

FIGHTING TALK

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COMMENT

RADICALS PROGRESS.

THE deportation from Southern Rhodesia of railway strike leader, Bob Taylor, added point to Simon Zukas' letter from London in Fighting Talk's June issue. Writing prophetically before the deportation, Zukas made the telling point that deportation without trial is vital to colonial governors, because otherwise they might have to wait "until the man actually commits a crime." Taylor, it seems, was well on the way to committing a crime of militant trade-unionism, a few short months after Rhodesia's "labour" leaders had sold the right to strike for a mess of Federation pottage.

In the good old days, colonial magnates had to fight for themselves. These days they have "labour leaders" to do the fighting for them. "Return to work and put your house in order." This was the stern command of Sir Roy Welensky, one-time railwaymen's union leader. "Where the rule of law and common sense and collective responsibility was intended to operate, we have seen an attempt to substitute chaos, folly and nationalism." All the language of the millionaire press-barons — chaos, irresponsibility, lawlessness — has now become part of the arsenal of the labour lieutenants of colonial governors when they talk of strikes. The strike could have had "the gravest consequences to the political and economic future of the Federation" Sir Roy pontificated. Perish the thought; Sir Roy's job of Minister of Transport and Communications demands that workers stay docile and dividends stay high.

THE NEW PHILOSOPHY

"WE are now engaged at Supreme Headquarters . . . in working on the philosophy of war." Thus Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Europe, General Alfred M. Gruenther, commemorating the tenth anniversary of D-Day in Normandy. The phi-

losophy, it is to be regretted, is not yet completed; but the General and his allied philosophers are working on it. "We are working on a philosophy to have a force in being that is the smallest possible and to depend on reserve forces . . . In our thinking we visualise the use of atom bombs on targets in enemy territory." This new contribution to the world outlook of the Western Allies is, of course, not the whole story. Even the General blushing admits that these are " . . . the highlights of it."

"We have one asset now . . ." said the philosopher. "I refer to the B-47, which can fly so fast and so high that there is no defence against it . . . That plane can fly and drop atomic weapons and drop them accurately." On this high philosophical plane, the General argues that, if war should come this year, " . . . our conclusion is that the Soviet Union would be defeated." To round off the scholarly address, a short dissertation on progress. "We felt three years ago that the Soviet could march to the Channel at very short notice. . . . Now the shield which we have has been reinforced . . . That means that the Soviet in the Kremlin would have to make the firm decision to launch World War III with all the responsibilities that that entails. That is very great progress." No comment.

HARD LUCK STORY.

PITY Johannesburg's poor City Fathers! Always under fire, no matter how hard they try. Take for instance the lone 'Bekkerite' councillor, Mr. J. Klipin. Out of the goodness of his heart, he attends the quarterly joint meeting of the Council's Non-European Affairs Committee with the Joint Advisory Boards. The agenda dealt with all manner of important things — bur-saries, roads and the position of Africans employed by municipal departments. But the Advisory Board members insisted on discussing the activities of certain councillors, not excluding Mr. Klipin, who are assisting the removal of 58,000 people from the Western Areas. "My opinion is", said Mr. Klipin, "that they had been primed by outside advisers. Most of the speakers stuck an attitude of open hostility." Mr. Klipin, deputy chairman of the Committee walked out, leaving Chairman L. V. Hurd to face the fire.

The fire was straight and strong. A motion demanding the resignation of Mr. Hurd as chairman of the committee was carried unanimously, even after Mr. Hurd had told the chairman of the Orlando Advisory Board, Mr. Mpanza, that if he didn't like the chairman he could leave the meeting. Mr. Mpanza made his attitude quite clear by leaving. This was Mr. Hurd's second stormy session in one month. Some weeks before he had been roughly treated by a deputation of his electors, who came to the City Hall to demand that he cease co-operating with the Government in the Western Areas Removal scheme. "My conscience will be clear when I meet my maker," he had told the deputation, pointing a defiant finger at the sky. "You will meet your maker down there! Not up there!" one of his elderly constituents quavered, pointing accusingly at the floor.

After the fire, tears. "Mr. Hurd has devoted six or seven years of his time and energy to the interests of the Non-Europeans" complained Mr. Klipin. "He got the usual type of thanks." No one, it seems, appreciates Mr. Hurd's kind insistence on the removal of people from their homes. "All along I have acted in the best interests of Johannesburg, both of the Europeans and the Natives" Mr. Hurd complained later. One point had been gained. Mr. Hurd will not serve on the Government "Resettlement Board" if asked to do so. The next result for Mr. Hurd and his running mate Klipin is expected at the October elections.

WAY OUT

JOHANNESBURG dealt a resounding blow to splitters in the progressive movement at two meetings on the same week-end in June. In Orlando, at a fine, enthusiastic Branch Conference, the African National Congress decisively routed the opposition "Bafabegyia" group, which met in dismal lifelessness at another hall, claiming to be the "real Congress". No one comparing the confident, united and militant spirit of the A.N.C. gathering, with the pathetic "everyone-out-of-step-but-us" bleating of the opposition could have failed to see the blind alley into which the Bafa begyia led. The climax came when the bulk of the opposition's supporters came across to the Congress gathering, stated they had been deceived and declared their faith in the A.N.C. and their contempt for splitters.

In the Transvaal Peace Council, a unanimous decision was taken to dissolve the Doornfontein group, for long a running sore in the Peace Council's side. The Doornfontein group, maintaining its unceasing hostility, rejected every offer of an olive branch, and sought to win new adherents for its consistent sniping at the Peace Council. In doing so it lost even its former friends. A call has been made for members of the group to join Peace groups in their own areas, and co-operate with other peace-workers to prevent the outbreak of war. Surgical operations are often the only way to remove cancers.

A LETTER TO TO THE EDITOR — AND A REPLY

Having received a letter from Mr. Mohotlong, "Fighting Talk" invited the well-known political writer Moses Kotane, to reply. The letter and Moses Kotane's reply are printed below.

102 Fifth Avenue,
Alexandra Township.
20th May, 1954.

The Editor, "Fighting Talk".

Dear Sir,

It was most unfortunate that your London correspondent in his last article described the Mau Mau terrorists as "African resisters" and General China as an "African leader". The word "resister" has come to be associated with the Defiance Campaign. We have all spent years trying to refute the Government propaganda that the Defiance Campaign is the same thing as the Mau Mau. We have also spent years trying to restrain the African hotheads who say that our resisters should become a Mau Mau. Now Mr. Zukas writes as if there is no difference between the two.

As for General China, he and his kind are repudiated by the true African leaders such as Jomo Kenyatta. The

British Government framed Kenyatta as a Mau Mau, but Kenyatta denied it. The truth of his denial is proved by the fact that he was not used in the recent surrender negotiations.

Do not let us become confused about the Mau Mau. Though we are against the imperialism which produced the Mau Mau and the savage methods being used against the whole population of Kenya in an attempt to suppress the Mau Mau, we are not in favour of the Mau Mau itself. Their methods are not only immoral but also unwise. They have blackened the name of the African people in the eyes of the world. Do not insult our resisters by using their title to describe these thugs.

Yours faithfully,

G. MOHOTLONG.

The Editor, "Fighting Talk."

Dear Sir,

Your Correspondent, Mr. G. Mohotlong, takes exception to the description in the May issue of "Fighting Talk" of what he calls "the Mau Mau terrorists" and "thugs" as African resisters and of General China as an African leader. Mr. Mohotlong says "the word 'resister' has come to be associated with the Defiance Campaign" and should therefore not be confused with Mau Mau "thugs".

I can understand Mr. Mohotlong's fear of the danger of confusing Mau Mau with a purely non-violent political resistance movement. But we should not, in our anxiety to prevent confusion, try to change facts or the meaning of words. The word "resister" has been used in various parts of the world long before we ever thought of the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign. There have been resisters of different kinds and for variety of causes. Similarly the word "lead-

open-air theatre which will be officially opened tomorrow by the G.D.R. Premier — Pieck; sports fields and athletic tracks, sleighing rinks and a toboggan slope, puppet theatres, a morse station for the children — we got tired walking around so gave up at this stage. I think this is the most exciting thing I have seen in Germany up to now. Every ten pioneers have a leader or Free German Youth instructor with them and this enormous park teams with files of children, singing, dancing and walking from one part to another. Their singing would delight you — especially some of the German international brigade songs.

Yesterday we went to Dresden and Leipzig. Eleven Nigerian students are studying at these two universities on scholarships given by the Free German Youth and supervised by the German Trade Unions.

Two young students are acting as guides and interpreters. Both are very interested in what goes on in the world, South Africa included. One asked intelligent questions about South Africa and seemed to grasp the situation and remarked how complex it was. But in the next breath he revealed that he thought Malan was a black man! I can now understand how complex South Africa *did* seem to him.

Everywhere there are many newly published books in German being sold. Their publishing is not only prolific but of a fine standard. If only one could get in English some of the works I have seen in German. I am thinking mainly of the proletarian poetry, novels of such people as Amardo, Zimmering, Neruda and scores of others.

7th JUNE

The German Youth's Festival has now been going on since Friday but yesterday, Sunday was the official opening. It is difficult to believe but the march past took 9 hours 20 minutes! Even those here who are used to seeing such demonstrations said that they had never seen such an enormous one. The march started at the Brandenburg Gate proceeded down Unter Den Linden and into the Marx-Engels Platz where the reviewing stand was, then out of the square into the side streets again; it never stopped coming. Young people in blue shirts — the uniform of the Free German Youth, young people in folk costumes, in shorts on motor cycles, athletes marching, pioneers, West German Youth (not in blue shirts because the West German authorities were hunting them up and down the country trying to keep them from this Festival and trying unsuccessfully). Wilhelm Pieck, Ulbricht, Oniker, the youth president and others took the march past and we among the honoured guests from the many different countries stood behind them. It began to be almost a joke after 6 hours. When would it end? What an achievement to build a youth organisation like this in so short a time.

On Saturday afternoon there was an exhibition of mass gymnastics by eight sports clubs of youth in a stadium where about 70,000 must have been seated.

It's impossible to give a clear impression of this city spilling over with blue shirts and processions and demonstrations, dancing in the streets, bands, flags and shouts of "Freundschaft." In between scores of cultural activities, far too many for me to see more than a fraction.

9th JUNE

I am writing this in a little village where we have spent the night. It is somewhere near Magdeberg. Quite where I'm not sure. A trip was arranged by the German Peace Committee and this morning we've been over a factory employing 1,500 women. Yesterday we saw a tractor station



"Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is in chains."

and were told of the peasants' co-operatives here. Among the 81 tractor drivers on the station two are women. Seventy-five per cent. of the peasants here still remain outside the co-op. preferring for the time being to till their individual plots. There are many who make use of the tractor service. Two gigantic harvesting machines on the station were built in the U.S.S.R. and do everything to the wheat, short of eating it.

After that we went on to the river to see the ship-building works and had to climb into every hole in the engine room and coal bunker to see what it really looks like. Then a culture ship. There are two in the German Democratic Republic and we were lucky to see one of them just before it took off again. The culture ships sail rivers, stopping from ship to ship to give cultural performances for the sailors, cinema shows and library facilities.

The importance of an occasional visit of a foreign delegate overwhelms me anew each time. I feel somewhat embarrassed each time I am handed a bouquet of flowers, greeted in a speech of welcome by the local mayor. Many of these people are exceptionally fine, doing pioneering work in new fields, tough as granite, outspoken but friendly.

In nine short years this Republic has done a great deal to be proud of and signs of the advance towards socialism are everywhere apparent.

BY WAY OF CRITICISM . . .

| MUST begin by expressing my appreciation to the editor of *Fighting Talk* for opening his columns to an article of this sort — it is not often that organisations show such tolerance of antagonistic ideas.

Three years ago, I found the counsels of the Legion full of gloom. They were now backing the United Party and the Torch Commando both ways. *Fighting Talk* carried my opposition both to the gloom and to the two organisations upon which we were invited to build our hopes. Alas, I was regarded with suspicion, except for a small minority, and my views rejected.

Then several things happened that caused those whom I had opposed to swerve right across the road — in fact, right into the Congress of Democrats. By pursuing a policy of "Too much and too late", they were, perhaps, trying to compensate for their previous omissions.

If you read pages 10 to 14 of *The Threatened People* you will see a complete (though delayed) vindication of my warnings of eight years ago. What should have been obvious all along is obvious now. Those who built on the United Party were building on quicksand. They did considerable damage to the cause of the people of South Africa. They spread darkness and confusion and wasted many valuable years that should have been dedicated to preparing for what was to come.

But instead of publicly admitting their crimes and retiring from political life to think it over, they suddenly began propagating the antithesis of what they had been saying for years before. The United Party and Torch Commando were abandoned and their chosen instrument became the C.O.D.

FORMATION OF THE C.O.D.

The C.O.D. was formed in November 1952, when the Defiance Campaign was at its height. The African and Indian Congress, wishing to avail themselves of the help of white South Africans sympathetic to their struggle, invited several hundreds of them to a meeting in the Darragh Hall and several hundred of them accepted the invitation.

At that meeting and at meetings of the provisional committee then elected, two opposed lines were put forward. The one can be summarised thus: the

"Fighting Talk" was asked by Dr. Guy Routh to print this criticism of the Congress of Democrats. We do so together with a rejoinder by an executive member.

Government is preparing a *coup de grace* for the Defiance Campaign. Provocateurs are at work and the police have already resorted to violence in a number of cases. Our urgent necessity is to prepare united resistance now for whatever the Government plans to do. Therefore, we must gather together all the whites we can who are prepared to condemn the six unjust laws and the steps the Government is about to take to destroy the resistance campaign.

In the event, the coup de grace was delivered by the addition of two more unjust laws which made the original six look almost democratic by comparison — the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act. *If there had been in existence then the sort of organisation I had envisaged, those two laws might never have been passed.* The anti-Nat. public was at that moment burning with indignation and would have gone into mass demonstration had there been an organisation broad enough in its appeal to organise them. At least, tens of thousands of whites would have been drawn into the struggle and been led to identify themselves, however vaguely, with the aspirations of the non-whites.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE TEN JUST MEN

The other policy — that of the leaders of the C.O.D. — had its beginnings in a misconception of the meaning of political events. They believed that the initiative had passed to the Resistance Movement, which they imagined would go from strength to strength until it overwhelmed the Government and brought about a new political system in South Africa.

To them, the danger with which we should be preoccupied was not the ever-increasing pressure of the Afrikaner Nationalists, but the ever-increasing nationalism of the Africans. Unless a group of whites sided fair-and-squarely with the Congresses, they argued, the Congresses would themselves be taken over by African and Indian nationalists,

and the country be overwhelmed by non-white fascism.

So the test for admission to the C.O.D. was made acceptance of the policy of universal franchise. The enemy is bombarding the gates and we start arguing about qualifications for the franchise! It is as if soldiers facing an attack should refuse to fight unless they were given a daily issue of freshly-laundered linen! Or as if the Soviet Union, Britain and America, during the war, had refused to become allies unless the one turned capitalist or the others turned communist!

FACT AND FRANCHISE.

Just as the issue for an African trade union today is not the overthrow of the capitalist system, so the dividing line in South Africa is not between those who demand universal franchise and those who don't, but between *those who believe in more and more rigorous oppression of the non-whites and those who don't.* Every white person who is prepared to advocate concessions to the non-whites is a potential ally. "Twenty or thirty years ago," says *The Threatened People*, ". . . the creation of Joint Committees to meet the Non-European on some equal footing was a timely and even revolutionary advance towards race co-operation." To-day, co-operation must be "on the realities of the aspiration of an articulate Non-European political movement."

I am not sure what that last sentence means, but the inference is that the only useful sort of co-operation can be between non-whites and whites who are prepared to demand universal franchise. That is nonsense. A joint council of Jews and Christians would have been a tame affair in the Weimar Republic, but a startling demonstration in the Third Reich. So, the more the Nationalists try to drive wedges between the races, the more urgent it becomes to preserve every contact that is available and to make new ones.

Every organisation that is prepared to work on any of several hundreds of issues is an ally or potential ally — Western Areas, University apartheid, trade unions, education, pass-laws, housing, health, land, by-woners rights and many more. It would be absurd to make a willingness to demand universal franchise a prerequisite for accepting their support.

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

The first necessity is for progressives to clear their heads of the apartheid-consciousness (or unconsciousness) which is the emotional background to

the policy of the leaders of the C.O.D. It is not true that the Non-Europeans will emancipate themselves by their own political action. South Africa will be liberated by a combined movement of all who desire liberation. In the hurly-burly of the years to come, as the struggle becomes more intense and sways this way and that, there will be many changes, and from those changes will come an integrated movement, not three unracial movements. Without that, there can be no liberation at all.

Meanwhile, there are certain things to be done. The African and Indian

Congresses and S.A.C.P.O. must be strengthened. These Congresses must go forward on a united front with all the whites whom they can muster on the sort of pressing issues for which they can muster the support of their own people. African misery is an urgent matter of housing, transport, wages and jobs and no African movement can become a mass movement if, when its members ask for bread, it offers them a vote.

As for white progressives, it is wrong and unnecessary to make the Liquidator the present of an organisation to keep him occupied now that his present work

is coming to an end. The desire to do so, so keenly felt by some of the members of C.O.D., is the result of an inverted moral cowardice, a fear of being outdone in bravado by someone else. There are many existing organisations that badly need help and that can be dynamised if that help is forthcoming. Many of them, though not all, have no colour bar.

All that is needed is a spirit of enterprise and the firm knowledge that we are invincible. And the eradication from our conscious and unconscious minds of the poison of apartheid.

... BY WAY OF REPLY

THERE is an old saying that it is easy to be wise after the event. Dr. Routh, however, illustrates the opposite. He, it seems, was wise about the Torch Commando before the event of its capitulation and collapse. But strangely he is bereft of wisdom after its collapse, and seeks nothing better than a further dose of disillusion. His proposal, made and rejected at the initial Congress of Democrats meeting, called for the formation of a permanent body, to "... gather together all the whites we can who are prepared to condemn the six unjust laws ..." Like the Torch, this was to be a body without any basic principles moved only by the exigencies of the moment to do what seemed "tactically" advisable.

Those who started the C.O.D. had, possibly, been once bitten by that particular set of false teeth. We were understandably shy of a second encounter. It is perhaps true that "At least, tens of thousands of whites would have been drawn into the struggle ..." (though, like the American sceptic I am inclined to say "Show me!"). But so were tens of thousands drawn into the Torch Commando, only to end in a confused medley of anti-colour, anti-"Communist", anti-progressive policies, all for "tactical" reasons. If the Torch's thousands did anything for this country, they managed to sow such bitter disillusionment and defeatism amongst decent citizens, themselves included, that we still suffer from it today.

It might be argued that if Dr. Routh's course had indeed prevented the passage of the Public Safety and Criminal Law Acts, then that course should have been followed. On this one can only specu-

late. Dr. Routh, like some of those who voted with him and subsequently formed the Liberal Party, seem to believe that popularity comes easy to anyone who is prepared to water his principles down to what he imagines is acceptable. We were told repeatedly at our inaugural meeting that we should be like Sam Goldwyn — "If you don't like my principles, I've got others" — and drop our principles of full equality in favour of a "limited franchise."

This, we were told, was the way to win masses of white South Africans to our side. Our critics may well be pondering the intricacy of their logic, now that their "popular" concessions of principles have been decisively rejected by the electors in both the all-white Provincial elections in Natal, and the all-African election in Cape Western.

Popularity and support from white South Africans cannot be cheaply bought by "conceding" to white bigots that Africans have different birthrights. Nor can it be cheaply bought from Africans who talk of liberty, by "conceding" their right to amelioration — within limits — of their conditions of life. Popularity and support have to be campaigned for and fought for, in the political arena, in the teeth of opposition claimants of all types. To win out in such a struggle requires firm, undeviating principle, adhered to without tactical "concessions" for spur-of-the-moment acclaim. It was in this frame of mind that the C.O.D. was started.

Dr. Routh seems to think that the C.O.D. lives in a world apart; that while the people of this country face injustice and poverty and fascism, C.O.D. members try to sell the new patent-medi-

cine, "Votes for all". True, an acceptance of full equal rights and opportunities for all S. Africans forms part of the policy of our organisation, and is therefore a condition of membership. But we do not seek to sell "votes for all", like itinerant patent medicine hawkers, as a cure for all evils. We use our principles as a frame of reference, guiding us in our decisions as to what is right and must be done, and what is wrong and must be fought.

From this frame of reference, we decided, for example, that the current Liberal policy of a "qualified franchise" was wrong, and a delusion for whites who seek an alternative to Malan's fascism. We published "The Threatened People" to counter that delusion. We entered into, and became the active heart of the campaign to rouse white citizens against the Western Areas Removal Scheme. Where others kept quiet, accepting the Verwoerd legislation in dull apathy, we campaigned against it.

In fact the African movement is becoming a mass movement, not because we or others offer them a vote when they ask for bread, but because, together with the African National Congress we organise the people around a programme which can win them bread.

Dr. Routh is right when he says that "... South Africa will be liberated by a combined movement of all who desire liberation," not because there is any abstract justification for his statement, but because there is a C.O.D. which is forging an alliance for liberation with the non-European people and their Congresses. His suggestion that the C.O.D. serves only to provide new names for the Liquidator's lists can mean only one thing. "Lie low! That way one keeps out of trouble." If all hearts in South Africa were as faint as Dr. Routh's, no South African would ever win fair liberty.

THE CONGRESS

AS a result of the historic call made by the African National Congress at its Conference in Queenstown, the National Executives of the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, Congress of Democrats and South African Coloured Peoples Organisation have decided to call on the people of South Africa to come together in a great assembly — THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

The South African peoples' movement can be proud of its long record of unbroken struggle for rights and liberty. But never before have the mass of South African citizens been summoned together to proclaim their desires and aspirations in a single declaration—A CHARTER OF FREEDOM.

The drawing up and adopting of such a charter of Freedom is the purpose for which the Congress of the People has been called. Never in South African history have the ordinary people of this country been enabled to take part in deciding their own fate and future. Elections have been restricted to a small minority of the population; and even their franchise rights, particularly in recent times, have been threatened and curtailed. There is a need to hear the voice of the ordinary citizen of this land, proclaiming to the world his demand for freedom.

WHAT IS THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE?

THE Congress of the People will not be just another meeting or another conference. It will be a mass assembly of delegates elected by the people of all races in every town, village, farm, factory, mine and kraal. It will be the biggest single gathering of spokesmen ever known in this country. The representatives of the people who come to the Congress will consider the detailed demands of the people, which have been sent in for incorporation in the Freedom Charter. This Freedom Charter will be the South African peoples' declaration of human rights, which every civilised South African will work to uphold and carry into practice.

By decision of the joint National Executive Committees of the sponsoring bodies, the Congress of the People must be held as soon as possible, and in any case not later than next June. The Congress of the People will be made the occasion for a great cultural festival of the national and folk arts of all sections of our population.

HOW WILL THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE BE ORGANISED?

THE first task will be to make the whole country conscious of the Congress of the People, and of its tremendous importance. There will be the greatest possible campaign with hundreds of meetings, house to house canvasses and group discussions. The central aim of all these activities will be to get the citizens of the country to speak for themselves, and to state what changes must be made in their way of life if they are to enjoy freedom.

Every demand made by the people at these gatherings, however small the matter, will be recorded and collected for consideration by the Congress of the People for inclusion in the Freedom Charter. In this way it will become the Charter of the people, the content of which has its source

in their homes, factories, mines and reserves. It has been decided that all these demands must be forwarded by October 30th of this year.

CAN WE SUCCEED ON SUCH A SCALE?

THE main burden of such a campaign of national awakening as this will fall on those politically conscious and active people who make up the membership of the national liberation organisation. If the campaign is to succeed, the message of the Congress of the People and the news of the Freedom Charter will be carried to every corner of the country.

If there is sufficient understanding of the radical changes that such a campaign can make in the South African situation, then the same spirit of self-sacrifice and discipline, which was the hall-mark of the Defiance Campaign, will be created. With such a spirit, people will once again come forward, volunteering to give up their holidays, weekends and spare time in order to carry the campaign into those parts of the country where there are no existing organised political groups. We must expect from the advanced people in all the Congresses those sacrifices made by 8,000 volunteers during the Defiance Campaign who sacrificed their liberty and their jobs in the cause of freedom.

We will create a corps of Freedom Volunteers, who will be the core of the campaign, and make themselves available to the organisers of the campaign for whatever work in whatever place they are required.

OF

HOW TO SET ABOUT IT.

TO carry through the campaign, the four Congresses have set up "THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL FOR THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE" composed of equal numbers of representatives of each body.

A CALL TO THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE has been adopted. Every Union-wide organisation without exception is being asked to support and endorse this call. Those organisations who do so will be asked to appoint representatives to the National Council.

The aim is to establish CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE COMMITTEES on a provincial basis, and on a town, suburb, factory or street basis. At all these levels attempts will be made to draw in the participation of every local organisation and group.

The immediate task is the establishment of Provincial Committees. These committees will be composed of equal numbers of representatives of each of the original sponsors. Their first duty will be to convene a Provincial Conference, to which every organisation possible will be invited, and which will elect additional members to the Provincial Committee.

Wherever possible, this procedure will be repeated on a town or district basis. Only through setting up such active committees on the widest possible scale, drawing in thousands of active workers to assist them, can the campaign succeed on its greatest scale. Through these committees the demands of the people everywhere will be gathered, the people be canvassed and local delegations to the Congress of the People be organised.

Above all, it must be remembered that the creation of a network of local committees in every corner of South Africa will in itself be a major political achievement, which will be of tremendous value in every struggle of the future to achieve the demands set out in the Freedom Charter.

HOW TO MOBILISE FOR THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

THE message of the coming Congress of the People cannot inspire people unless everywhere it is linked in people's minds with their own burning problems, and with the vital issue of the day. When speaking to farm squatters, the Congress of the People must be linked in their minds with their own struggle against ejection from their homes; to town workers with the fight for trade union rights and better wages; to the people on the trust farms with the culling of cattle. Every vital issue, whether it be the eviction of people from the Western Areas, the introduction of apartheid at the Universities, the expropriation under the Group Areas Act, or the removal of voting rights under the Separate Representation of Voters Act, must be linked with all the propaganda for the Congress of the People.

WHO WILL VOTE?

BECAUSE of the long history of indirect and sham representation from which the Non-European people have suffered, it has been decided that the basis of election to the Congress of the People should be direct. That means that representatives elected by the people in any area or unit will go direct to the Congress of the People.

Every person over the age of eighteen, without distinction of race, colour or sex, will be entitled to vote for his representative.

Since the aim of the Congress of the People is to hear the desires of every group in South Africa, it is obvious that each voting unit will not be composed of the same number of people. So if, say, a group of fifteen African farm labourers decides to send a delegate, that is all to the good. On the other hand, large urban townships cannot be expected to send one representative for every fifteen inhabitants.

At this stage of the campaign it is not possible to define precisely what will make up an electoral unit. It is only after the preparatory work has been successfully carried out that a more definite demarcation can be made, based on the number of local committees. In the last resort, local committees will have to decide what units in their locality will have to be represented, based on a target set by their National Action Council.

HOW WILL PEOPLE VOTE?

ELECTION Day should be made the occasion for great political demonstrations and rallies in every part of the land.

Wherever possible, elections of delegates should be held by public vote at a meeting of the electors. There may be cases, however, such as on a mine or farm, where the holding of a meeting may not be possible. In such cases, a canvass of the electorate by the local committee may prove to be the only practical method. It must be stressed that delegates to the Congress of the People are not delegates from local committees, but from the people in the area where the local committee organises the work.

HOW WILL THEY GET THERE?

THOUSANDS of delegates converging on the central venue for the Congress of the People must take place in an atmosphere of great political demonstrations. Where a large number of delegates are travelling together, Freedom Processions to greet them in every town they pass through may be organised.

It is obvious that the National Action Council will not be able to meet the bill for the expenses of delegates. The electors themselves will be prepared to make the sacrifices necessary to see that their chosen representative reaches the Congress.

WHO WILL PAY THE BILL?

IN spite of this, the National Action Council will require tremendous sums of money to see that a copy of the Call to Congress of the People gets into every home in the land, and to see that delegates are provided for at the Congress. It is therefore most important that every unit taking part in organising the Congress of the People should seize every opportunity to collect funds from the people for the campaign.

Not only must every supporter be asked to pledge regular monthly sums of money to the campaign, but in the countryside particularly, people must be asked to make pledges of cattle and other foodstuffs to feed the delegates at the Congress.

The campaign for the Congress of the People is not a campaign for members of the Congress alone. All those who wish to hear the voice of the people must be encouraged to join in. There can be no neutrals.

Those people and those organisations who refuse to take part will stand exposed as fearing the democratically expressed opinions of the majority of South African citizens and will lose the support and allegiance of all decent, freedom-loving citizens.

In such a campaign as this, thousands of new active workers will rally to the support of those who have initiated and carried through the main burden of the campaign. New strength and new enthusiasm will grow in our ranks making it possible for us to lead our people forward to the winning of the Freedom set out in the Charter which our people will write and adopt.

THE PEOPLE

FATHER HUDDLESTON'S OPENING SPEECH

— AT THE "RESIST APARTHEID" CONFERENCE IN JOHANNESBURG.

I WOULD like to say at once how greatly I appreciate the honour you have done me in asking me once again to open a conference of this kind. I would like to repeat what I said in this hall some eighteen months ago on a similar occasion — and I do so with even greater conviction.

I said then, and I repeat to-day, that I identify myself wholly with the Non-European people of South Africa in their struggle against unjust and discriminatory laws. I do so as a man, as a Christian and as a priest of the Church. As a man, because these laws strike at the very root of human rights: as a Christian, because the Christian faith proclaims the eternal and immutable value of justice and of brotherly love — which these laws aim to destroy: as a priest, because it is my duty to preach and to practise principles based on the dignity and sacredness of every person in the sight of Almighty God: and it is my deepest conviction that Apartheid and the laws that flow from this idea are absolutely contrary to this precept and in fact are aimed at its destruction.

You have many issues to discuss to-day, and many important decisions to make. It is not my purpose to take up much of your time nor to tell you what to say or do: that would indeed be an impertinence.

Western Areas Removal Scheme.

But I want to say a few words about certain aspects of the legislation we are to consider — particularly that which has reference to the Western Areas Scheme and the Bantu Education Act. And I want, if I may, to use a text for this purpose: not a Biblical text, but a quotation from the lips of that remarkable national leader and prophet, the Minister of Native Affairs. I am sure that we must all listen in awed silence to anything that he says, for, in his own view at any rate, he is the arbiter of our destiny. What he says must be right because he says it. No one in this hall would dare to question that!!

In a speech to the Senate on the Bantu Education Bill on June 7th this year, Dr. Verwoerd said:—

"It is the policy of my Department that education should have its roots entirely in the Native areas and in the native environment and native community . . . The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour."

"There is *no* place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour."

From the Minister's own lips we have here, in this sentence, a clear and definite expression of the principle which underlies all recent legislation and every regulation and each new pronouncement from the Native Affairs Department.

This is the essence of Apartheid — and Dr. Verwoerd cannot accuse me of misrepresenting him, since I am using

his own words. What — in practice — does such a statement mean? We can see very clearly what it means if we look for a moment at the Western Areas Scheme and the Bantu Education Act.

"There is no place for him in the European community . . ." Therefore we must remove the Non-European from the place which has been his home for 50 years: we must do so without consultation: we must do so by depriving him of freehold tenure: we must do so whether he likes it or not — *because* Sophiatown and its adjacent suburbs are now surrounded by white residential areas. The European community has engulfed the African community — "and there is no place" for the African there any more.

But — just in case there are some people whose consciences might be upset; just in case there are some people who might vote against injustice at the next election, we must give some simpler explanation to the world. So — the removal is slum-clearance: the fine and beneficent Government. All who oppose it are agitators — are the enemies of improvement and lovers of squalor and overcrowding. As chairman of the Western Areas Protest Committee I do wish to call upon you all to co-operate with us to the fullest extent possible in exposing the dishonesty of such a manoeuvre. I believe that we have achieved something at least in persuading the City Council at last to wash its hands of this disgraceful thing. Now let us work together as never before to see that those who really *are* in need of homes have priority and that those who own houses in the western areas do not lose them.

The Bantu Education Act.

"There is no place" says the Minister, "for the African in the European community, *above the level of certain forms of labour*". May I remind you that these words were spoken in a policy statement concerning Education. They give the clue to that policy as it is now enshrined in the Bantu Education Act.

The whole purpose of that Act is to ensure that, in South Africa, "there will be no place for the African in the European community." In other words his education must be different in *kind* from all other education. And to this end it must be guided and directed in every particular by the one man who knows what the destiny of the African is and who has a mandate to enforce that destiny at all costs. "Certain forms of labour" — will be left open to the Non-European in European areas. And in order that that labour may be reasonably efficient, education up to Standard 2 must be enforced. This is in fact that basic reason for the double-session; this is in fact the great and noble motive behind that mass education policy so loudly publicised recently in statements from the Native Affairs Department. This is the reason incidentally for that attack upon Mission schools which has already been launched — for, with all their faults — the Mission schools have stood for one principle — the principle that education is education and that it is nonsense and dangerous nonsense to proclaim a division on the grounds of colour.

(Continued on next page)

FIGHTING TALK

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BLASTING THE CANON

COUNTERING COLLINS

A NUMBER of normally quiet, reasonable people seem to have lost their balance since visiting Canon Collins summed up his impressions of this country as "a pleasant madhouse." The phrase riled. But the real cause of all the sound and fury about the Canon was his conclusion that, if violence result from South African racialism, it will not be made by the non-European people, but by the authorities of apartheid. Even an Archdeacon was moved to break his former silence, emerging from obscurity to issue scurrilous statements about Canon Collins and his alleged "eccentricity".

No one it seems was more hurt than the Durban business-man, Mr. G. C. Shave, who paid in good hard cash for the Canon's visit, and announced that if the Canon had not changed his views as a result of his visit, he would reveal himself as a "prejudiced witness". You either agree with Shave, or you are biased. Canon Collins' opinions apparently did not change, but rather hardened. Apartheid and white supremacy is still intolerably unjust; the Congress movement is the responsible, progressive and humanitarian voice of the non-European majority. This is the way the Canon sees it. But Mr. Shave is to complain to the Church authorities. Collins, he says, has ceased to be a priest, and become a meddling politician. Shave's views have been echoed by a dozen politicians of Nationalist stamp, by newspapers and some church men, who would have fawned at Collins' feet had he entered the field of politics to proclaim as Christian the doctrine of apartheid and baasskap, and to denounce the Congresses as agitators and atheists.

The frenzy brings to mind George Bernard Shaw's pertinent comment: 'A nation's morals are like its teeth. The more they are decayed, the more it hurts to touch them.' The Canon, it seems, touched South Africa's morals where it hurts.

BAN OR BANISH

A SHARP reminder that we live in a police state was given in the Government banishment from East London of two prominent Congressmen, Messrs. Gwentshe and Lengisi. Without prior warning, and without hearing or trial, these two men have been banished for life to remote farms in the Transvaal, under perpetual police surveillance. Their offence? None. The Governor-General — Nationalist politician Dr. Jansen in his role of Supreme white chief of the African people — is satisfied that the banishment is necessary for the survival of law and order.

The claims of 'law and order' have the hollow ring of Hitler's claims when his stormtroopers entered the Sudenland. There is no threat to law and order in the East-

COMMENT.

ern Cape. But there is a threat to continued Nationalist domination of the whole country in the Congress campaign which is associated with the coming Congress of the People. Frenzied attempts are being made to chop off the heads of the people's resistance to apartheid. In the Eastern Cape, Dr. Njongwe and Mr. R. Matji have been banned from Congress membership and from attending gatherings. In the Transvaal, Mr. Swarts' axe has fallen on Mr. Duma Nokwe and on National Congress Secretary, Walter Sisulu.

The natural horror which people everywhere have for despotic acts of banishment and banning is not enough. There is need for anger. And there is need for determination to defeat the headsman who seeks to execute the people's movement for liberty. Where one head falls, there is need for fifty replacements. And those replacements are coming forward. In their horror at the Malan Government's tyranny, men and women everywhere are coming forward in response to the call for fifty thousand "Volunteers" made by the Presidents of the African, Indian, Coloured and European Congresses. The trickle of volunteers for freedom must become a flood. This is the way to beat the bans and banishments.

SECOND thoughts, it is said are best. Certainly the Liberal Party's second thoughts on the question of the franchise are better than their first. At their recent Annual Conference, the Liberals have recognised that there can be no justification for democrats not accept-

PARTY LINE

ing the right of all sane adults, regardless of race, to full equal voting rights. This marks some advance on their former "educational-qualification-for-voters" policy. The Liberals have learnt the error of their former ways, not only from the hostility which their policy aroused amongst Congress men, not only from the serious criticism they have had to meet from the Congress of Democrats, but also from the resounding defeat meted out to their candidates by African workers in the Ray Alexander election campaign in Cape Western, and equally by European voters in Johannesburg and Durban.

If they had been content to leave their policy as stated above, the Liberals would have been better off. As it is, they hastened to add a rider to the effect that, of course, the full franchise can only be achieved by slow development through many stages of restricted franchise. It remains to be seen

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whether the Liberal Party's energies will be bent to persuading South Africa that the vote for all is necessary and right; or whether they will once again fall into the easy, unprincipled way of trying to persuade the non-European people not to press ahead with their claims, but rather to press for "first-stage" restricted votes for so-called "civilised" men only.

PAGEL'S circus could make good use of some of the journalists and politicians who have been turning somersaults so fast over the Dr. John business that they have made themselves dizzy. When the West German security chief was first discovered to have left West Germany for the Eastern German People's Republic words came pouring out in press and radio describing how the good Dr. Otto John had been "kidnapped" by mysterious Communist agents. The following day, Dr. John broadcast an explanation of his actions over the East German radio. Immediately the whole kidnapping story was thrown in the

WAY OUT

wastepaper basket, and out popped a brand new story about mysterious oriental drugs, which had sapped the Doctor's will. The following day came yet another new story that the doctor had gone out of his mind, and lost his memory. Any straw was good enough to clutch at; except the plain, simple facts.

Dr. John is anti-Nazi. One wonders how he has held his place so long in a West German Government which is becoming increasingly tolerant of the Nazi revival and increasingly deeply committed to plans for rearmament and a new *'drang nach osten!* Finally he could stomach it no longer. "Dr. John", one of the most naive newspaper stories said, "believed that Nazis were more dangerous than Communists." Such heresy lands people in jail in the west. Dr. John crossed over to the East, where the struggle against Nazism and war is the mainspring of policy. Unlike Petrov, whose "allegations" have become the dampest of wet squibs, Dr. John, it is stated uneasily from the West, has full details of the Western spy apparatus in Eastern Germany. Peace finds mysterious ways its wonders to perform.

Russian Diary

From Berlin, Ruth First was invited to the Soviet Union by the Women's Anti-Fascist Committee. Here are some further extracts from letters to her family in South Africa.

June 10th.

| WAS bolting down my breakfast this morning preparing to dash off to tie up arrangements for my trip to Prague at noon, when a phone call came through to say that my visa to the Soviet Union was waiting and would I please fetch it. Would I?! I feel enormously privileged and so very pleased . . .

June 14th.

| ARRIVED here last Friday evening and a few hours later was at a meeting to plan what I was to do during my visit. Tomorrow I leave for Stalingrad, back in Moscow two days later, and leave for Leningrad the same day. Later I shall visit one of the republics. Have asked for the ones where the people were among the most backward in the old days, so may not be possible. Have seen three ballets in the last three days, including the 'Swanlake' tonight. Not only beautifully danced, but magnificently staged. Have seen exhibitions, libraries, museums and galleries; the new Moscow Canal; the Park of Culture and Rest; a 3-dimensional film during which birds appeared to be flying through the cinema and branches to be coming straight for one's eyes; the Dynamo Stadium . . . Caviare for lunch, sturgeon for dinner, meals at crazy hours, like lunch yesterday at 4.30 p.m. and dinner after the theatre. A tremendous vitality among the

people everywhere, and it isn't only the good food, of course! One's strongest impression is of the buoyant confidence of the people. They look as though they can do anything. They know they can and they say so too! I have seen queues today to enter a reference library, to buy ballet tickets, to enter the mausoleum.

My hotel room looks on to the Red Square and the Kremlin, one of the biggest and busiest centres in Moscow. The hooting is incessant. People simply ignore the traffic lights (the streets are so wide that the lights change before it is possible to get across them) and drivers let them have it with continuous blasts. It gets dark only after ten and people go most unwillingly to bed.

Two hundred large buildings are at present being constructed in this city. Yesterday I saw how. The Exhibition of Construction shows the modern materials used and the revolutionary methods of construction by prefabrication. Factories make the parts and the very foundations (in sections of concrete blocks), whole staircases and even whole walls are dropped into position by cranes. Water and gas piping and electric wiring are assembled in factories and are brought to the site — take 10-12 minutes to connect! So a 5-storey building with 120 apartments takes only 5 months to complete.

Moscow's 10-year reconstruction plan will double the total area of the city. Four hundred new school buildings will be built. Seven million trees and shrubs will be planted.

The World Today . . .

GUATEMALA STORY

★ by Ben Giles ★

"Why should we persecute Communists? Isn't Gutierrez, the General Secretary of our trade unions, the best and most honest labour leader in Central America? He is also a university professor, so why should we reject educated people who can help our country just because Washington is in the grip of a scare?"

— Former Guatemala Prime Minister, Estrada de la Hoz.

COMMUNISM! This is the word that has loomed largest over the whole Guatemalan news, obscuring the facts in smoke. For smoke it is. Not that there are no Communists in this little Central American republic, where a Government has just been overthrown, in typical "banana republic" style by a foreign financed obscure army colonel's putsch. Communists there are, amongst the workers and the peasants and the professional people who make up the three million inhabitants. And many of them highly thought of, even in non-Communist circles. But still a minority group, with only four members in the Guatemalan Parliament, out of fifty-four members elected in 1944. In the main, they are young, these Communists, because their party is young, younger even than Guatemalan democracy, which counts its life from the popular revolution which overthrew dictatorship ten years ago.

It was 1950 when a number of leaders of Guatemala's foremost political party, the Revolutionary Action Party (PAR) issued a manifesto of their resignation from the PAR and the formation of the Workers' Party. At the same time, they wrote in their manifesto, they would continue to work as allies of the party they were leaving, carrying on the spirit of the 1944 revolution in a struggle against imperialism and reaction, and for peace. That promise has been maintained, while the Workers' Party has grown. But power and leadership in the democratic alliance has stayed with the PAR. While the lands of Eastern Europe, under Communist leadership, have been moving towards socialism, Guatemala under PAR leadership has been moving from its backward feudal state towards enlightened capitalism.

THE GOOD LIFE

There has been talk of communist expropriation, Soviet-type nationalisation, collectivism. This distorts the truth. There has been reform in Guatemala, radical reform; but it has been reform designed and brought about by the rising native capitalist class, who have struggled towards emancipation from the feudal grip of the great Boston monopoly, United Fruit Corporation, which has ruled the land through a succession of sponsored and hired dictators. United Fruit owns the country's only railway. Its charges for carrying other people's goods have been three times as high as its charges for carrying bananas. The economic development of the country was being crippled. But the Government fought back. Not as Communists would have done, by nationalisation; but by building a great state highway and a fleet of lorries to compete with the railroad and force transport charges down. The policy has paid off, as United Fruit has bitterly learnt. Railway traffic has fallen off; and private industry and agriculture have started to develop in the once exclusive preserve of the United Fruit Corporation.

The same tale can be told of the land, where for generations the peasants had gone bar-foot and starving on the estates of feudal landlords and foreign investment corporations. There was a crying and desperate need for land reform; and reform there has been, of a special non-Communist kind. Laws have been passed which place no limit on a landlord's holdings, save that he must cultivate or graze cattle on all except 222 acres of it. To the peasants this Law has meant much; formerly idle land has been confiscated and redistributed to the landless, with compensation to the landowners paid in interest-

bearing state bonds. Under this law, President Arbenz himself lost 1,700 acres of his holdings to those who had never, within living memory, owned a strip of land of their own. Estates of German owners, confiscated during the Second World War have been distributed to the peasants, who are becoming small, independent farmers, often hiring the labour of those less fortunate in the distribution.

UNITED FRUIT

The land reform, simple and compromising though it is, has roused its share of bitterness and opposition. And not the least of the opposition has been from United Fruit, which owned some 562,000 acres of Guatemalan land. The Government proved that only 37,000 acres were under cultivation; even the United Fruit Corporation's biggest claim was that it was using 50,000 acres. Of the more than half a million acres due to be expropriated, the Government only took over 374,000, paying over half a million dollars in compensation. United Fruit, left with more than three times the amount of land in cultivation by them, claimed 3½ million dollars in compensation, their claims backed up by diplomatic pressure on Guatemala from Washington.

There have been other things, some planned and some growing unplanned from the great upsurge of progressive and democratic ideas and actions let loose by these first assaults on the backwardness of feudalism. Education has been broadened, though seven out of every ten are still illiterate. People's organisations, trade unions, women's organisations and peace, cultural and sports organisations have flowered and gathered hundreds upon hundreds of adherents. Art and culture has begun to emerge from under dark stones where it was driven by the former dictatorships — a national music festival was planned for this July, before the counter-revolution burst, and a Festival of Friendship of Central American and Caribbean Youth was under way for September.

There was a flowering, too, of political ideas, and the formulation of progressive policies in foreign affairs, mirroring the democratic and free political life at home. At the Caracas Inter-American Conference, Guatemala's representative stood alone, a small but courageous voice for peace, for settlement of international disputes by negotiation, for disarmament and the prohibition of the atomic bomb. While the rest of the delegates faithfully lined up and voted

(Continued at foot of page 7)

Man Bites Dog!

— BEING THE REPORT OF AN UNUSUAL HEARING BEFORE THE
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE.

Present: Senator Homer Ferguson (Republican, Michigan).

Also present: Robert Morris, Subcommittee Counsel; and Benjamin Mandel, Director of Research.

SEN. FERGUSON: Do you have a witness, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS: We have Mr. William Mandel . . . What is your present occupation, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL: Due to the blacklist resulting from the activities of this committee and others, I am not able to pursue my occupation as a writer and researcher and translator, so I am trying to make a living as a furniture merchant.

FERGUSON: Will you make a further explanation as to what you mean by being blacklisted? Certainly this committee issued no blacklist.

MANDEL: The climate of opinion that has arisen in connection with persons who, as I do, deem it possible to live in the same world with the Soviet Union, at peace; that climate of opinion, to which I believe the conduct of this subcommittee and others has contributed, has made it impossible for persons such as myself to earn a livelihood in our accepted professions.

FERGUSON: Do you believe that the Soviet government has done its utmost to live in a world with America in an amicable way?

MANDEL: I think there have been mistakes on both parts, but I believe that in proposing to reduce armaments by one-third, which we have not accepted; and . . . proposing to outlaw the atom bomb, which we have not accepted; and they have proposed inspections, and they said if we could go in there and they can come in here at any time to inspect (Vyshinsky proposal to U.N. at Paris 1949) . . .

FERGUSON: Have you ever been in Russia?

MANDEL: I have.

FERGUSON: Had you any restrictions placed on you?

MANDEL: NO, sir.

FERGUSON: None whatsoever?

MANDEL: None whatsoever.

* * * *

FERGUSON: Do you believe that the United States has done its utmost in trying to live with the Soviet powers amicably in this world?

MANDEL: NO, sir. Specifically, we pledged to demilitarise Germany and Japan. We are now remilitarizing them. We have just indicated (and when I say "we", I am speaking of the United States government) an intention to go back on our word — that's the only language I can use — given at the Yalta Conference, relative to the island of Sakhalin, the Kurile Islands, and

to certain other holdings. We have made peace with many of the men who were the chief enemies of our country during the last war. I don't think that can win the confidence of a country that lost, by its own estimate, seven million dead, and, by the estimate of most other people, a great many more dead than that.

FERGUSON: I will ask you this question: In case of war between the United States and the Soviet Union, whom will you support?

MANDEL: If our country were attacked, I would fight for my country.

FERGUSON: Then you personally would determine whether or not Russia had attacked America?

MANDEL: I would say, sir, that that is, as Mr. Roosevelt used to say, a very "iffy" question. I simply cannot envisage that kind of situation.

FERGUSON: You cannot envisage that? You cannot envisage the Soviet powers attacking America?

MANDEL: That's correct.

FERGUSON: Because you believe that communism does not believe in aggression against capitalism?

MANDEL: I would say that it is because I believe, in terms of their record, that has not been their record.

FERGUSON: What would you say, then, about the attack on Poland, at the time of the pact with Hitler?

MANDEL: Mr. Churchill, whose "love" for communism is well-known, commented at that time that it was in the interests of Russia's defence against a German attack that she stand upon that line. Churchill's exact words were: "That the Russian armies should stand on this line was clearly necessary for the safety of Russia against the Nazi menace" (N.Y. Times, Oct. 2, 1939). That is the first thing —

FERGUSON: What about the attack of the North Koreans on the South Koreans?

MANDEL: Sir, I have yet to have it satisfactorily explained to me why John Foster Dulles, the American diplomatic representative to South Korea, and our chief military man, were photographed in what was described in the New York Times the next day as the front-line trenches, two days before the war began. (The photograph may be seen in the "Times" of June 25th, 1950, and the caption says it was taken "last Tuesday" June 20th. The war began June 24th).

FERGUSON: Your opinion is the South Koreans did the attacking?

MANDEL: I would offer that as my judgment. (On June 26, 1950, the N.Y. Times noted: "The war-like talk strangely has almost all come from South Korean leaders." That day the "Times" reported further (only in its early edition!): "This morning, according to the South Korean Office of Public Information, South Korean troops pushing northward captured Kaeju, capital of Wranghoe province, which is a mile north of the border." On March 2, 1950, the "Times" said of a

speech by Syngman Rhee that it "was one of the most outspoken hints in recent months of a desire to unify the country, if necessary by force."

FERGUSON: Do you think that with the American troops fighting against the North Korean troops, with the Red Chinese soldiers moving in to North Korea, they did not attack America?

MANDEL: If the Red Chinese had moved within the same distance within Canada or Mexico as we did in Korea, we would be entirely justified in moving into Canada and Mexico.

FERGUSON: It is still aggression.

MANDEL: NO, sir. We have established bases thousands of miles from our frontiers all over the world.

FERGUSON: Then, as I understand it, you believe that in this fighting in Korea, the North Koreans and the Red Chinese and the Russians, who are furnishing at least the material, are justified?

MANDEL: In the first place, I do. In the second place, I think that the important thing today is to end the thing before it gets us all into it, rather than to argue out questions, to which at best, I can offer an opinion only, and anyone else can also offer an opinion.

* * * *

FERGUSON: Have you a knowledge of what communism is?

MANDEL: I could hardly pretend to be something of an expert on Russia without having some knowledge of what communism is.

FERGUSON: Will you tell us what communism is? You have said that we ought to be able to get along with it.

MANDEL: Yes, sir.

FERGUSON: That we have not done our share in trying to get along with it. You think Russia has?

MANDEL: Right.

FERGUSON: Do you know whether or not there are slave labour camps in Russia?

MANDEL: There are penal camps.

FERGUSON: Not slave labour?

MANDEL: Not slave labour camps.

After World War II, the slave-labour fairy tale was re-imported from Germany, and I recall being asked about it by graduate students at Stanford in 1947. At that time it had just been broadcast by an article in the "Saturday Evening Post" and had not yet been polished up to meet intelligent objections. All the prisoners (five million — ten million — fifteen million; take your choice) were described as being in a huge northeastern territory called Yakutia. On the map the place looked big enough. I dragged out every map of the territory, and showed these students, all of them

veterans with personal knowledge of supply problems; that there is only one road into the entire territory. Then I asked them how many people can be fed via one road, even at starvation levels. They laughed, and that was that. (Alaska, with one road, has 100,000 people).

Alexander Werth, for 7 years the British Broadcasting Corporation correspondent in Moscow, has demolished the story mathematically. He pointed out that if 12,000,000 men were in "slave camps" during World War II, as claimed, and since 20,000,000 Soviet men were drafted into the armed forces, including those who were killed, the remaining free adult Soviet population could not possibly have fed, clothed, housed and armed the country, since "slaves" are notoriously the most inefficient of all workers, as they have nothing to work for. He writes: "I have at least been to two of the slave centres he mentions — Nalchik in the Caucasus, which swarmed with holiday-makers and with no sign of any chain-gangs (of course, I may have overlooked them); and Murmansk, whose labour, according to Dallin, is operated by slave labour. Actually, I found that the dockers of Murmansk were the burliest, healthiest, best-fed people in the whole town. They were not slaves at all."

* * * *

FERGUSON: Do you believe that the Smith Law, under which the 11 Communists were indicted and tried, is a good law?

MANDEL: My answer is that it is not, sir.

FERGUSON: It is not a good law?

MANDEL: That is correct.

FERGUSON: You think it is an improper law?

MANDEL: It goes counter to the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, and, what is more important than that, I think it is very bad for this country to have any legislation that tends to restrict people's expressions of opinion in any way.

FERGUSON: Do you think that the 11 men that were tried in New York in the Federal Court under the law had a fair trial under the law?

MANDEL: My reply, sir, is that I do not. I have one very specific reason for thinking so, among others — the juries are so selected as to weigh the juries disproportionately against working people, Negroes and members of other minorities. Since these men put themselves forward as defending the rights of working people, Negroes, and other minorities, it is obvious that they might have expected, or might have had some reason to expect a different kind of verdict if such people had been on this jury.

GUATEMALA—Continued from page 5.

for the Dulles policy of armaments, anti-Communism and military alliances against the peoples' Democracies, their applause was for Guatemalan speeches, and not for United States. Immediately, inspired from Washington, the allegations of "Communist" Soviet Central-American plots began to break.

ARMS

There was talk of arms, arms from Poland reaching Guatemala. It is true. Four hundred tons of arms. A statistician has worked out that this would

supply Guatemala's 7,000 soldiers and 3,000 police with a pistol and a tommy gun a piece. But the full story was obscured and left unaid. Guatemala knew that, in Nicaragua and Honduras, arms were being stockpiled and plots laid for military intervention on behalf of the United Fruit. In her search for arms for self defence, Guatemala was turned down first by the United States, and then by all the Western Powers. That she needed arms for self defence, and desperately, recent events have proved over and over again.

(Continued from page 4)

What has been lacking has been the organisation of these students into a united union. Advances have been made towards achieving this during the past year, but an enormous amount still requires to be done.

As these unions develop, so will the demand from within NUSAS grow, for their inclusion in the National Union. Their participation will ensure that NUSAS is fully identified with the demands of the people, and the struggle for equal and adequate educational opportunity for all.

THE GREAT MINERS' S

On August 12, 1946 the African Mineworkers of the Witwatersrand came out on strike demanding higher wages — 10s. a day. They continued the strike for a week in the face of the most savage police terror, in which hundreds of workers were wounded and a number killed. Lawless police violence smashed the strike: the resources of the State were mobilised against the unarmed workmen. But the miners' strike had profound repercussions which make themselves felt until this day. The intense persecution of workers' organisations which began during the strike, when trade union and political offices were raided throughout the country, has not ceased. And the brave miners of 1946 were the forerunners of the freedom strikers of May 1 and June 26, 1950; of the Defiance Volunteers of 1952; and of the Luthuli Volunteers of 1954.

THE organisation of the African mine workers was and remains one of the most difficult — and the most essential — tasks faced by the labour and democratic movement in South Africa. Recruited from the four corners of the Union, and from beyond its borders in British and Portuguese colonies in East and Central Africa, the African Miners are spread out from Randfontein to Springs, shut into prison-like compounds, speaking many languages, guarded and spied upon. Many unsuccessful attempts had been made to form a trade union prior to 1941. But in that year, a very widely representative conference was called by the A.N.C. (Transvaal) and attended not only by workers from many mines but also by delegates from a large number of progressive African, Indian, European and Coloured organisations, as well as a number of trade unions. A broad committee was elected to prepare the way for the emergence of a trade union.

From the first the Committee encountered innumerable obstacles. The miners were ready to listen to its speakers, but their employers were determined to prevent organisational meetings. I remember being invited to attend one such meeting, held at night in the open veld not far from a mine. A good crowd of miners came, but a spy had informed the police and the meeting was compelled to scatter in all directions! Using the pretext of war, the Government banned all meetings on mine property (under an emergency regulation which I think is still in force). The sole use of this regulation was to obstruct union organisation.

Another serious obstacle was the widescale use of spies by the mine owners. Time and again provisional shaft and compound union committees were established: only to end in the victimisation and expulsion from the mines of the committee members and officials.

Nevertheless the organising campaign progressed steadily, and the stage was

By ALAN DOYLE.

reached where a very representative conference was held which formally established the African Mine Workers' Union and elected a committee under the presidency of Mr. J. B. Marks.

BACKGROUND TO THE STRIKE

Prior to the establishment of the Union, compound riots were a common feature of life on the mines. Enraged at bad food and conditions, or some particular act of unfairness, the workers would often express their resentment by some such action as stoning the compound manager's office. Where there was a union committee in a compound, or even a few members, such disorganised actions ceased. Representations would be made by the Union, and in a large number of cases, where such complaints were taken up on the lower levels, concessions were made to the workers.

But the workers' problems were not primarily such as could be dealt with at compound level. At meeting after meeting they were raising urgently the burning question of wages. Their wives and children were starving on the reserves. Living costs were soaring.

But wage rates is not a question that can be raised at the level of discussions with compound managers, or even with one of the giant mining companies. It can only be raised with the Chamber of Mines. It is not generally appreciated that besides being a lobbying organisation to put pressure on Governments to legislate in favour of mining interests, the Chamber is also an employers' organisation. It operates a vicious "maximum wage agreement," whereby the member companies—which includes all gold mine operators — are pledged not to exceed a maximum average for African employees.

The Chamber of Mines refused even to acknowledge the existence of the African Mine Workers' Union, much less to negotiate with its representatives. The

Chamber's secretary instructed the office staff not to reply to communications from the Union. "Unofficially" of course the Chamber was acutely conscious of the Union's activities, and secret directives were sent out to break the A.M.W.U. Nevertheless the Union grew steadily in influence and membership.

The Government attempted to stave off the growing unrest among the African mine workers by appointing a Commission under Judge Lansdowne to go into their wages and conditions.

The African Mine Workers' Union put up an unanswerable case before this Commission in support of the workers' claim to receive a living wage. The Chamber of Mines did not seriously attempt to rebut this case, but reiterated that its policy was to employ cheap African labour. The Lansdowne Commission report was a shameful document. It accepted the basic premise of the mine owners, all its recommendations were quite frankly made within the framework of preserving the cheap labour system. The miner's wage, said the Commission was not really intended to be a living wage, but merely a supplementary income. Supplementary, that is, to the workers' supposed basic income — his land. The evidence placed before the Commission of acute starvation in the Transkei and other reserves was ignored.

The report of the Commission was received with bitter disappointment by the workers. As months went by, even the wretched miserly recommendations of the Lansdowne Commission (3d. a day cost of living allowance) were not implemented. The workers' resentment rose to boiling point.

On May 19, 1946 the biggest conference A.M.W.U. had yet held, representing the majority of Witwatersrand Miners, instructed the Executive of the Union to make yet one more approach to the Chamber of Mines to place before them the workers' demands for a ten-shilling-a-day wage and other improvements.

FIGHTING TALK

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TURNING THE CLOCK

COMMENT

IN PEACE AND AMITY

... [I]t would cause so much ill-feeling and resentment that the clock of racial partnership in Central Africa would be put back ten years." Thus Sir Godfrey Huggins, rushing in where angels fear to tread, to answer a resolution demanding equal treatment for all races in all public places in the Federation. If there had ever been any doubts about the meaning of "racial partnership," Sir Godfrey settled them. Speaking on behalf of the tiny minority of white settlers in the Federation, the Prime Minister who had long run a despotic show of his own, pointed an accusing finger. "Now, of course," he complained, "we stand in the way of ambitious Africans who want to be king of the castle, who want to be Prime Minister and run a despotic show on their own. We will save the rest of the Africans from these ambitious people." Viva Sir Galahad! To an unimpressed handful of African members of the Federal Parliament, Sir Godfrey Huggins appealed for "reasonableness." "Give us a chance to get around and improve the position for you." No sympathy from the African members for this solemn white man's burden. Before walking out of the house en bloc in protest at the Government refusal to put the motion, African members had the satisfaction of hearing one of their number, Mr. D. Yamba, silence Sir Godfrey's infantile chatter about what the Africans really think. "How can you gauge African opinion by talking to your garden boy?" he asked the assembled tobacco planters and ranchers. "He is your servant and will tell you what he thinks you would like to hear." The lesson could be repeated for the education of the many white South Africans who "know the native mind."

SCHOOL FOR SERFDOM

THE decision of the Anglican Church to close St. Peter's school in Johannesburg rather than accept Verwoerd's subsidy with 'Bantu Education' strings attached, has drawn sharp public attention to the meaning of the Bantu Education Act. In typical forthright fashion, Father Trevor Huddleston described the purpose of "Bantu Education." "There cannot and there must not be any kind of connection between European culture and Non-European learning. The native must realise—and realise at once, that the door which the missionary opened for him upon the golden path to Western civilisation is to be closed." Mr. Prinsloo, the Chief Information Officer of the Native Affairs Department, "answered" Father Huddleston with an airy reassurance that everything was for the best for both African and European in this best possible of educational systems. "Why should it be such a tragedy" asked Mr. Prinsloo in a letter to the "Star", "if Bantu education is brought on a par with European education from every point of view?" As Father Huddleston pertinently replied, "The operative word is 'if.'" Citing chapter and verse for his contentions, Father Huddleston describes Bantu education as "the transformation of education for natives into Bantu education . . . to extend the principle of apartheid historically as well as geographically, by ensuring that Bantu education fits into the doctrine of white supremacy for all time; to prevent the Native sharing in the privileges and treasures of Western culture."

Refusing to be a party to such travesty, Father Huddleston, announced the decision to close St. Peter's. "It is

still, happily, possible to prefer death to dishonour." The decision has evoked an immediate response. Once again Johannesburg has lived up to its tradition of unstinting support for the good cause. Dozens of offers have come in to help maintain the school without Government subsidy, amongst them one from the Congress movement. The survival of St. Peter's is becoming the test case of the opposition to "Bantu Education."

SEEING RED

CULTIVATING the Goering manner, Brigadier Rademeyer has taken it on himself to give exclusive "exposures" to the press—pardon me, the Afrikaans press,—about the existence, of 'red plots, sedition, treason and espionage. At regular intervals, this would-be creator of cheap thrillers takes time off from his duties to slander the Congress movement, to call for publication of the lists of "named" Communists, and generally to produce the hysterical background for a Reichstag fire trial. The process is, no doubt, designed to send the Congresses scuttling for cover. If so, it has failed miserably. Sometimes, as in the case which has followed Mr. Justice Blackwell's interdict on police attendance at a Johannesburg conference, the process has misfired. There is a healthy and instinctive reaction amongst South Africans to McCarthyism. 'If the Government are against it, it must be alright.' That, at any rate, seems to be the reaction which is reported from all centres after the carefully staged, intimidatory police raids on Congress of the People meetings in Durban, Cape Town and Tongaat on the 15th August. The petty police interference was everywhere brushed aside; reports of the meetings speak only of the tremendous enthusiasm for, and the magnificent response to the message of the Congress of the People. Determination to carry on seems to have grown rather than dampened after the police intervention. A spirit of awakening has here been set in motion which no spine-chilling police fabrications will be able to stop. But let there be vigilance! There will be wilder allegations, more dangerous provocations yet before the Congress of the People campaign is at its end. For a time, the technique of the "big lie" paid off in both Hitler's Germany and McCarthy's America. There will be no lack of ambitious and unscrupulous politicians to try it here.

ALL QUIET

NOW that the last recount in the Provincial Elections is over and done with, and the candidates have shaken hands in sportsmanlike fashion, not even the perennial fear of "losing votes" can stand in the way of a clear and forthright declaration from the United Party. Are they for the Congress of the People? If not, why not? The Congress of the People is coming to occupy the centre of the country's political stage; and the answers cannot be long delayed. By now, repeated election defeats have surely taught the United Party that they cannot hope to run with the hares and hunt with the hounds. This time, as surely as on every other occasion when they have tried it, they will find the act too tricky, too beset with pitfalls. If they want the support of progressive, democratic citizens, they cannot win it by

(Continued at foot of next page)

MOVING TO THE LEFT

*A prominent member of the Liberal Party
discusses the new turn in Liberal policy*

FACED with the necessity of writing an article on the Liberal Party's franchise policy, I must confess to a feeling of irritation. Once again the Liberal Party has had a Congress; once again certain sections of Left-wing opinion have shown no interest in any Liberal Party policy other than the franchise. The Left-wing opinion to which I refer — of which one imagines *Fighting Talk* to be representative — spent the first year of the Liberal Party's existence sniping at its franchise policy, apparently less concerned with its merits or demerits than with finding a handy stick with which to beat a dog it was determined to dislike. Often it misunderstood the policy it attacked: certainly it sometimes misrepresented it, as for example when criticising the Liberal Party educational qualification, it spoke of existing educational conditions, and determinedly ignored the Liberal Party's compulsory-education-for-all policy. Again, it spoke of the qualified franchise as if it applied to Non-Europeans only (see for example *The Threatened People*, page 17). So absorbed was this part of the Left in the alleged defects of the franchise policy that it allowed to go practically unnoticed and entirely unwelcomed the advent in South African political life of a party which stood unequivocally for the total abolition of the colour bar.

At its 1954 Congress, the Liberal Party declared as its goal universal adult suffrage. This of course represented a change from its 1953 policy. The Liberal Party recognises that adult suffrage may have to be brought about in stages: it is naive to imagine that an electorate can be quadrupled overnight by a smooth formula.

Congress did not however stipulate what the interim stages might be, for it is difficult to predicate interim quali-

fications without knowledge of the conditions which will obtain when the time comes for the Liberal Party to implement its franchise policy. Since 1953, for example, educational conditions have been drastically worsened by the introduction of the Bantu Education Act. Again, the Liberal Party would obviously have to consult, when the time came, with representatives of all disenfranchised persons.

The 1954 Congress therefore decided to lay down nothing but that the goal of the Liberal Party was universal adult suffrage on a common roll. It was, in my view, wise not to attempt a blueprint for its implementation.

The Party regards the franchise as a mechanism for the creation of a common society in South Africa. It is to be hoped that the attention of the Left will in the future be directed to the totality of the Liberal stand rather than to details of the franchise policy. However the mechanisms operate, they can at any rate affect one generation only. Let us hope that future disagreements, if any, over franchise policy will be seen in this perspective, and that any minor differences will not be elevated into differences of principle. Let the argument rather be between those who favour a common society and those who are determined to preserve the status quo.

CLAUDE FRANKS.

AS WE SEE IT

We trust that Mr. Franks does not include "Fighting Talk" in "those sections of Left-wing opinion" who are disinterested in everything about the Liberal Party except its franchise policy. It is rather our interest in the Liberal Party and its total policy that moves us continually to point out the contradiction between professions of "no racial discrimination" and the former policy of votes based on educational qualifications. Elsewhere such a policy might be justly claimed to be not racially discriminatory. But not in South Africa, where universal, compulsory education exists for Europeans only. If our "sniping" had no other good effect, at least it contributed in some measure to helping members of the Liberal

Party see the contradiction in their position, and thus assisted them to rectify their franchise policy. The new policy is a welcome step in the right direction.

There is still the question of where the Liberal Party's energies are to be applied; to campaigning against colour-bar theorists for the universal adult franchise? Or to campaigning amongst the left for acceptance of stages of restricted franchise? Notwithstanding Mr. Franks' irritation, 'Fighting Talk' will, we regret, continue where necessary to "snipe" against the second tendency. In doing so, we will, we believe, be acting in the best interests of the Liberal Party itself.

THE EDITORS.

keeping silent and aloof about the Congress of the People. An understanding of that fact has moved the Liberal Party, alone of the major political parties, to give a qualified "for" to the Congress of the People. It is that understanding too which has moved the Nationalist Party not to condemn the C.O.P. outright, but to snipe at it from the police sidelines while maintaining a rigid, official silence. The act will deceive no one. By turning loose his police, Mr. Swart has proclaimed loudly where his party stands. People every-

where have read Nationalist Party silence at the invitation to co-sponsor the C.O.P. as a vote "against". It is time that the Liberal Party made its position clear beyond misunderstanding. And it is equally time for the United Party, the Labour Party and the Federal Party to break their silence before they too are counted "against" the C.O.P. and against hearing the freely expressed views of the South African people.

WOMEN WHO WORK

"They are the makers of our wealth; the great basic rock on which our state is founded; our vast labouring classes."

SO wrote Olive Schreiner, half a century of wrong ago. She saw the people of South Africa working in the fields, working in the mines under the earth, building the railways, but even she, who foresaw so much, could not foresee the vast rapid industrial expansion of the first half of the twentieth century. Even then, she pleaded for the workers of South Africa to be given a stake in their land, a share in the country of their birth. But she wrote of the men, the Indian, Coloured and African men. She who fought so fiercely for the emancipation of women, for their right to an equal share in everything in life, in labour itself, could not foresee that in fifty years' time tens of thousands of South African women would be working in factories, the factories that produce one quarter of the national income, nearly twice as much as from the mines under the earth and more than twice as much as from the fields that lie above the mines. Were Olive Schreiner alive today, how much more passionately would she cry for justice for the women of South Africa, the thousands of non-European women who have entered the fields of labour, but who are still denied a stake in the country which they build!

Today more than half a million people of all races are working in factories and, of every eight workers, one is a woman. Where do they come from, the women workers of South Africa? They are the wives and mothers, who produce not only the material wealth of the country, but its real wealth, its sons and daughters, the new generation of workers, who will keep the vast industrial machine moving. They dwell in the towns and cities, but they were not always there. A generation or two ago they belonged to the countryside, the farms, the platteland, the reserves. Half of them are Coloured, African, Indian women. Few of these were born in the cities, but they belong there now; they are a permanent part of the industrial urban population, that vast mass of human beings whom Verwoerd's apartheid would uproot, and re-plant — where? In the reserves? No room there. On the platteland? No squatters allowed on the farms. In the towns? Only in vast controlled transition camps for the duration of the working lives of their men; no longer than that.

Under what conditions do these women of South Africa work? Paradoxically, for many their conditions of work are better than their conditions of life. For the workers of South Africa, men and women, have fought bitter struggles, have sacrificed and won so that many can claim pay, proportionate to their labour, and good conditions in which to labour. But it is still a never-ceasing struggle to maintain and improve these hard won standards, a struggle whose ultimate success depends upon the unity of the workers, irrespective of race or colour, that very unity that today is split asunder by this Government's industrial legislation, dividing the workers of South Africa on racial lines.

What of the homes, the families of our working women? The mothers must bear a heavy burden, for while many hours must be spent at the machines

BY FEMINA.

and the production tables, homes and young children must be left, and for many European and for some Coloured workers, that very industrial expansion to which they contribute is removing the domestic labour on which they themselves depend for the care of their children and the labour of the household. But for most of South Africa's non-European working wives and mothers, the care of the home must be undertaken in addition to the daily work at the factories, despite the long and weary hours of travel. For these workers are not permitted to live near their work, they must add to the eight hours of daily work four hours of travel standing in long queues, standing in crowded buses and trains. For many months in the winter, they must leave before sunrise and reach their homes after dark, the unbelievable dark of a non-European township, with few, if any, street lights, and dimly lit houses. Mothers must leave their little children in the care of other women, or in the pitifully few creches available, and now, for the African mothers, there is no longer even the security of normal school hours for the older children, accepted the whole world over. But in South Africa, the Bantu Education Act will have no African child remain in school for more than three hours each day.

In the face of all these hardships, these inhuman conditions of life, the non-European woman makes a magnificent contribution to the industrial development of her country. She too has proved the justice of Olive Schreiner's claim for women as equal partners with men in the fields of labour; she overcomes her social and physical disabilities, she remains at her work despite illness, despite the heavy months of pregnancy, when the physical effort of travelling to the factory, the long queues, the crowded buses and trains, must be almost superhuman. Records show that the non-European woman stays off work on account of illness far less than the European, that the non-European factory mother carries her unborn child at work during the later months of pregnancy far more frequently than the European mother. This should not be so; no mother should have to struggle to work during these difficult months of pregnancy, but for the non-European working mother, there is no alternative. She finds the strength to do this, in the endurance which is forced from the conditions of life which are thrust upon her; she cannot afford to stop work as long as she can remain on her feet, be she ill or pregnant, for her family, her children depend greatly upon her earnings; her husband does not receive the true value of his labour, for the colour of his skin, not the level of his skill, determines his wages. For her the shadow of unemployment looms largely in the background.

These thousands of women workers are playing their part in the trade union struggle; they have organized themselves into militant unions, produced courageous and able leaders. Where the conditions of work are concerned, the women workers of South Africa stand steadfastly together, both with men, and, if need be, alone. When this force and determination can be mobilised politically in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa, for the right to live, as well as to work, as human beings, for a world fit for children to be born into, then the day of victory will not be far off. For women, and indeed all workers, must realise that the trade union fight is but part of the greater fight. It is not an end in itself.

"LIKE GULLIVER, SNAPPING BONDS"

THE Trades Hall was hot and crowded that fateful Sunday afternoon. It was one of the largest conferences ever held in the Transvaal. One thousand two hundred signed the register. Delegates had come from the four corners of the Transvaal to discuss ways of resisting the new apartheid laws. They were drawn from all walks of life — workers, clerks, nursemaids, house "boys", teachers; and all national groups were there — Africans, Indians, Europeans, Coloureds. Through the day, one after another rose to tell of their opposition to the growing oppression of the Malan government: mothers, fathers, youth, brown, black, white, spoke with a single voice of one thing — Freedom.

But while these ordinary people of the Transvaal were expressing their passionate hatred of apartheid, their loyal support of Congress, their deep desire for a free South Africa, their anger that they should be treated like slaves in their motherland — others were speaking of resistance to apartheid too; on the tenth floor of Grays Buildings, the headquarters of the political police, another conference was in progress. What they were discussing became evident, when at 4.30 delegates saw from the windows an alarming sight. Two troop carriers drew up silently outside the building and disgorged a 100 armed policemen. They forced the doors. Then a plain clothes detective mounted the platform. Before anyone had time to act, the policeman made a shattering announcement: "I am stopping this conference to investigate charges of High Treason." Two delegates who rose to condemn the disgraceful intrusion were seized by burly police and dragged from the Hall. The audience growled . . . Tension grew. Along the walls one hundred black-clothed policemen held bristling machine guns at the ready.

The detective on the platform announced:

"The names and addresses of all those present will be taken by the police." The police roughly herded delegates into the centre of the Hall.



THE SCENE AT JOHANNESBURG'S TRADE HALL, THE DAY THE POLICE TRIED STEN GUNS. AND THE PEOPLE REPLIED: "MAYIBUYE!"



One little incident . . . a temperamental delegate obstructing the police . . . and those ugly, menacing sten guns would discharge their message of death. Everybody was covered. And restless fingers seemed to itch at the triggers. There would be big black headlines in the morning papers . . .

But the congressmen and congresswomen responded like true sons and daughters of Africa. They showed a dignity that transcended provocation and bullying . . . They sang. They sang of the greatness of Africa and her peoples.

The slow, beautiful chant of Nkosi Sikele Africa slowly engulfed the hall, floated into the streets, and across the rooftops of the deserted Sunday buildings. The police drew back. They knew that the spotlight was not on them or their mission. It was not a song for the police — it was a song for freedom. With a fervour that no threats of force could dampen, the people sang of liberty as they were marshalled into lines to be searched and interrogated. In the street a crowd of bystanders collected anxiously by the police cars, and listened in wonder to the spirited and inspir-

ing singing. There was drama in the air, the drama of a faith in freedom that burned stronger than the tyranny which tried to smother it.

"High Treason," challenged the police.

"Nkosi Sikele Africa" answered the people.

It was a fitting reply! Like a Gulliver giant snapping his Liliputian bonds the people lifted themselves out of the hall with its police guards and sang the song that would be the death knell of the tyrants and racialists: the song of freedom for the 160 million oppressed of Africa.

The police spoke of treason to the laws of the Nationalist government of South Africa, of treason to a system of racialism, inequality, exploitation. Unhesitatingly the conference gave its reply as a thousand hands gave the salute "Mayebuye Africa!" — an answer of significant symbolism because it came from those who knew their only treason to be their desire for racial harmony, peace, the brotherhood of men.

Summed up in the defiant cry "Africa" was the feeling that if to speak of freedom was "High Treason" then those who opposed freedom were equally guilty of treason — treason to the human race and to its desire for progress. It was insolence of the South African ruling circle to accuse the fighters for a better South Africa of peace, racial harmony and plenty for all national groups, of treachery to their land. The truth was the reverse! The Con- The truth was the reverse!

But the police apparently felt satisfied with the results of their intimidating provocative performance. Two weeks later, on another fateful Sunday afternoon, detectives attempted to enter a conference to launch the Congress of the People. This time, the people were prepared. An urgent application was made to the Supreme Court to restrain the police. In an historic interdict, made under circumstances believed to be legally unique in South Africa, Mr. Justice Blackwell ordered the police to leave the meeting, with the remark, "This is not a police state yet."

Let us speak together of freedom!

Route map for M.P.s

An Open Letter

"If time permitted, we would like to have the opportunity of showing you something of South Africa, the common people's South Africa. It would no doubt be different from the official South Africa of monuments and game reserves which you will see; and it would perhaps, tell you something of this controversial land which you will not hear at all the official banquets and gatherings.

"We would like, for instance, to take you walking through the municipal slum of Moroka, where 55,000 people live in home-made hovels of hessian and cardboard; and perhaps to tell you how this erstwhile "emergency camp" has now become a model for a so-called "site and service" scheme, by which South Africa's housing shortage is to be conquered. We would like you to meet the Superintendent, living like some Sanders-of-the-River, a white man boss in a black man's territory; and then to meet some of the mothers of the area, who bring up children who run wild in the streets for lack of schooling and recreation, and who drift into gansterism for lack of opportunity.

"From this gateway to South Africa, we would like to move on to Johannesburg's Western Area, where 58,000 people live under the shadow of imminent, forcible deportation from their traditional freehold homes, to a municipal cantonment miles from the city where they work. We would like to give you an opportunity to talk with them, and hear their opinions of the so-called "black spots removal" scheme, which makes of them pawns in the creation of race-colour pattern plans devised by backroom boys of South African racialism.

"Perhaps here, or in any of our country's towns and villages, we could meet some of the African boys and girls who struggle each year to be in that one-third for whom there is any place in our schools. We could hear from them of the new South African educational policy, which will cut their daily schooling to a maximum of three hours, with Standard II as the general, almost universal, summit. And perhaps, too, of the cutting off of state subsidies from mis-

sion schools which will not adopt "Bantu Education" or teach the African child that "there is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour."

"Possibly we could take in a visit of Nylstroom, or Lydenburg, or any one of a hundred small towns, and gaze upon the rocky outcrops of waste-land to which the local town councils and the Government's Planning and Reference Council propose to relegate the local

LETTER SENT BY THE THREE
CONGRESSES TO THE MEM-
BERS OF THE COMMON-
WEALTH PARLIAMENTARY DE-
LEGATION WHO RECENTLY
VISITED SOUTH AFRICA.

Indian community. We could meet the ten or fifteen Indian families, most of them small traders, who are the "problem" with which these towns and the Government grapple. We would discuss gravely, as the Land Tenure Board does, the serious problem of whether their trade and livelihood will not, perhaps, be affected when all are settled cheek by jowl, outcasts in an out-of-town ghetto. And perhaps we could meet a local councillor or Nationalist politician — or even one of those who hopes to take over the best situated Indian property — and hear how the Group Areas Act is necessary in the national interest, and how 'equality of sacrifice' will be its keynote.

"We could scarcely miss a visit to the local pass office, where we could mingle with the browbeaten, despised, patient waiters — if the apartheid regulations did not whisk you into a separate, shorter, more courteously received queue. There would be time to study and observe the shouting and cursing of

petty officials, banging their rubber stamps like minor Mussolinis, and condemning thousands of men each month, on pain of arrest and imprisonment, to leave the town, homes, perhaps their family. If you are sensitive to atmosphere, you would feel something of the bitterness and hatred which is manufactured here, on both sides of the counter, officials and applicants alike degraded by the sordid traffic in bodies. If you could break through the intolerant indifference of the official, you could learn that, like the thousands badgered from queue to queue, he knows not what he does, except that it is in terms of the Abolition of Passes Act.

"From here, it is but a short step to the Court, where daily hundreds of pass offenders are tried, convicted and dispatched to serve their sentence with a speed that many an abbatoir would envy. We could meet some of the thousands who are jailed each year for failure to have the right pass at the right time — the most prevalent South African offence despite the much discussed 'crime wave'. We could perhaps, follow them to one of the private jails which are being built by local farmers in many rural areas at their own expense; and we could see how Influx Control regulations and Urban Areas Acts and Master and Servants Acts keep these jails conveniently and permanently filled with convict labourers, working on private farms to which free labour could never be attracted without substantial improvement in wages and conditions of work.

"For an adventurous evening, a taste of South Africa's night life, we could perhaps, spend a night in a home in any urban township for Africans. We would go to bed early, for we might be rudely awakened at 2 or 3 a.m. by police bursting in without a warrant, brusquely turning us out of bed, and overturning furniture in one of the perennial raids for 'liquor'. We would be obliged, of course, to produce our passes, and tax receipts instantaneously, or be bundled off in a pisk-up van to the local jail.

"But perhaps, since politics is your interest, we would omit the night life,

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