiers, which had been reached in war-time conferences between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. This—the threat to reconquer Eastern Europe by arms, to restore capitalism — this is the Western preamble to the Berlin talks.

There are things said — "We salute the valiant forces of France . . . fighting . . . to protect the independence of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam" — and things unsaid—China, and her rightful admission to the United Nations. These are on the agenda for Berlin, for they are the essence of the problems of peace and war.

INSIDE — AND OUT

A bad augury for the Berlin talks. But war and peace are not to be settled in Berlin alone. Outside there is life; and life asserts itself. While Bidault from Bermuda proclaims German rearmament and the North Atlantic Treaty, the people of France, through their representatives fight a bitter, long-drawn, almost stalemated struggle against the election of a Bidault follower to the Presidency. While Churchill from Bermuda proclaims the ideals of conquest of the socialist world, delegations of British business men leave for Moscow and Peking to negotiate trade deals which will restore the balance of Britain's slumping trade. This too — life, and the will of people everywhere for peace will force its way into the talks at Berlin. Neither press black-outs nor politicians' sleight of hand can keep it out. It may yet have the upper hand. If not this time, then certainly next.

trotsky on springbok radio—

open letter to bob crisp

Dear Mr. Crisp.

I have been listening to your radio play "Leon Trotsky" fortunately the end of a series, "Last Voyage" sponsored by the India Tyre Company on Springbok Radio.

There was a time, though I had never met you, when I had a high regard for you. At first this regard grew from the many enjoyable hours I spent watching you in the days when you were one of our country's finest cricketers. Since then, you have retired from the cricket scene.

Later, the regard grew from the honesty and truthful purpose of your reporting and writing. I remember you as one of the few journalists — perhaps the only one — to report truthfully and honestly on the strike of African miners on the Witwatersrand in 1946, recording the facts as you saw them, without the hysteria and wilful lying which characterised many of your colleagues. After listening to your radio play it seems that this regard might have been misplaced.

SLOW POISON

I would like to put you some questions on your play. I use the word 'play' colloquially; for this is no more play than Senator MacCarthy's slow poison against American democracy.

What basis is there, save your own imagination drawing on the fevered fabrication of professional anti-Soviet haters, for your scene of Stalin instructing the G.P.U. chief to kill Trotsky "or answer for it with his own life?" Why, if there be any tittle of justification for your tale of a painstaking G.P.U. plot to kill Trotsky did the Soviet Government voluntarily allow Trotsky to emigrate? What basis, save your imagination for your picture of Stalin, ridden by an obsessional fear of Trotsky as a rival 'leader of Russia', after years of overwhelming expressions of

undivided Soviet loyalty to Stalin shown in elections nationally and in the Communist Party? What makes the murder of Trotsky different from any other act of premeditated violence committed from time to time by people of unbalanced or crazed emotion?

And finally for what the poker players call the sixty-four dollar question. Do you feel, as I do, that this "type of imaginative — or shall we call it fabricated — slander serves to inflame anti-Soviet feeling, and thus assist the maniac section in the Western world who call for 'preventive' war against the U.S.S.R. and the peoples' democracies of Eastern Europe?"

WAR-MONGERS

You and I have both fought in one world war. We have seen what war is like, and what it does to the life, culture and prosperity of the lands it ravages; and no one who has seen, can easily forget. But have we ever asked ourselves what it was that conditioned the Germans to accept, even to welcome war with the enthusiasm of latter-day crusaders? Was it not, perhaps, the endless repetition of just such baseless, distorted imaginings about Aryan supermen, effete French and perfidious Briton and barbarous Russian as are now being served up to us by Springbok Radio, the Saturday Evening Post and every unscrupulous writer, novelist and propagandist of the holy, anti-Soviet crusade.

NOT TOO LATE

If you have not thought of these things, it is time you did. I have always regarded you as a responsible journalist, and no responsible journalist dare write today without thinking of the consequences of his acts. I know that even a writer has to make a living; and that, today, it is hard to live as a writer without singing to the tune of those great American corporations who have decreed that this is the "American Cen-

tury", and whose leadership of national affairs has produced the theories of the 'cold' war and the 'preventive' war. It is hard for any writer to serve the cause of peace, and heed the wishes of big corporations like, say, The Indian Tyre Co. at the same time. But not hard enough to deter a man who has the qualities of determination, courage and honesty you have shown on the cricket field and in the armed forces. Have you considered that it would be harder still to live regarded by your fellow citizens as Browning regarded his 'Lost Leader'.

*"Just for a handful of silver he left us
Just for a riband to stick in his coat.
Found the one gift of which nature be-
reft us,
Lost all the others she chose to devote."*

What has been done and said on Springbok Radio cannot be unsaid. But the damage can be undone, if there is honesty and responsibility. Probably this letter would never have been written, had I been able to say with Browning:

*"He alone turns from the van and the
freemen;
He alone falls to the rear, and the
slaves".*

You are not alone. There are many others, whose sins of omission and commission are more to be expected, more easily understood than yours.

But you can set an example and take the others with you. It is time to repair the damage, and take up again the lost threads of the good fight for honesty, and for peace. I trust and believe you are still capable of doing it.

Yours faithfully,

L. BERNSTEIN.

Apartheid Threates

AWAY back in the eleventh century a violent battle was fought out in the hamlet of Oxford between "town and gown". It all began when a student was charged an exorbitant price for beer by the tavern-keeper. An argument started, a brawl broke out, students and townsmen took sides and soon a full-scale fight was raging, into which the whole populace and Royal army was drawn. For the students, the tavern incident opened the safety-valve of a deep-seated resentment at their treatment by the town authorities. They used the fight to express their discontent at the economic exploitation of the merchants and the political interference of the Council. In this they succeeded and as a result, the Mayor and Councillors of Oxford to this very day, attend the St. Scholasticus Day service at the University instead of the city chapel, as a mark of penance and in recognition of the university's independence.

This incident was symbolic of what was happening all over Europe in the nascent university movement where students were rebelling against municipal and state control and demanding autonomy in their own affairs. One by one, the major universities wrested charters of independence from the towns, and their success in maintaining that status has assured the recognition of autonomy as an integral part of the university ever since.

The role of carrying this tradition has fallen to South Africa's two principal universities — Witwatersrand and Cape Town — who for thirty and forty-three years respectively, in the face of constant political molestation from outside have steadfastly asserted their right to determine who to admit, what to teach and who should do the teaching. They have admitted students, not on the basis of any political criterion, but simply on the basis of the students' desire and capacity for learning. And not unnaturally their refusal to draw colour distinctions as to who should receive higher education has incurred the odium of the proponents of white supremacy.

The segregationists have been particularly embarrassed by the atmosphere of racial harmony and co-operation which has prevailed at non-segregated institutions, flinging the lie of the necessity for apartheid back into their teeth. What has annoyed them even more is that the

examination results of non-European students, completely refutes theories of superior white intelligence, and indicates, in fact, that given equal opportunities, non-European students can match the results of their European colleagues.

Attempts have therefore been made during the Nat. régime to water down university independence and undermine academic non-segregation. Scholarships for non-European students were withdrawn, university text-books banned, inter-provincial study permits cancelled and continual public attacks made on the universities. If these were intended to intimidate the student bodies however, they failed in their purpose, serving to intensify opposition to the Nationalists.

It was partly because of the militant opposition of the students that the government has had to abandon its plans for direct intervention, in favour of more "subtle" means. The upshot has been the appointment of a commission two months ago, which will sit behind closed doors and without much fuss, to consider practical ways of demolishing the system of non-segregation.

Before we turn to the Commission,

however, it is necessary to consider why the Nationalists wish to destroy non-segregation and thereby establish their right to interfere in the universities.

A perfectly legitimate explanation of this assault is that it is part of the Nationalist blue-print for Fascism which is being implemented by crushing all democratic organisations. But the reasons in this case go a shade deeper. Physical suppression of your opposition is one thing, and to refute them intellectually is another. While the Nationalists may believe they are succeeding in the former purpose, they know they cannot succeed in the latter until the places where people are free to think for themselves and speak their thoughts, are bottled up. Significantly enough it is at these very places — the independent universities — that the opposition to the pseudo philosophy of apartheid is strongest.

Losing the battle for ideas outside South Africa the Nationalists are determined to win it within. And they are prepared to use the machinery of the state to do so.

The first stage of the attack is to tell the universities whom and whom not to

ADVISORY BOARD

THE recent annual conference of the Location Advisory Boards Congress was undoubtedly a success from the point of view of attendance. There were 250 delegates at this conference, from all the Union's urban centres representing in all approximately 500,000 people. The Johannesburg Advisory Boards alone represented about 300,000 Africans in this city.

Given the right leadership and policy, this body could become a force to be reckoned with in the civic and political life of the community.

But, from the point of view of the tenor of discussion at the conference, my view is that it was far from successful. On the contrary it was a failure, and two sets of factors contributed to its failure.

On the one hand there was, hanging above the heads of the delegates, like the sword of Damocles, the threat of the Minister of Native Affairs to a delega-

tion that interviewed him, that if the dabbled in politics, contrary to the purpose for which the boards were established, he would close their conference.

On the other hand there was evident throughout the discussion of the three day conference a lack of proper orientation.

With the exception of a few men, the majority of the members of the conference were quite obviously out of touch with the masses of people whom they purported to represent and they showed a clear inability to grasp the fundamental issues that are at stake at this moment in the country.

This latter was brought into relief during the discussions, for instance, of the Western Areas Removal scheme. While in the end a resolution opposing the scheme was adopted, there was a determined reluctance on the part of many of the members to discuss it. Even the presidential address was studiously silen-

(Continued from previous page)

formance, and breeding the good performers with each other, it has been possible to produce races of rats with very high average ability on one hand or very low average ability on the other. Sheep dogs, which are considered to be highly intelligent, are products not only of very careful training but also of rigorous selection.

It is therefore a reasonable assumption that, although environment is an extremely important factor, it is not the only factor determining intelligence. Later we shall discuss some of the environmental factors which are known to be important.

INTELLIGENCE AND RACE

It has been said that White children in South Africa are more intelligent than African children. This statement is based on certain "Intelligence Tests" which have been carried out on groups of White and African children. The White children on the average scored higher marks than the black children. African workers applying for jobs in Durban have been tested for manual dexterity and mechanical aptitude. In general their performance has been inferior to that of white workers also applying for jobs. In the U.S.A. a group of white children was tested against a group of Negro children in ability to repeat rhythm patterns. The Negro children did much better than the white children. In Jamaica, groups of Negro, Coloured and White prisoners were given intelligence tests. In mental arithmetic, number series, and following complicated directions the Negroes came top. In certain tests, such as reconstructing sentences and using words correctly, the whites beat the Negroes. What are we to conclude from all this?

In the first place it should always be remembered that results of this sort are based on averages and that in every group tested there are numbers of individuals whose score is much above or below the average. Thus, in for example the matriculation results in South Africa, though Europeans on the whole do better than Africans, Coloureds and Indians, there are some Non-Europeans who do better than the average European and some Europeans who do worse than the average Non-European.

Secondly we must consider the environmental factors influencing the results of the tests. It is obvious in the case of the matriculation that the quality of the teaching in the white schools is on a much higher level than in the Non-European schools (more highly qualified teachers with better salaries,

smaller classes, better equipment, etc.). Also there is the language problem. The European is usually taught in his mother tongue. The Non-European is often taught and must write the examination in what is to him a foreign language.

If we consider the African worker asked to manipulate a mechanical device he has not met before, it is not surprising that his performance is inferior to that of the European. The White child is surrounded from earliest infancy with mechanical gadgets of all sorts which are absent in the environment of the African child brought up in the location or in the Reserve. White children are given mechanical toys; African children often have no toys at all. These early environmental factors must influence the performance of people in later life. Conversely consider the superior performance of the Negro children in repeating rhythm patterns. Negro children, and also our own Bantu children, become acquainted with rhythmical dancing at a very early age, but white children do not. We cannot conclude, without standardising the environment, that Negroes are inherently more rhythmic than whites or that whites are inherently more mechanically-minded than Negroes.

ARE there no inherent differences between races? We should be unscientific if we were to conclude, on the basis of these criticisms, that there are no average inherent mental differences between races. There may be such differences, but they have not been proved. In any case, even if differences do exist in certain mental faculties as between racial groups, they probably cancel each other out. Human faculty is extremely varied and complex. Every individual should be given the opportunity in a democratic society of developing his inherited faculties to the utmost. In spite of environmental handicaps the Negro peoples have produced individuals of outstanding ability in many different fields of human achievement: in science, art, music, leadership. There is no justification for treating them differently from any other racial group.

Literature:

The Races of Mankind, by R. Benedict and G. Weltfish. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 85, New York. 10c.

Colour and Cleverness, by Arthur Lee, Sixpenny Library No. 1 (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Becketts Building, Johannesburg).

Intelligence and Education, by J. G. Taylor. Sixpenny Library, No. 5. (Isaac Pitman & Sons).

Statement by Experts on Race Problems. U.N.E.S.C.O.

BOOK REVIEW

France Against the War Plot

"THE WATER TOWER" is a vivid and inspiring tale of our own time—of the years of the post-war, of the dollar penetration into Europe snuffing out the war-lit lamps of liberty, of the penetration of advance bases, stockpiles and armies for a new, third, great war.

But more than that; it is a tale of people, of the bitterly impoverished toiling people of France, for whom love of liberty and of peace is the very substance of life; a tale of people rising to glowing, heroic stature in a struggle which today dominates the Western European scene. Here, amongst the underpaid, often unemployed dockers of an Atlantic port, living miserably in slum and shanty, there grows a struggle against American occupation and the landing of American munitions. Led by the French Communists, the struggle broadens; the slogans of 'Yanks Go Home!' merge with the battle for jobs and housing, and with the campaigns for an end to French invasion of Indo-China.

Written against the background of contemporary history, it is fired, and will fire its readers, with faith and confidence in the French working people, in the strength and solidarity which is in them for peace. And yet it is no documentary, but a thrilling, living novel, one of a trilogy which its author, André Stil, plans to complete. By profession, Stil is a journalist, editor of the Communist paper, l'Humanité. But in this, the first of the series he plans to portray the life of the French working class in our times, he proves himself to be a powerful and realistic novelist, who brings to his craft the deep understanding of events and currents which have enabled him, at the age of 32, to edit one of his country's largest dailies.

"THE WATER TOWER", by André Stil.

Published by Lawrence and Wishart, London. 10/6.

L.B.

JANET JAGAN WRITES FROM BRITISH GUIANA

"IN THE END THE PEOPLE TRIUMPH"

GEORGETOWN, B.G. — In British Guiana, one of Britain's richest possessions, exploitation has for over a hundred years continued without any notable challenge. Up until recent years, the British have encountered only sporadic opposition to the prosperous rape of the wealth of the country. Sugar, rum, bauxite, gold, diamonds and recently the discovery of columbite and tantalite have made them even more greedy. With the growth of the trade union movement, workers began to learn that they had rights and increasing demands were made for better wages and working conditions. When the People's Progressive Party was organised four years ago, it immediately proceeded to unite all sections of the oppressed people and succeeded in overcoming the racial divisions which had previously prevented any form of united action. The majority of trade unions gave unstinted support to the new popular movement. When the Party, this year, was successful in winning a majority at the polls, a real challenge to perpetual exploitation was finally at hand.

Not only England saw that the people had awakened and were demanding a better life, but England's senior partner, the U.S.A., began to sit up and take notice. America, seeing the popular rising of the people on the road to self government, feared that its economic and political control of the Latin American bloc was about to be challenged. The American press began a smear and fear campaign to discredit the P.P.P. majority. Time Magazine, columnists Drew Pearson, Lee Mortimer and others started hysteria over an alleged "red menace in the Caribbean."

PRESSURE FROM U.S.A.

What went on behind the scenes can only be surmised. But there is little doubt that pressure was brought upon Britain to take firm action against the rising tide of a people insisting upon their rights. Britain, almost wholly dependent upon the good will of the American State Department, and tied

hand an fist economically to the U.S., could do little else than respond to the demands of its senior partner.

Seeing that the P.P.P. majority had no intention of becoming conventional stooges to the Colonial Office and realising that the elected majority would not assist in being a buffer to the new demands of the people, the Tory Government became frantic, took panic and immediately dispatched its quota of gunboats and soldiers to stand by while the people's rights were violently raped.

The Tory Government had a hard time finding a legitimaie excuse for its unusual action in suspending the constitution and dismissing Ministers who held office for only four months. The universally recognised weaknesses of the White Paper which laid the accusations has brought much abuse on the Churchill Government. Th eridiculous allegations of a "plot" were completely unsubstantiated by Britain. To date there has not been one act of violence, and yet the Governor of British Guiana had the audacity to cable Churchill that witnesses were afraid to give evidence. Is it that a military occupied country can not offer protection to a handful of witnesses? Clearly there was no plot and there could be no witnesses.

ANOTHER KENYA?

Since the whole world has taken a keen interest in the Guiana situation, the Colonial Office still feels in duty bound to inform the world that its action was necessary. So the next step was to lock up a few leaders to prove that things were happening in Guiana. Any evidence that the five detained caused trouble? None whatsoever! But to be on the safe side the Governor appointed a Three Man Committee to hear objections to the indefinite detention of three members of the House of Assembly (one the former Minister of Communications and Works), a poet, and the Second Vice Chairman of the Party. That should prove to all that justice always prevails. To the outside, perhaps, but

to those inside Guiana, the personnel of the Committee was perhaps one of the sharpest indications that justice had disappeared. The Committee members have open bias against the Party and its conclusions are known before it sits.

But, how to provoke the people to commit an act of violence, so that another slaughter house like Kenya can be opened in Guiana? That is the problem facing the one-man government today. Will they find the key to causing the people's anger to overflow? That is the chief motivation of the armed state which now rules our country.

And what of the people? The American press suggests hopefully that the Party has already lost its influence. They cite an example: Only 200 waved goodbye to leaders Burnham and Jagan as they departed to present our case to England while thousands came to bid farewell to the Royal Welsh Fusiliers. Or did they forget to mention that police with batons came to chase away the thousands who wanted to say farewell to their beloved leaders? Why did they not mention that along the 20-mile span carrying the leaders to the airport, people came out of their houses on the roadside to hold up their three fingers in the P.P.P. salute. Nor did they mention the new recruits which the Party has enrolled — persons who previously did not understand that British imperialism means oppression of political and economic rights?

PEOPLE WILL TRIUMPH

Again the British rulers have misjudged the people. They cannot feel the pulse of popular opinion in Guiana because they do not know the people. The mistakes they made in the last elections have been made again. When the big business interests used local coloured stooges to represent them in the last elections, they turned the tide in favour of the Party. When they came out with their misdirected propaganda, they won us more votes. Equally so today, when they think that they have broken

FIGHTING TALK

INDEPENDENT MONTHLY REVIEW.

Vol. 10. No. 3. Price 6d. MARCH, 1954.
Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

LIFE WILL NOT BE OUTLAWED

A MONTH ago the learned Stellenbosch professors who assembled at the S.A.B.R.A. conference discovered the new, South-African-scientific term for what in less enlightened days was called bluntly "the black menace". "Integration" they proclaimed earnestly, with much shaking of heads, threatened to upend the 'South African way of life' and white 'Baasskap' on which that way of life is built.

Through two serious days of debate, these leaders of apartheid pseudo-science considered the way to meet the creeping army-worm of "integration". Some, the idealists and visionaries, proposed large-scale white immigration from Europe to displace for ever the black man from South African industry, mining and even — though here the imaginations boggled—even from farming.

Be it recorded that the august gatherings of Doctors of Philosophy, Religion and Economics failed to slay the dragon, or even to reach agreement for its slow starvation. "Integration" had come to stay as apartheid's 'Public Enemy Number One'.

Fools they say, rush in . . .

The Stellenbosch professors, having discovered 'integration', prepare to slay it. Mr. Strauss, having read of the discovery, prepared to capture 'integration', to use it as a mascot to restore the waning fortunes of his party. Canute, the stupid, ordered the tides to stop. Strauss, the cunning, claimed that the tides rolled because it was his official policy that they should do so.

In the space of two short weeks from the SABRA Conference, 'integration' had been proclaimed the 'Official policy' of the United Party. Only the hired clique of the daily press applauded, shouted 'Historic!' 'Epoch making!'

Integration, as proclaimed by Mr. Strauss, turned out to be the same old, bankrupt story. The black man shall work where, how, when and for whom the white man ordains. The white man shall rule, and the black suffer and obey. The crumbling of the United Party proceeds at the same speed as before.

Fools they say, rush in . . .

Enter Sir Galahad Louw, armed with the shorter Oxford Dictionary, determined to slay the dragon 'Integration'. Amidst the plaudits of the crackpots and Stellenbosch professors, he proclaimed integration to be the opposite of apartheid. Certain occupations, even certain industries would be set aside exclusively for white men. The white man rules. The black man shall work where, how, and when and in what industry the white man ordains.

Thus Tweedledum disputes with Tweedledee over his newest rattle. A plague on both your houses!

Integration is not a plaything of Stellenbosch professors. It is a fact of life, existing independent of our thinking, like the weather. There are now, so the statisticians tell us, eight Africans in industry for every two Europeans. If it were not so, South Africa would still be the backward, pastoral mediaevalism from which African energy and strength have developed it.

That development has a logic of its own. The real power to move or stop the wheels of the country's industry, mining and agriculture have passed from the hands of the Nationalists, to the hands of the men who work. They begin to understand and feel that power. They begin to demand a place in the sun, a share in the prosperity they have created and the institutions of government which they have made possible.

Their demands can neither be sidestepped, nor harnessed to a discredited party chariot. Nor, as Mr. Louw and his colleagues will surely learn, can they be outlawed. For these demands are the reflection of South African life in our own times; and life as Hiroshima shows, refuses to be outlawed.

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"FIGHTING TALK" CHANGES HANDS

"FIGHTING TALK" has, for many years, been the organ of the Springbok Legion. It is no longer. From here on, it is "An Independent Monthly Review", edited and managed by an independent committee of supporters of the Congress movement, and members of the three Congresses, the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the South African Congress of Democrats.

To the Springbok Legion who have handed over to us a publication whose name has always been associated with the cause of democratic South Africa, the cause of liberty, we say we are pledged to continue in that tradition.

We intend to continue "Fighting Talk" as a vigorous, outspoken magazine which fights the good fight for the rights of men, and which challenges the ideas and outlook of the white supremacists, because their ideas spell death to democratic institutions, to racial harmony and to peace, "Fighting Talk" if we can make it so, will be the voice of the Congress Movement.

Fine feathers, we know, do not always make fine birds. Our first concern will be with the substance and the content of our magazine. At the same time, we hope by the changes we are making in its layout and make-up, to render "Fighting Talk" more readable, and more effective in presenting the Congress viewpoint to the people of South Africa.

We welcome suggestions, advice and original articles, stories and poetry from our readers, in the conviction that there is wide support for the Congress movement in South Africa, and that that support has, until now, had little chance of expressing itself in print, and reaching the audience of those South Africans who have been fed to choking with the ideas of apartheid, trusteeship and segregation.

THE EDITORS,

The Chisa-Chisa Story

News Item.
The Star 18-7-54.

From our Correspondent.

CAPE TOWN, Thursday. — All parliamentarians this week received chain letters from what claims to be an organization of Native incendiaries pledged to revenge themselves by fire for the hindrances of apartheid.

The organization calls itself the Cheesa-Cheesa—cheesa is kitchen kaffir for fire.

Some of the letters have been posted in Durban, others in Johannesburg.

The message is typed on thin white paper, and it is obvious that a number of carbon copies have been made.

MOTTO

Some M.P.'s have received in the same envelope a message on blue notepaper printed in blue ink.

The word Cheesa-Cheesa which appears at the bottom of the type-written letter appears to have been set up and stamped with a child's printing set.

The letter says: "The words cheesa-cheesa have the meaning of fire-fire. The motto of the Cheesa-Cheesa Army is 'We burn for liberty.'

"In South Africa there is the worst oppression ever perpetrated in the name of civilization . . .

"But it is not the British who oppress us. It is the Afrikaners (Dutch men). These people hate and detest us . . .

SUGGESTIONS

"C.C. Army is there to burn the property of Afrikaners who oppress and murder us in every way.

"We have burnt many schools, farms, cane fields, tree plantations, mountains, etc. But the newspapers of the world refuse to mention C.C.

"All the Members of Parliament know about C.C., but they are afraid to use that word in Parliament."

The hand-printed letter suggests ways of destroying property by fire.

The police are investigating.

by
L. BERNSTEIN.

"CHISA! Chisa! Burn! Burn!" This is a story to make South Africa's flesh creep. It is the story in the first place of a simple man, whom we will call Joe; a black man of some education, who works in Johannesburg's business centre, and lives quietly, unobtrusively in one of its sprawling slum locations; a man who reads the newspapers, knows what is happening and should be happening in the political life of his town and country, but leaves political work to others while he tends his family and their needs.

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THE time is June, 1953. It was a warm Saturday afternoon. The city hum had died away into week-end somnolence; only round the African bus-stops were there still knots of people waiting, talking, buying fruit from kerbside hawkers. On a corner nearby was Joe, and a friend, met by accident, exchanging greetings, gossip of friends from home, turning as men will to talk of prices, wages and the difficulty of making ends meet. Almost at their elbows stood a white man, back to them, waiting for none knows what.

For a while Joe talked; of arrear rent, of no wage raise since 1940, of potatoes at 2d. each and of the difficulty of buying shoes for his fast growing children. Then his friend left abruptly, to catch a departing bus; Joe turned to walk off in the opposite direction.

Suddenly the white man came awake. "Hey, boy!" he said. Joe turned round startled. "Come here" the man said. Joe shuffled uncertainly a pace closer. The man looked him coldly up and down as white men will. "You want to make money?" he said in the brusque, unfeeling white man's way. Joe thought for the moment he was to be sent on an errand, or told to carry a heavy load. His only ambition right then was to get home, and take his badly-fitting shoes off and relax. "No baas" he said hesitatingly, deferential.

"Boy!" the man said again. "You want to make money!" This time there was no question in the voice, only the 'don't argue-with-me-kaffir' note that Joe had become to know so well in the big city. "I can get you money" the man said, staring at him, studying him. "Lots of money, boy. Working for the Government. Money!" he said, putting up a finger to emphasize. "Money! A house! No pass trouble!" Joe felt his skin prickling, the sweat breaking out on him. He knew it was time to go away, and go fast before something terrible happened. But his training told him to beware turning his back on a white man until dismissed. "No baas" he said again, pleading this time. "I don't want money baas."

The white man stared him down. "You go to Marshall Square boy!" he said. This time it was an order. "They'll give you money! Government money!" He ignored Joe's frightened, murmured "No baas". "They'll give you money boy! But first you've got to do something." Joe was cold and taut with fear. The man came closer to him, close enough to whisper. "You know the Albert Street Church?" he said softly. "You burn that church down boy! And then you'll get your money."

Joe backed away, one pace, then a second, looking at him in horror. Suddenly Joe turned and fled. The man stared after him.

All the way home in the bus, Joe sat thinking over the whole incident, the fear making a tight, hard lump in his stomach. The more he thought, the more familiar the white man's voice seemed. There was the cold, merciless eye; the unfriendly, masterful bullying voice; the bulky, overfed, solid muscular hulk of the man. "Policeman" he said to himself. "Policeman!" Suddenly he realised why the man had seemed so familiar, though he was sure he had never seen him before. "Mofokis" he said aloud, turning the idea over in his mind all the way home in the bus,

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HAD Joe been a more sophisticated man, he might have thought of other burnings; of the Reichstag fire, and he might have seen himself in the role of a Van der Lubbe. He might have thought of Minister Swart's statements about 'Schools for fire-bugs' which justified the Martial Law Act. He might even have thought of the British Government's white paper about 'arson plots' which justified the suspension of British Guiana's constitution and the round-up of many Guianese popular leaders.

As it was, Joe went home, and thought and worried about it for a long time. And then at last, he decided what to do. He wrote an account of the whole incident to the editor of the "Star", for publication. For some days he waited in anticipation. But nothing happened. Not a line of his letter appeared in the newspaper. Again he thought it over, conscious that he carried important information about a matter which might one day become important in South African affairs. Finally he reached again for pen and paper, and sent a copy of his letter to the African National Congress, which he had never joined, but which he knew, as all thinking men know. Shortly afterwards, at the suggestion of

the African National Congress, he told the whole tale to a lawyer, and swore to the truth of its contents in an affidavit.

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THERE the tale could have ended. For some months, locked away in the lawyer's files, it lay gathering dust, another forgotten oddity of a black man's life. Until January, 1954. On that morning, the Nationalist Party newspaper, "Transvaler" carried a spine-chilling story of the existence of an organisation of Africans called "Cheesa-Cheesa", pledged to destroy by fire all the churches, government offices and schools erected by the white men. Nowhere, in all the country, has there come forward in public or in private a single black man to state that he has ever heard of such a body, or even heard rumours of a campaign of arson. Only Joe, and the Congress officials who had read his affidavit.

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AND now there is the letter to Parliament, threatening again "Cheesa-Cheesa". Note well the spelling. Bantu speaking people will tell you that, spelt that way, the word would make the

sound 'Chay-esa'. Only one whose home language is English — or Afrikaans? — would spell the word the way it has been spelt in "Star" and "Transvaler" to make it read phonetically as it should. Note well the reference to "fire, fire". Only one whose knowledge of the word is derived from the pidgin 'fanagalo' language — "kitchen kaffir" as South Africans call it — could translate "Burn! Burn!" to read "Fire! Fire!"

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THIS is a story without end. Perhaps that is as it should be. Perhaps there is to be an end to that story sometime in the future. If there is, then that end is known only to the white man who spoke to Joe, and perhaps to the Government of which he spoke; and on whose behalf he offered to freely to pay out money.

Footnote: Joe's story is not accurate in all its details. It is written from memory, since the copy of his letter to the "Star", and of his signed affidavit were later removed by the police during a routine search of the offices of Mr. Nelson Mandela, former President of the Transvaal A.N.C.

Swart's Amendment to the Suppression of Communism Act aims at CLOSING THE LOOPHOLES

THE object of the Suppression of Communism Amendment Bill, according to Minister Swart and his little stooge, Waring, is to close "loopholes" in the original Act. From their speeches, one gets the impression that the whole Act has been nullified by the activities of "slick Communist lawyers" and dubious judges.

In fact, the "loopholes" afford almost negligible relief to the democratic movement. The Court's decision on prohibitions against attending meetings was not that every citizen has the full right to go to meetings, not that a conviction in a court of Law is required to deprive him of this right. All that the Court decided was that before banning a man, the Minister must give him an opportunity to state his case. There is no obligation on the Minister to pay any heed to the representations made to him. What a paltry safeguard. Yet even this insignificant trace of democracy must now be removed from the Act.

With regard to M.P.s, the Courts' decisions made no inroads on the right of the Nationalist caucus, acting through a

Select Committee, to expel a member from Parliament. The "loophole" amounted to this, that after a member had been expelled, it was difficult to prevent the voters from exercising a free choice in replacing him. This free choice is now to be abolished.

POLICE TACTICS

These amendments to the Suppression of Communism Act must be seen in conjunction with the new tactics employed by the police to intimidate people attending meetings of democratic organisations. At two recent meetings, one in Johannesburg and one at Durban, large numbers of police cordoned off the halls and took the names and addresses of everyone present. The Johannesburg meeting had been advertised in the press, and many of those who attended had no connection with any political organisation. It is difficult to conceive what use the police can have for all these names and addresses; the object seems to be simply to discourage members of the public from attending any meeting called by a democratic organisation.

All this adds up to a new and determined effort by the Government to crush the democratic movement. The fact that new methods and new laws should at this stage be found necessary by the Government is a tribute to the courage with which the movement has faced existing fascist laws.

GOVT. WEAKNESS

The liquidation of the militant vanguard of South African democracy was on the government's agenda for 1950. In 1954, the Government is so far from victory that it has to go through its legislation with a microscope in a frantic search for new refinements of tyranny. Having failed to intimidate the members of democratic organisations, the police are now driven to an attempt to frighten away their audiences. These are signs of weakness and failure on the part of the Government. While the new measures will undoubtedly face democrats with new difficulties, we can be confident that the weapon which has failed to defeat us for three years will not become invincible by reason of its new trimmings.

BACKGROUND TO THE EVENTS IN UGANDA.

The Kabaka is Kidnapped

WHAT lies behind the deposition of the Kabaka of Buganda (main province of Uganda) and his subsequent kidnapping and deportation to Britain?

The demands of the people of Buganda, expressed through the Great Lukiko (their Parliament) and their now deposed Kabaka, were simple.

They asked for an assurance that their country would not be bulldozed into an East African federation bossed inevitably by the white settlers of Kenya.

They demanded that responsibility for the affairs of their country be transferred from the Colonial Office to the Foreign Office, to which that responsibility originally belonged.

They wanted to know what all Africans want to know—some idea of the date on which they can reasonably expect to manage their own affairs.

Justification?

Pending satisfactory answers, the Kabaka, with the support of the Lukiko, refused to send three Buganda representatives to participate in the new Legislative Council to be set up for the whole of Uganda under the new Constitution to be introduced next year.

So the Kabaka was got rid of by Mr. Lyttelton, the Colonial Secretary.

Mr. Lyttelton, supported by the Attorney-General, Sir Lionel Heald, has cited Paragraph 6 of the Uganda "Agreement" of 1900 to justify his action.

This confers on the British Government the right to withdraw recognition from the Kabaka if he fails to co-operate loyally with the Government of Uganda. But it confers no right on Britain to depose the Kabaka, much less to deport him.

This fact had to be admitted in the House of Lords by Lord Munster, Colonial Under-Secretary, who, contradicting Mr. Lyttelton, said that action against the Kabaka had been taken under the Emergency Powers (Order in Council) Act of 1939.

The crisis in Uganda, where troops have been assembled to threaten the people with the fate of their Kenya neighbours, is the culmination of a struggle which has gone on for 50 years.

The so-called agreement was signed between the special commissioner appointed by the Foreign Office, Sir Harry Johnston, and Apollo Kagwa, Chief Regent and Chief Minister of Buganda. Daudi Chwa, the father of the present Kabaka, Mutesa II, was Kabaka at the time. He was three years old.

Why a Colony?

In 1903, three years after the signing of the "Agreement", Buganda was transferred, without any previous consultation, from the superintendence of the

by
**DESMOND
BUCKLE**

Foreign Office to the Colonial Office. Thus a State which had allied itself to the British Empire began to be treated as a possession.

Why does the Government want Buganda as a colony?

In March 1952 the £5 million Uganda Development Corporation was formed to assist potential investors in Uganda.

Links with the Rio Tinto Company, Frobisher (a Canadian mining concern), and Monsanto Chemicals were established in a project for the exploitation of the Sukulu mineral deposits.

These include magnetite (a source of iron), apatite (a source of phosphate) and pyrochlore, which provides the metal niobium, used in jet aircraft engines.

Investment

A year before that, on April 24, 1951, the Government of Uganda announced that a company had been formed to build and operate a textile mill at Jinja, the site of the £22 million hydro-electric project, to manufacture cotton piece-goods from Uganda-grown cotton.

Much of the initial capital of this company, which will use the cheap labour of more than 6,000 Africans comes from Britain.

The Bleachers' Association of Manchester and the British Salico Printers' Association between them have invested £900,000. The rest of the £1,500,000 capital is being subscribed by the Protectorate Government.

Last month, the Government made another agreement with Frobisher for the completion of a copper mine in the Kilembe foothills of the Ruwenzori Mountains in Western Uganda.

Smelting works are being built at Jinja for treating this copper, and also that from the Macalder-Nyanza mine in Kenya.

The Jinja power plant will come into operation at the end of April next year.

Jinja is in the heart of the province of Buganda. It is easy to see why the Kabaka was sacked when he mentioned the word "independence".

Stood by his People

Mr. Lyttelton's annoyance is increased by the fact that he cannot blame Communism for the Kabaka's stand. Why, the Kabaka, he says, is a member of his own university and has a right to wear the tie of his regiment. And he is the friend of Mr. Lyttelton's own son.

However, Mr. Lyttelton forgets that the Kabaka is also an African. It is becoming very difficult for any African, however lofty his station or how much favour he might enjoy with imperialists, to ignore his own people.

(Continued from page 5)

The exerting of all forms of pressure on conservative unions in an attempt to ensure their participation.

A campaign of organisation and education among workers generally to ensure their participation regardless of the attitude of their official leaders.

An ever increasing orientation towards Non-Europeans, whose predominance in industry render them the key factor — if and when they are organised.

Greater attention and effort to be put into organisation of Africans.

The training of good material to provide replacements for the leaders who are picked off by the government, and to provide leadership for new unions.

FIGHTING TALK

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FROM HERE TO ETERNITY

THE decision to experiment with the H bomb at Bikini will stand as the most unparalleled act of madness in all human history. It was madness of a modern sort, starting not in the crazy aberrations of escapees from lunatic asylums, but in the policy conferences of the foremost military and political leaders of a great nation.

It was deliberate, cold, madness; cold war madness. Its echoes reverberate still around the world; the bodies of the burned fishermen are still lying in Pacific hospitals; radio-active fish and ships are still being quarantined and destroyed in Pacific ports; scientists are still questioning whether the marine food supplies of the Pacific peoples have not been damaged beyond repair.

And with the first horrible experiment barely over, the megalomaniacs announce another with the "danger zone" enlarged from six thousand to thirty thousand miles. And even that is only guess. None can foresee the results of the crazy act. None can state with certainty how far the radio-active dust clouds or the radio-active sea currents will carry, or the effect they will have on life anywhere on the globe. Such considerations carry no weight in the United States High Command and the Atomic Energy Commission. Men who plan war care little for human life. The more fearful the weapon, the more likely the victory. The more fearful the destruction, the more successful the experiment! So runs their reasoning.

To the horror of the whole civilised world, they offer the lamest, most unconvincing of excuses. The explosion, we are told from Washington, was of "unexpected" violence. Grim echo of the murderer's plea: "I didn't know it was

loaded!" But now they know it is loaded! And still they try it out again.

The old story of "defence" has a worse-than-hollow ring. Here is preparation for deliberate mass murder, for aggression newly defined by President Eisenhower as "massive retaliation." Here is Chicago terrorism on a monumental scale, planned by madmen to cow an entire world which fails to bow before dollar penetration and its Coca Cola civilisation. Here is the greatest, super-colossal demonstration of the superiority of the American way of life. "Look on my works, ye mighty, and despair!"

There are ways that men have found for dealing with their murderers. Never were those actions more desperately needed than now.

We deprive potential murderers of firearms. There is need, and desperate need now for outright prohibition of the manufacture and use of all atomic weapons.

We remove potential murderers from society. There is need, and desperate need now, for branding the experimenters of atomic weapons as war criminals, and driving them from their places of influence in every land.

We regard as equally guilty those who assist murderers in their crimes. There is need, and desperate need, to brand as guilty those governments and bodies that prepare atomic murder, by claiming that it is done "for a good cause", the cause of anti-Socialism.

Governments, thus far, have failed to stop the men in the White House. It is now for the people who v. life to make their angry voices heard, before they bla. al! from here to eternity.

... "The Urban Areas Amendment Bill lays the foundation for the
next steps towards total apartheid ..."

Verwoerd Tries to Force Apartheid on the Country

by
Cllr. R. N. HARVEY.

THE Native Urban Areas Amendment Bill incorporates the recommendations of the Mentz Committee, and at the same time brings the Act up to date in regard to the so-called "locations in the sky" problem as it affects Johannesburg.

Briefly, the Bill takes out of the hands of the local Authority any discretion that it may wish to exercise regarding the housing of its African population. It does not deal with Sophiatown, Martindale, Newclare or Pageview which are covered by the Native Re-Settlement Bill, but it envisages the removal of all so-called "black spots" in and around Johannesburg and the transference of the people involved to an area which is an extension of the present African residential area of Orlando, Meadowlands and Moroka.

It is intended to remove completely Pimville, Nancefield and Racecourse Township; to treat the Johannesburg-Potchefstroom Railway line as the Southern border of the native area. Western Native Township will be removed; the four males and one female single Hostels and Kensington "B" will be eliminated; Alexandra Township will be reduced in size to approximately one-third or less of its present population, and the only people living there will be those who are working in the Northern suburbs. The squatters of Albertynsville will have to be taken into the Johannesburg area insofar as concerns Africans living there who presently work within the borders of Johannesburg.

The maximum number of Africans allowed in any block of flats will be five, thus reducing the African flat population of 20,000 to some 6,500.

When these removals are completed there will be about 60,000 Africans within the Johannesburg area who do not live in the South West, and approximately 456,000 who do.

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THE families dispossessed of their homes in this way no longer have the right to expect a house to be built for them. They will be given a piece of land and told that they can erect there just what they wish. They will be in an area of some 11,000 acres extending from Orlando to Zurbekom, North and West of the Johannesburg/Potchefstroom railway line. No prior consultation will take place with the people concerned; there will be no compensation for lost property rights.

The African will not be able to choose where he wishes to live. For example an African today living in his own home in Alexandra Township but not working in the Northern suburbs will be forcibly removed to the South Western area.

The removal envisaged under this scheme will affect approximately 160,000 people, from which can be seen the

extent of the upheaval in our present pattern of life that faces us.

The already chaotic transport conditions existing in the Orlando/Moroka area will be magnified by the need to cope with about double the present population, and it is impossible to estimate the time it will take for the railways to deal with that problem.

The provision of serviced land without a house will result in the development of a huge slum area under conditions that defeat the imagination. Moroka will be a haven of contentment in relation to the new district that will spring up.

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FROM the financial angle no consideration is given to the problems envisaged. Presumably the Council's fief hostels will be emptied and remain empty without compensation to the City for the redemption charges current on these buildings. The costs of the removal will be for the account of the City.

The dislocation of flat life will presumably result in this type of living becoming exceedingly unpopular, for it is difficult to see how with the best will in the world the African employed in flats is going to get to his work in time to be of any value: to say nothing of the increased wages that he will have to be paid to cover his transport and cost of living away from the flat.

It is impossible to assess the dislocation to commerce and industry. Instead of a moderately settled labour population industry will have to be satisfied with what is virtually migrant labour. As it is, the labour turnover in industry in Johannesburg is enormously high, representing 100% over twenty months. How under these conditions it is going to be possible for industry really to train the African in any one job and hope to keep him for any period of time is beyond the wit of man.

The same Bill incorporates the provision that foreign and Protectorate natives are to be expelled from the City. The extent to which this will reduce our labour supply is unknown, but is certainly very considerable.

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AN interesting factor developing from the application of the Native Urban Areas Act itself is now beginning to show its effects. I touch on this as a matter of interest, though in point of fact it is not covered by the new Bill. I refer to the provision that defines a work seeker. Broadly speaking any African who was not born in Johannesburg, or has not worked with the same employer for ten years, or has worked in the city for less than fifteen years, is liable if he is out of employment for more than 72 hours, to be ejected from the city and transferred to some other local or rural authority who needs his labour.

This provision is being strictly enforced, and though under present conditions such labour can be absorbed in the rural areas it is interesting to speculate on what their position would be in the event of a country-wide slump. Suppose such an individual should lose his job by virtue of a decline in our economic activity, and suppose that his services are not required by any other local authority, or even a rural Authority. What then happens to him? Quite honestly nobody knows, and the answer remains a mystery. Presumably, ejected from Johannesburg and acceptable in no other place, he must remain suspended mid heaven and earth for the duration of the slump.

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THIS unadulterated picture of disturbance, misery, poverty, with its consequent disease and desperation, is offered to us as the implementation of the ideal of apartheid. One cannot plead that in doing this the authorities are not perfectly aware of the results. It all has a deliberate intention. That intention is to do everything conceivable to dispossess the African of any roots, of any stability he may presently have in the city. Deliberately the situation is created where only the relatively few

Africans born here will have any measure of urbanisation or stabilisation.

It is probably not intended at this stage to take the next step. What is intended is to establish a position where it will make it easy for a future generation to continue along the line of eventual total separation. If and when that time comes, and it is considered desirable to move further quantities of Africans to our mythical Bantustan, that can be done because there will be no commitments.

If it is true to say that these proposals do not immediately restrict our labour supply it is nevertheless a fact that they do freeze it at approximately its present figure.

The future course is then obvious. With a restricted labour supply industry will find it difficult to continue developing in and around Johannesburg, and the only place where they will be able to find sufficient labour will be around the perimeter of the Native Reserves. In this way the Minister hopes that industry will then be diverted to those places. This proposal and its implications are another story. Suffice it to say that as presently conceived the Urban Areas Amendment Bill lays the foundation for the next steps towards

total apartheid, if and when South Africa considers it desirable that they should be taken.

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THIS cold assessment of the situation does not take account of the human element; it does not dwell on the distress and hardship that is going to develop in the course of this upheaval. That picture can be left to a better pen than mine. Suffice it to say that these movements will have an effect on the pattern of living of every man, woman and child in the city, regardless of colour.

And it is all done in direct opposition to the wishes of the people most concerned — the residents of Johannesburg. This is the "scruff of the neck" policy threatened by Councillor P. Z. J. van Vuuren, the leader of the Nationalist Party in the City Council. Unsuccessful as they have been in Johannesburg in the propagation of their fantastic ideals they have now turned for help to the Minister, who readily uses the power he possesses to come to their assistance.

It is the example par excellence of the use of power in defiance of the wishes of the majority and represents a serious inroad into democratic rights.

Women are going to Prison for Pass Offences, says J. B. Marks.

HOUNDING THE AFRICANS FOR PASSES

THE rapid implementation of the "Abolition of Passes and Consolidation of Documents Act" has unleashed a reign of terror, hitherto unknown in the annals of pass raids in South Africa. The Africans are being hunted in the streets, in locations, in their houses and on railway station platforms. Police demand passes at bus stops in the early morning (many get to work late as a result and even lose their jobs); and again in the evening as workers go home. Recently a police raid for passes took place inside an African restaurant and members of the raiding party went from table to table demanding documents from the people. You are not safe even at home in bed. Police knock up the houses in the early hours of the morning and demand passes from the people they have roused from sleep.

All these raids are an essential part of Verwoerd's Gestapo-like control of the African people. His "Abolition of Passes Act" (was there ever such a misnomer?) is casting a fine net through which no African will be able to slip, unregistered, uncontrolled, undirected to the labour area where the N.A.D. decrees he must go.

It is not difficult to get the new pass book. On payment of 3/6 and the production of a current tax receipt any African is issued with it. But to possess the book does not mean the end of trouble. Far from it. This only marks the beginning of trouble. The applicant has to supply information to officials at the pass office about his status, including his birthplace and the name and address of former employers. From this will be determined whether he can remain in the urban area and work there. If it is decided

that a man may not be registered in the town, he is referred to Room 53 at the Johannesburg Pass Office where, without being told why or given a chance to state his case, he is endorsed out of the area, ordered to go to a rural area and given a brief period to comply with the order. Such victims, who are summarily uprooted from their families and friends, have no provision made for them to start life afresh somewhere else. Work on a farm or on a mine is to be their lot. Not to leave the urban area means sooner or later to be picked up in one of the constant pass raids, to serve a term of fourteen days' imprisonment, and then to be sent out of the city or back to prison again.

And now African women are being made to carry passes and are being sent to jail for being found without them. The Native Laws Amendment Act of the 1952 session amended the Urban Areas Act so that today, under Section 10, no African (women included) may remain in an urban area or proclaimed area for longer than 72 hours without the authorisation of the local authority. Previously the Governor-General had to proclaim specific areas closed to entry and it had not been the practice to include women in this prohibition.

In Krugersdorp women are daily being picked up by police vans and charged in court with pass offences. This is one municipality that has started enforcing this prohibition against women, there are probably others.

As tragic an existence as the pass laws have always inflicted on the African people, it seems that the future is to be even blacker.

THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

In, this, the first of a series of views on the Congress of the People, the writer asks: WILL THE EUROPEANS BE THERE?



"United by the aim of achieving full citizenship rights for all South Africans, and by a common desire to make the democratic aspirations of our people heard powerfully throughout South Africa and the world, a Congress of the People is to be convened at a date to be announced.

"The Congress of the People will consist of democratically elected representatives of people of all races from all parts of the country, and will be the most widely representative gathering of South Africans ever known in the Union's history.

"The Congress will frame and adopt a Freedom Charter expressing the will of the people of all races, based on the decisions of meetings and assemblies at which delegates are to be elected.

"A Joint Planning Committee of the four bodies has been established to carry out the campaign and bring the Congress of the People to fruition."

Resolution taken in Natal in March, 1954 by the African National Congress, The South African Indian Congress, The South African Congress of Democrats, and The South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation.



ALREADY, before the ink has had time to dry on the call to the Congress of the People which was issued last month by the four bodies that make up the Congress movement, its purposes are being distorted.

"Non-Europeans plan Congress". This is how the Rand Daily Mail headlined its story. Yet it is clear from the very nature of the four bodies who are sponsoring the Congress of the People, that this is to be a gathering for all the racial groups. It is equally clear from the press statement released after the joint meeting of the sponsors. There is no room for doubt that the Congress

will bring together white and non-white in a common enquiry as to the meaning of 'Freedom' which is to be written into the Freedom Charter at the Congress.

Doubting Thomases have begun to question, even before work to call the Congress has really started, whether there is any prospect of participation of Europeans in such a meeting. "Is it feasible" they ask, "to expect the Liberal, Labour and United Parties to come and air their views? Is it possible that European Church groups or the Race Relations Institute can be encouraged to take part?"

I believe it is both possible and likely. It is, of course, apparent from the press statement of the sponsors, that those participating in the Congress of the People will do so as democratically elected representatives of people in constituencies, and not as representatives of organisations. But I believe it is not only possible to get these European bodies to participate in the contest for election to the Congress, but it can be made impossible for them to stay out.

THE TEST

The test will be how completely representative of all the Non-European people the Congress can be made. It is more than likely that the Congress of the People, and the Freedom Charter around which it will revolve, will capture the imagination of the overwhelming majority of the non-white peoples of South Africa. Everywhere, if the work is done well and with energy, ordinary people who have never before been consulted about what type of country they would like to make the land of their birth, will be drawn into discussion, debate and argument about what they want when they speak of "Freedom", and about what kind of society will guarantee that "freedom" to them.

If such debate and argument goes on throughout the length and breadth of the country, can any European group which claims to uphold liberty stand aside? Will it be possible for those who claim "trusteeship" of the Native people not to enter into the debate, and not to seek to influence their 'wards' along the path to freedom which they themselves seek to lead? Will it be possible for those who repeatedly advise the non-European people to be "restrained", and who criticise the Congress movement for its rash impetuosity to allow election contests in European areas to go by default to the only European body thus

far politically committed to support the Congress of the People, the S.A. Congress of Democrats?

I believe not.

There is an idea abroad amongst many progressive-minded people that Europeans generally are mummified in their attitudes of prejudice and racial isolation, and that nothing will ever change them. "We, of course" progressive, democratic Europeans argue, "are different". But "we" are not different. Like all our fellow South Africans we have been born and reared in an atmosphere of exclusiveness and prejudice. But somewhere along the line, our outlooks have been influenced away from the rushing stream of blind race prejudice, perhaps by the ideas of great thinkers; perhaps by the currents of democratic ideas which flourish strongly in lands abroad; and perhaps by the realisation, driven home on us by the democratic movement of the non-European peoples, that there is a better way of life for us in South Africa, than that which the Malan Government prepares for us.

BREAK WITH THE OLD

Every new democratic forward-movement of the non-white people, contrasting so sharply with every new Government inroad on our peace and liberties, brings more European South Africans to the point of breaking with the traditions of race discrimination and oppression. The Defiance Campaign did so, leaving in its wake the Congress of Democrats, the Liberal Party and a more thoroughly democratic Labour Party.

The campaign to build the Congress of the People, the campaign to get people everywhere to write the Freedom Charter, can do it again, on a wider scale. The way is open for a great advance of progressive, democratic thinking amongst European South Africans. It remains for those who see the possibilities of advance, to enter into every aspect of the campaign for the Congress of the People, encouraging every European group and organisation to enter into the election contest, urging every European citizen to say his piece on the contents of the Freedom Charter.

I believe it can be done, successfully. And in the doing of it, there will be built not only a successful, multi-racial Congress. There will be laid the foundation for a successful, united advance of all the peoples of the country to the winning of the freedom whose meaning will be in the Charter.

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