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IN THIS ISSUE.

Comment	1	The Congress of the People	8
London Letter from Simon Zukas	2	Behind the Overseas News	10
Empire Workers Meet	3	"The Troublemakers" A Review	11
Hell Bombs	4	The Game of Death	12
Our Defence is Peace. By Dr. A. Bleksley	5	The World the Dollar Built	13
I Saw Socialism . . . By Sonia Bunting	6	Pamphlets for Progress	14
Two Trade Union Conferences	7	M.R.A. — The Forgotten Factor	15

COMMENT

TOE-NADERING

DR. MALAN, no doubt, imagined that he had a trump card in the letter from Mr. Golding holding out hopes of "compromise" by the Coloured people on the communal vote. The awakening was not far off. Leaders of Mr. Golding's Coloured People's National Union denied that the letter was sent on their authority, and insist that the statement that "... if given an opportunity to convene a national conference of Coloured organisations there is every prospect of a large majority decision being given in favour of negotiations with the Government..." was dreamt up and inserted by Mr. Golding without reference to members of his committee. Even Dr. Malan, with his ability to find supporters where none exist, will have difficulty explaining that away. Or will he keep a discreet silence, as he has on his last "collaborator", Mr. Benghu of the Bantu National Congress, who Dr. Malan quoted in support of every apartheid measure until Bhenghu went to jail for fraud?

The South African Coloured People's Organisation also promptly denounced the Golding toenadering. But they missed the point. Since when does Mr. Golding's organisation speak for the Coloured people? It has stood outside every campaign of the Coloured People since the Nationalist Government came to power. It has continually preached sweet reasonableness and compromise with the apartheid cabinet. In doing so it has lost all right to speak in the name of the Coloured people, through Dr. Golding or anyone else.

RIGHT FACE

SINCE the so-called "Unity Conference" of trade unions in Cape Town, there has been much talk of a new "Unity" trade union centre being formed on a national basis. The idea being peddled round trade union circles is that this new, "big" body will replace

the Trades and Labour Council and the Federation of Trade Unions with a single body. What looks like a step forward is likely to be two steps back. The "Unity" of the Cape Town Conference was founded on the exclusion of trade unions of the African workers, and there can be no doubt that the only unity which the Federation will be prepared to enter will be on the same, colour-bar basis. Thus the much discussed trade union "unity" will be a sickly reflection of the United Party "national unity" policy, which seeks to find agreement with the Nationalists on how best to maintain the oppression of the non-white people. It can only end in the disintegration of the European trade union movement, as it has already caused the disintegration of the United Party.

There can be no doubt that radical measures are needed to rescue the trade unions from the sorry state to which past failings and present legislation have brought them. But the answer is not to be found in paper schemes of unity. The answer is to be found in real, uncompromising unity of all the militant, organised workers, black and white, to defend their trade union rights together, and together to raise their standards of life and their opportunities for better jobs.

THE DAMP SQUIB

AUSTRALIA'S Petrov Inquiry, heralded as more world-shaking than the H-bomb has turned out to be a small damp squib. Not even the prosecutor in his opening address, immune from prospects of cross-examination, could find facts to support the predictions of a major, hair-raising exposure of Soviet spy rings. All that emerged was that the Soviet Embassy in Australia did what every Embassy in the world does — it collected information about events and people in Australia to be passed back to the Soviet Government for information. In the course of doing just that, the prosecutor managed to lay in some heavy smears against the Australian Labour Party and its leaders, dragging them into the fanciful net of spy stories the Labour leaders themselves had helped to concoct against the U.S.S.R.

The Commission of Inquiry adjourned to some unspecified date, to allow the General Elections to take place in

the atmosphere of red-baiting, spy scares and war hysteria. Both Mr. Menzies and Dr. Evatt are doubtless pondering the results, the first because his majority has been reduced and the second because the "certain victory" he predicted has been frittered away. Two down with one boomerang.

BLACKMAIL OR WAR

IN a world engaged on a crippling arms race — more especially in a continent being dragooned into taking military "aid" and still more military "aid", one single shipment of armaments would normally pass unnoticed. But not when the arms come from Poland. Guatemala, which imported the Polish arms for purposes of "national defense", precipitated a major South American crisis. The air was heavy with threats of American intervention; new shipments of arms were rushed from the United States to all Guatemala's neighbours; French ships passing through the Panama Canal were stopped and searched for arms by American naval units. Armaments, it has been made clear, are only good for those who will use them in the way President Eisenhower decides.

Guatemala has no intention of using its arms or its people at the dictates of American imperialism. Its Government stands firmly on the side of peace through negotiation, and of the right of all peoples, big and small, to decide the type of government and system they will live under. This is a dangerous course in the midst of the Yankee empire of South America, and one requiring courage. Up to now it has been a lonely course in those parts. But now

the news comes that Guatemala's neighbour, British Honduras has elected a United Front Government which steers the same course. The British Government has already sounded the warning. If the new Honduras Government does not "do its duty" as the Churchill Government understands it, they will go the way of British Guiana. This is the clear meaning of the Governor's first, post-election speech. But the process has started in South America as elsewhere; the people are breaking through. It cannot be reversed by blackmail; it will only be speeded up by war.

BEATING THE BAN

ONCE again the Transvaal Indian Congress has elected Dr. Y. M. Dadoo as President, and Mr. Nana Sita as vice-President, even though both men are banned by Minister Swart from taking part in the activities of the organisation. It was a gesture equal to that made by the African voters of Cape Western in electing Ray Alexander to Parliament in the teeth of the Minister's uncompromising declaration that she would not be allowed to take her seat. There is understanding, in both these actions, that no kow-towing to the Government's dictatorial decisions will turn the Nationalists from their chosen course; that can only be done by bold, defiant mobilisation of the people everywhere to resist every new attack. Liberals who are still bemoaning the Ray Alexander campaign and still claiming that a liberal in Parliament is better than an ex-Communist out of it, would do well to ponder the lessons the people are teaching them.

LONDON LETTER FROM SIMON ZUKAS

DEPORTATIONS — WITH KID GLOVES

N.C.O.'s of the British Army soon learn that if you cannot 'get' a man on any specific charge, you can always 'have him up' on "conduct contrary to good order and military discipline." It invariably works — even for such misconduct as " . . . presenting an impertinent countenance while being spoken to." One old hand, a Sergeant Major of the Grenadier Guards, once explained to me that the Army would not work without this charge. "Why, you would have to wait until the man really did something."

THE British ruling class has provided for its Colonial Governors at least as well as it has for its N.C.O.'s. The Colonial Governor has no need to wait until a man really does something chargeable under the numerous sections of the Colonial Penal Code before he can get at him, or get rid of him. He can always have him up for "Conduct dangerous to peace and good order of

the territory," and have him deported.

Colonial judges, civil servants that they are, invariably oblige their Governors on such charges. Like army Company Commanders, these judges know the vagueness of this law is due to no slip of the legislators. To make the life of Governors and judges doubly easy, appeals in such cases "do not lie" with any Court of Appeal.

But the above procedure for getting rid of the "political agitator" applies only to a few unlucky Governors; the majority have it even easier. They need make no charge at all in order to deport a man — even if he was born in the country from which he is to be deported.

Now this free hand in deportation is as old as British colonialism itself. It survived nineteenth-century laissez-

faire liberalism and two post-World War II Labour Governments; but at long last there are voices being raised against it in Britain — voices not only from the Communist Party which has always condemned deportations from the colonies — but voices also from the left-wing of the Labour Party, and even from the Liberal Party.

Fenner Brockway, M.P. has just raised the issue in the House of Commons. Mr. Dingle Foot, one of the leaders of the Liberal Party has protested in a letter to the Times and the Bevanite "Tribune" has an editorial on the subject. But are they demanding an end to colonial deportations? Oh no. That would be going too far even for the Labour Party left wing. They are all demanding an end to "deportation without trial of British subjects from the Colonies." The Africans of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Uganda are not British subjects, but British Protected Persons; they could therefore remain subject to arbitrary deportation from within their homelands.

But even British subjects in the Colonies, Africans in particular, can derive little comfort if "trial before deportation" is to mean no more than it means at present in the colonies where such provision already exists. All that this demand would result in would be to provide for a totalitarian act, not a judicial brake but a judicial cover.

Yet so repressive is British colonial rule today that even this cover it cannot afford — it cannot afford the slight publicity that might result from such a "trial" even though it knows fully well that it need not fear its outcome. Far from wanting to accede to this demand and provide trial before deportation in the colonies where it does not exist, the Tory Colonial Secretary would have it removed from the Colonies where it has slipped in the past. He would do it — were it not for the outcry it would provoke.

It is now eighteen months since Mr. Lyttleton, under Labour and Liberal pressure, told Parliament that Colonial legislation would be amended to provide for "trial of British subjects before deportation." Nothing like that has yet been done. The issues involved are said to be "numerous and complex"; the Governments concerned "have to be persuaded". The excuses are, of course,

hollow. As the "Tribune" editorial says: "Stuff and nonsense. The problem is simple. Are we prepared to apply in colonial territories the elementary principles of justice which we demand for

ourselves?" For the British ruling class, used to a free hand in its colonies, the question is not so simple: "Why, you would have to wait until the man really did something."

Or an alliance of friends.....

AT the end of April, representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in the countries of the sphere of British imperialism met in Conference in London. Delegates from colonial and semi-colonial countries reported on increased oppression and imperialist exploitation; all spoke of increased penetration of U.S.A. capital in their countries. From Africa there were spokesmen for Nigeria, the Gold Coast and Egypt. The Sudanese Democratic Liberation Movement, whose delegates were prevented from leaving the Sudan, had their report sent in.

The Conference reviewed in some detail the struggle for National independence and for peace, and greeted the great advances in the anti-colonial struggle in recent years. A manifesto which was unanimously adopted declared "... the Alliance of American imperialism and its British imperialist associates threatens every people in the world. Armaments are multiplied. Armed bases are established in every continent . . . Against this reactionary alliance, we call for a powerful alliance of all the people within the sphere of British imperialism for peace and national libera-

tion."

The manifesto goes on to declare that in Britain "... the Communist Party has a special responsibility to intensify its efforts in arousing the people to understand the crimes which are being committed in their name by their imperialist rulers. They need to draw the widest sections of the Labour Movement and the people into common action with the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples."

But the most important part of the manifesto — and this is now a basic point in the British Communist Party's programme — is the expression of the desire that the alliance of the British and Colonial peoples in the struggle against British imperialism would end the existing Empire relations of exploitation and domination, and replace them by a new, voluntary, fraternal association of free and equal peoples, based on national independence and self-determination. Such an association would render mutual aid and assistance to one another, in the common aim of achieving an ever extending advance of the material, social and cultural well-being of our countries and peoples.

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HELL BOMBS AND THE RIGHT TO LIVE

BY ALAN DOYLE.

"[L]IFE, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." These are the three inalienable rights claimed for all men by the American Declaration of Independence. Those who framed this historic document were right to put "life" first of all: it is indeed the most basic of rights, and without it other rights are of no value. McCarthyism and the Smith Act have made a farce of liberty, and the American way of life has turned the third right into the pursuit of the dollar.

It has been left to the millionaire rulers, of modern America to threaten, as never before in human history, man's first inalienable right: the right to life.

THE END OF THE WORLD

The one fact that must be faced by every thinking man and woman today is that the hydrogen bomb threatens mass, indiscriminate, destruction of human beings. Dropped on a big city it can cause instant death to millions; shrivelled to ashes in its intense heat, caught in the crashing of buildings. But that is not all. For a radius of hundreds of miles from the explosion drift clouds of deadly radio-active dust, spelling a lingering and miserable death to all who come into contact with it. In the telling words of Professor Blesley: "The front line is where the wind blows."

More. The world's most distinguished physicists and experts, in France, Austria, Australia, South Africa and elsewhere, have warned solemnly that the hydrogen bomb can threaten all forms of life upon this earth with extinction. No longer a phantasy or a nightmare, the *Dies Irae* foretold by the ancients can come to pass, the day of wrath when the world is to be consumed by fire.

It is a terrible prospect. So terrible that, once we grasp its meaning we dare not rest until we have, each one of us, done everything within our power to avert the threat. For the threat can be averted.

We are not dealing with a natural disaster before which we are helpless. We are dealing with a situation made by men; a situation which men can cope with.

The Basis of American Policy

Two principal conceptions have dominated the policy of the American ruling class since the end of the second world war. The first: that only the U.S.A. had the scientific skill and physical resources to produce the atom bomb.

*"Whatever happens, we have got
The atom bomb and they have not."*

The second: that armed with such a weapon of unprecedented destructive power, America would be invincible and all-conquering. Her opponents would be terrified into submission or rapidly eliminated in push-button war. The "American Century", the era of a new mighty world-empire, had arrived.

These conceptions underlay the past decade of the "cold war". In his notorious speech at Fulton, Winston Churchill urged the United States to rearm and to stockpile atom bombs, with the declared object of compelling the Soviet Union to surrender her socialism and her independence as the price of survival. There followed the Truman doctrine, the encirclement of the U.S.S.R. with a ring of heavy-bomber bases, the military intervention in Korea, the endless series of provocations, bluster and threats, West German militarisation, NATO, EDC . . . In a phrase: the cold war. The cold-blooded mass murder at Hiroshima and

Nagasaki was completely pointless and militarily insignificant if regarded as the end of the second world war. It only acquires point and significance if it is regarded as the beginning of the new war, the cold war.

Within less than a decade of its inception, the cold war policy has proved to be completely bankrupt and fruitless.

"The years before any possible power can achieve the capability effectively to attack us with weapons of mass destruction are our years of opportunity," wrote James Forrestal, then U.S. Secretary of Defence, in his diary in 1947. The editor of the Diary adds, "In Forrestal's thought the atomic bomb had already moved into the centre of the international equation."

This whole theoretical edifice came crashing down with the knowledge that Soviet science and technology had successfully coped with the problem of the bomb.

The "Big Stick" Fails

The first American reaction to the news of the first Soviet atomic explosion was the lie that Russia had stolen the secret through espionage. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were made human sacrifices to bolster that lie — but truth will out. In March, 1954, Dr. James Beckerly, director of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission Classification Office stated publicly that "the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb were not stolen from us by spies. Atom bombs are not matters that can be stolen and transmitted in the form of information." (N.Y. Times, 17.4.54).

And Congressman Craig Hosmer (Republican) told an American audience last week that Soviet scientists were ahead of American scientists, who had constructed the recently exploded H-bombs only after "analysis of the radioactive cloud from the Soviet bomb gave the first positive clue" that methods, previously discarded by American scientists, were "after all, workable."

However unpalatable they may be to the ideologists of the "American Century", these hard facts dominate the present international situation. The policy of the "big stick" has failed. The choice is, as the Soviet Government has all along insisted, negotiation or war; war so destructive and ruinous that no nation could hope to derive any advantage from victory.

Hence, unwillingly, the cease-fire was signed by America at Pan Mun Jom. Dulles came to talk to Molotov at Berlin and has gone again to Geneva, to meet not only Molotov but also Nam Il and Ho Chi Minh. These profoundly important events are signs of a deep transformation of relations; they herald the beginning of the end of the

(Continued on page 5)

“OUR DEFENCE IS PEACE”

WHEN the first atomic bomb ever used in war exploded over the city of Hiroshima on August 6th, 1945, it killed, either immediately or in the course of the next few months, about 100,000 people, injuring as many others, and destroyed, as completely as anything that has been destroyed by man, about four square miles of this great city.

That was the first atomic bomb. Later bombs of the same type could be expected, and indeed have been proved to be even more powerful, but it is a well known fact that because of the very nature of the explosion, the size of an atomic bomb is strictly limited. Now, however, the world knows that a new type of nuclear weapon, utilising a different fundamental principle for the generation of its explosive effect, has been built and tested by at least two of the great powers. And it is known that to the potentialities of this weapon there is no upper limit except the purely practical one introduced by the necessity for transporting and delivering it. Already one of these Hydrogen bombs has been exploded with the effect of some 600 ordinary atomic bombs, and there is no difficulty in the extension of its range and power to even higher figures.

In the space at my disposal it is not possible to discuss in detail all the possible effects of the explosion of a large H-bomb. An idea of its relative magnitude is, however, perhaps provided by the fact that in the explosion of an H-bomb, an ordinary atomic bomb serves as a detonator. From all the evidence released, and from the known physics of explosions, it can be shown that a large H-bomb, equivalent to 1,000 atomic bombs, or 20 million tons of chemical explosives such as T.N.T., would completely destroy — quite literally wipe from the surface of the earth — about 400 square miles of any of the world's greatest cities, while spreading destruction and death in less complete form to distances twice or three times as great. In other words, such a bomb exploded over a great city would be expected to kill several million people, and injure as many again, while owing to the impossibility of providing adequate medical attention, food, and shelter, many of these survivors of the original explosion would undoubtedly perish at a later date.

To add to the immediate horror of this picture there is the additional fact, to which the now famous Japanese fisher-

DR. ARTHUR BLEKSLEY DISCUSSES THE “H” BOMB.

A Statement given to the South African
Peace Council.

man caught off Bikini can bear personal testimony, that enormous quantities of highly radioactive material produced by the explosion are carried into the high atmosphere and then diffused over large areas by the winds which blow at great speeds in the stratosphere, finally to descend, perhaps hundreds of miles from the explosion, there to bring about further devastation.

This means, obviously, that when the H-bomb is used in war, it will be over large centres of population, where its tremendous powers of devastation are put to full use. Since it is now obvious that any great power can develop atomic bombs, and to build H-bombs, an atomic war can only mean that all the great cities of the world will be destroyed in this way. And that, in its turn, can only mean the end of the way of life which we call Western civilisation.

There have been those who have suggested minimising the effects of the H-bomb by dispersal of populations, and even by building cities underground. With the possible danger of radioactivity striking from a clear sky, it seems obvious that dispersal is merely a word — such a thing is in the modern world completely impracticable, and will not even prove efficacious. As for converting man to a troglodytic existence, this has hopes only if atomic weapons can only be delivered from the air. It would not eliminate the possibility of bombs being exploded from within the city, by sabotage. And since there can be no military defence against the power of such weapons, one is led to conclude that the only solution to this problem is the obvious one, namely to ensure that there shall never be war. In a world in which the front line is where the wind blows, no man, however remote from his fellows, can feel safe as long as the nations are not agreed to solve their difficulties by discussion instead of explosion.

HELL BOMBS Continued from page 4.

cold war, the opening of an era of peaceful co-existence of the capitalist and socialist systems, marked by increased trade and economic and cultural relations.

The Only Solution

But the victories for common sense and human survival have not come about automatically. They arise from the determined will of the peoples for peace, the blood and sacrifice of the Korean and other peoples, the refusal of the leaders of the Soviet Union and China to be provoked. They arise from the devoted work of hundreds of thousands of organised peace campaigners in all countries.

Nor are the victories by any means secure. Terrified by the prospect of a world at peace, the armament kings and militarists will lose no chance of stoking anew the fires of war and war-hysteria. Only a week ago we read of General Nathan F. Twining, U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff declaring that the U.S. Air Force was ready to deliver an atomic air attack on Moscow. Just as, on the eve of the Berlin Con-

ference, the incendiaries planned and carried out a whole series of provocations to prevent it, so, on the eve of Geneva, gruesome new spy stories and headlines about Viet Nam filled the columns of the capitalist papers. On both occasions they failed. They will fail again, but the condition of their failure is the never-ceasing vigilance of the peace-loving people of the world. That vigilance must be greater than ever today, when human survival is the price.

“It was not to wipe man from the face of the earth, nor to shatter in an instant the fruits of thousands of years of creative labour, that these tremendous forces were discovered by science, but rather to find means to relieve his present miseries and help him to achieve a fuller life”, resolved the Bureau of the World Council of Peace at Vienna on March 30.

It is for the ordinary men and women of all countries to back up its demand for the negotiation of lasting peace, and the banning of all weapons of mass destruction.

That is our only way to safeguard our inalienable right to life.

INSIDE EASTERN EUROPE

"I Saw Socialism — and it works!"

Writes Sonia Bunting

PERHAPS the most thrilling day of my recent trip through Europe was the day on which I heard we had been invited by VOKS, The Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, to tour the Soviet Union. I say perhaps because this vies closely with our actual arrival in the U.S.S.R.

We left Prague airport at about 9 o'clock in the morning and, after stopping an hour in Warsaw, we arrived in Moscow about six hours later. There we were met by a delegation from VOKS, I was presented with a bouquet, and off we went in one of the latest big Soviet cars, called a ZIM, to our luxurious hotel. We found we had a suite of two rooms with a private bathroom and from then on everything we could possibly have wanted was taken care of and our every wish anticipated.

Confidence in the Future

Moscow is a city with no equal in the world. It is always teeming with people, traffic is incessant and one of the things I never tired of was watching the people going about their business. It is the Muscovites that make Moscow different; for it is the Soviet people who are different from any other. Their magnificent spirit, their confidence in the future, the fact that they are shaping their own destinies and know where they are going, all these things are written all over their faces and in the way they walk along the streets. It was winter and winter in the Soviet Union is cold. The people we saw were well dressed, well shod and happy. The fashions weren't evident, as one has to be well wrapped up to keep out the cold. But everyone had a warm coat, some smarter than others, some made of fur, some fur-lined, some made of cloth.

Wherever one looked huge buildings were going up — new blocks of flats to replace the "wild houses" (old wooden houses) of pre-revolutionary Moscow. In two or three years there will be no housing shortage and every family will be well housed. An interesting sidelight on the re-planning of Moscow was told to us while we toured through the streets of Moscow the day after we arrived. A new bridge was being built over the Moscow River and in order for

it to be built where it was needed it was necessary to demolish a block of flats. Now when buildings are of special historical or architectural significance they are moved out of the way to a new site. This has happened time out of number. But the Moscow Soviet saw nothing in this block of flats and decided to demolish it. However, the residents thought differently. They called a meeting and decided that they wanted to keep their homes. Who can argue with a majority decision? The block of flats was moved away by the engineers and we saw it in its new position about 50 yards away. Moreover, it was moved at night and the residents knew nothing about it until they woke up the next morning.

More and Better Goods

The decision to increase the production of consumer goods is evident everywhere. There are not enough shops in Moscow. This despite a colossal new department store recently opened on Red Square. The shops everywhere are always crowded with people — and full of goods as well. International Women's Day was an example of this. Everywhere one looked on March 8th one saw men carrying little parcels. The florists were sold out of flowers early that morning, the cake shops couldn't produce enough cakes. Luxury items were also at a premium. I myself was presented with some perfume, eau de cologne and powder called March 8. As the director of one of the factories that we visited said to me: "We look after our women all the year round, but on March 8 nothing that we do is enough."

Eastern Europe

We spent longer in the Soviet Union than in either of the People's Democracies that we visited. But I would like to give some idea of the spirit in these countries — Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

Unemployment has been wiped out, social security has been established, so that the two main troubles of ten years ago have been wiped out. The most rapid strides have been made in the backward areas, but in the main towns and cities there is also much evidence of the new life.

In Czechoslovakia in the mining town of Kladno we saw a huge new housing scheme — big blocks of flats built to house the mining workers. We saw too the new town of Lidice, built near the old which had been completely destroyed by the Germans. The grass which grows on the site of the old Lidice is kept burned so that the plaques, which are all that remains of the village, can be seen by the many visitors. Even the foundation stones of the buildings were dug up and removed and all that remains are the stones of the wall against which the victims were shot. The wall itself was also destroyed by the Germans, but the foundations were left and these were dug up by the survivors as a symbol pointing to the brutality of the German fascists. There is a museum too and the curator is one of the few women who returned from Ravensbruck. Here is a grim account of the lives of those who were shot — people who were non-political, people who had not played an active role against the fascist occupiers — yet all had died the death of the most ardent revolutionary. The new Lidice was built from contributions made from all over the world and from the workers and peasants of Czechoslovakia. It stands as a challenge to aggressors.

In Hungary too we had an inspiring experience. We visited Stalinvaros. This town is about 40 miles from Budapest. The project was started about four years ago and to-day 40,000 people live there. It is the centre of a huge iron and steel works and it was built up quickly through the help of hundreds of workers throughout the country. People would come over week-ends, during their holidays and after working hours to build the new town. It is an inspiration to see the spirit of these people. We saw a ballet school of little girls — children who would never have had the opportunity of learning ballet previously; we saw a worker having a singing lesson. Both these were in the building of one of the clubs of the town. To go in to the details of all we saw in this town would need an article in itself.

Peace and Friendship

Wherever we went in all these countries one thing stuck out above all else. Peace. Those who had lived under German occupation, those who had fought against the fascists in the last war and those who had learnt to value peace — everybody, in fact — asked us to take back messages of peace and friendship to the people of our country.

They want to live in friendship with us. It is up to us to reciprocate.

TWO TRADE-UNION CONFERENCES.

PETER BEYLEVELD SURVEYS

THE THORNY ROAD TO UNITY

THE present Minister of Labour, Mr. Schoeman, speaking in the House of Assembly on the 19th January, 1943, made the following statement: "This system of collective bargaining has outstayed its usefulness entirely . . . under the new economic system which we want to bring about, it will, however, be redundant." On another occasion the same Mr. Schoeman outlined his party's policy as follows: "I want to touch on a few of the main underlying principles (of the policy of the Party). Firstly we contend that wage control and wage fixation should be entirely in the hands of the State . . . Secondly, and this is the most important principle, self-government in industry must be eliminated . . . the time has arrived that in the interest of the State, in the interest of the employers and employees, self-government in industry and collective bargaining should be eliminated from our economic life."

With the promulgation of the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act in September last year, and with the passing of the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill now before Parliament, this "most important principle" to which the Minister referred will become part of the Industrial Law of South Africa.

Two Conferences

In the first week of May two conferences were held in Cape Town. The first convened by the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions and to which all Trade Unions in South Africa were invited, and the second convened by the self-appointed so-called "Unity" Committee who confined their invitations to registered Trade Unions only. Both Conferences were convened for the purpose of making clear the attitude of the workers to the Nationalist Government's latest onslaught on the Trade Union Movement, the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill. There, however, the similarity ended.

One Fights Back

The Trade Unions who attended the Conferences of the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions recognised the Government legislation for what it is, namely, an expression in law of the Nationalist Party's policy of destroying the Trade Union Movement. They further recognised defeat of the Nationalist Government as the only way to achieve the better life for all for which workers are striving through their Trade Unions, and logically decided to mobilize all workers to this end.

One Compromises

The Unity Committee's Conference on the other hand failed completely to recognise this important fact. This is borne out by the fact that an amendment calling for opposition to the Bill in principle was defeated by an overwhelming majority, and in spite of the fact that the Committee went twice, hat in hand, to the Minister to beg him to change certain provisions in the Bill, and in spite of the fact that the Minister told them on both occasions that he is not pre-

pared to change any of the principles contained in the Bill, all Conference was prepared to do was to express its disappointment with the attitude of the Minister and to leave all further action in the hands of the Unity Committee. A Committee, remember, which included four members of the Ministerial Committee who advised the Minister and his department in the drafting of the Bill.

Attempts to induce the Conference to discuss strike action as a weapon against the Nationalist Party and its policies, as well as closer co-operation between registered and African Unions in the struggle, were prevented by the usual steam-roller methods.

It is my conviction that the "Unity" Conference failed completely in its purpose. It failed because Trade Union leaders are not prepared to mobilise the workers for a struggle to defeat a Government whose avowed policy is to destroy such Trade Unions as refuse to become servile to it. This is due to the fact that the majority of the leaders of Registered Trade Unions basically accept the Nationalist Government apartheid policy, the cloak behind which the Christian National Police State is being brought into being.

For this reason these Trade Unionists were prepared to compromise on principle to achieve the Government's policy, knowing full well that this can only be done if they are prepared to accept the White Baasskap policy and break off all close relations with the masses of African workers.

Conference also instructed the "Unity" Committee to investigate the possibilities of forming one Trade Union Co-ordinating Body. There is, however, wide difference of opinion as to the composition of such a body. The S.A. Federation of Labour has made its attitude clear. They will only belong to a co-ordinating body from which African Unions are excluded, i.e. a co-ordinating body of registered Trade Unions only. African Trade Unions, on the other hand, are affiliated to the S.A. Trades and Labour Council, and any move to change this position will be bitterly opposed by the African and other progressive Trade Unions, to whom Trade Union unity also means unity of all workers irrespective of race. It will, therefore, in my opinion, be impossible to find a basis for the formation of such a co-ordinating body that will satisfy everybody.

New Foundations

The two conferences have merely repeated the lesson that the racialist and Fascist policies of the Nationalist Government cannot be effectively opposed, while some of the features of Nationalist policy are accepted.

Failure by the "Unity" Conference to take a militant stand against the Government has, in my opinion, contributed to the final defeat by the Nationalists of the Trade Union Movement as we have known it up to now, whereas the Conference of the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions has laid the foundation of the Trade Union Movement that we will have to build for the future.

We call the people of South Africa — Black and White LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM!

An eyewitness tells How We Heard The Call

"WE come now to the draft call to the Congress of the People!" The deep voice of Congress President Chief Albert Lutshuli rolled over the fern heads and echoed slightly back from the bare, whitewashed walls.

Over the sharp hiss of the petrol lamp there were the faint shuffles, the scraping of a chair-leg. And then silence.

The President began to read. "We call the farmers of the reserves . . ." The rich bass voice rolled out, demanding silence and unmoving attention. Every eye fixed on the broad, dark face, with its every line and contour fiercely lit by the lamp on the table here before him. As the words rolled out, the dead silent pauses and the crashing perforations — "Let us speak of freedom!" the great, twice life-size shadow of Lutshuli swayed against the wall.

Beside that bright pool of light and sound, all the rest was gloom and hushed silence. In the shadows, tricks of light outlined Dobi Singh's long, ascetic face and thin wrists, flickered over Oliver Tambo's scarred cheeks and irradiated redly from the scarf around Joe Slovo's throat.

As each verse moved to its pause, there was a stiffening; and then the suddenly released tenseness as Lutshuli's voice rose, again and again, "Let us speak of freedom!"

We were not just listening to the call. We were living it, we the representatives of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, of the Congress of Democrats and the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation. Somehow we now knew that the Congress of the People was possible. The Call had struck a note that gripped us; we could sense it gripping and inspiring people throughout the dark land outside, as the deep voice rolled to its prostration.

Soundlessly, beneath our breath, we all joined in the last crashing chorus:

"Let us go forward together, to freedom!"

WE CALL THE FARMERS OF THE RESERVES AND TRUST LANDS.

Let us speak of the wide land, and the narrow strips on which we toil. Let us speak of brothers without land, and of children without schooling. Let us speak of taxes and of cattle, and of famine.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.



WE CALL THE MINERS OF COAL, GOLD AND DIAMONDS.

Let us speak of the dark shafts, and the cold compounds far from our families. Let us speak of heavy labour and long hours, and of men sent home to die. Let us speak of rich masters and poor wages.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL THE WORKERS OF FARMS AND FORESTS.

Let us speak of the rich foods we grow, and the laws that keep us poor. Let us speak of harsh treatment and of children and women forced to work. Let us speak of private prisons, and beatings, and of passes.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.



WE CALL THE WORKERS OF FACTORIES AND SHOPS.

Let us speak of the good things we make, and the bad conditions for our work. Let us speak of the many passes and the few jobs. Let us speak of foremen and of transport and of trade unions; of holidays and of houses.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL THE HOUSEWIVES AND THE MOTHERS.

Let us speak of the fine children that we bear, and of their stunted lives. Let us speak of the many illnesses and deaths, and of the few clinics and schools. Let us speak of high prices and of shanty towns.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.



WE CALL THE TEACHERS, STUDENTS AND THE PREACHERS.

Let us speak of the light that comes with learning, and the ways we are kept in darkness. Let us speak of great services we can render, and of the narrow ways that are open to us. Let us speak of laws, and government, and rights.

LET US SPEAK OF FREEDOM.

LET US SPEAK TOGETHER

ALL OF US TOGETHER —

African and European, Indian and Coloured. Voter and voteless. Privileged and rightless. The happy and the homeless. All the people of South Africa; of the towns and of the countryside.

LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM.

And of the happiness that can come to men and women if they live in a land that is free.

LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM.

And of how to get it for ourselves, and for our children.

LET THE VOICE OF ALL THE PEOPLE BE HEARD. AND LET THE DEMANDS OF ALL THE PEOPLE FOR THE THINGS THAT WILL MAKE US FREE BE RECORDED. LET THE DEMANDS BE GATHERED TOGETHER IN A GREAT CHARTER OF FREEDOM.

WE CALL ALL GOOD MEN AND TRUE

to speak now of freedom, and to write their own demands into the Charter of Freedom.

WE CALL ALL WHO LOVE LIBERTY

to pledge their lives from here on to win the Freedom set out in the Charter.

WE CALL ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA TO PREPARE FOR

THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

Where representatives of the people, everywhere in the land, will meet together in a great assembly, to discuss and adopt the Charter of Freedom.

LET US GO FORWARD TOGETHER TO FREEDOM!

"Let Us Work Together"

Says Walter Sisulu

From every part of the country, the first reports are coming in, telling of the enthusiasm with which the Call to the Congress of the People is being received.

"Let us speak together of freedom!" This is the slogan that helps us on. This is the spirit too which burned in all the national leaders of all our racial groups who gathered in two historic conferences of the S.A.I.C., S.A.C.O.D., S.A.C.P.O. and A.N.C. Executives to plan the whole campaign, and draft the Call to the People. Never has there been, between people of our different races, such a close spirit of association, friendship and co-operation, as was established at these two gatherings.

And to no one individual does the credit for that harmony more rightly belong than to the Chairman of both the meetings, Chief A. J. Lutshuli, who set the tone for our working together, and handled the difficult and complex discussions so firmly and fairly.

From the United States, from the Council on African Affairs led by those outstanding world figures, Paul Robeson and Dr. Du Bois has come a moving message, applauding "the decision of the African National Congress to invite the co-operation of . . . the other organisations of the people, in convening a great Congress of the People".

But what of our own people; what of the tasks that lie before us who have to turn the decision into living reality? All organisations have been asked to join in the campaign for a Congress of the People. Let us see to it that our organisations answer that call, and take their place with all who value freedom. All provincial Congress organisations have been asked to convene Provincial conferences of all organisations. Let us work to see that those conferences succeed on a grand scale.

Above all, the national leaders have stressed that the campaign to build the Congress of the People and to gather the country's demands into a Freedom Charter must not be divorced from any of the daily grievances and issues of our people. Let us see to it that everywhere the Congress of the People comes to symbolise the struggle against that which people oppose, and that which they fight for, that they may know Freedom before they die.

LET US WORK TOGETHER, FOR FREEDOM.



BEHIND THE OVERSAS NEWS

“But the Free World is United”

“Outwardly everything would seem to be ‘going well’: the U.S.A. has put Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries on rations; Germany (Western), Britain, France, Italy and Japan have fallen into the clutches of the U.S.A. and are meekly obeying its commands. But it would be mistaken to think . . . that these countries will tolerate the domination and oppression of the U.S. endlessly, that they will not endeavour to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development.”

J. V. Stalin reported by Associated Press, Nov. 1952.

New York Herald Tribune, a week later:

typical communist wishful thinking. The free world is united and will stay united.”

New York Herald Tribune, 18 months later:

eaking point than most people suppose.”

“Stalin’s prediction of a split in the free world is

“The Anglo-American alliance is far nearer to br

LESS than eighteen months ago, to all external appearances the United States, the British Empire and Western Europe were a solid bloc, unquestionably led by the U.S. and with economies completely dependent on the U.S.

The suggestion that they would soon be at each other’s throats in the grab for profits, and that the junior partners would become more concerned with breaking free from all U.S. domination than with a mythical threat from the Soviet Union, was received with howls of superior laughter by the whole capitalist press.

Today that “great alliance” is crumbling to dust. The enormous efforts of the ordinary people of all countries have proved to the doubting that the war-makers can be stopped and beaten. Every month that passes without war is a month of decay and collapse of the war-makers’ power to make war.

They Showed the Skolly Knife

Alarmed by the defeat that their very attendance at the January Berlin Conference of Foreign Ministers was for them; shaken by the fact that they had been forced to agree to another conference, this time together with the Chinese, at Geneva, through U.S. Secretary of State Dulles, the war-makers threw everything they had into turning the Viet-Nam war into another Korea and preventing the Geneva Conference.

The peace-loving people caught everything that Dulles threw, and whammed it right back at him.

The defeat of Dulles had been quite phenomenal.

First he tried to wield the skolly-knife. If the “Reds” didn’t do what he told them he would be forced to make an “agonising reappraisal” involving “instant and massive retaliation”. To back up his words the hydrogen bomb blew up an island, maimed some fishermen.

The trouble was that instead of scaring Malenkov or Mao, the bomb and the resulting popular anger blew the pants off Dulles and his own pals.

Complained the U.S. warmakers’ staunchest British friend, the Economist, May 8:

“The ‘liberation bluff’, the ‘agonising reappraisal bluff’, the ‘instant and massive retaliation bluff’ — all these have been discovered to mean much less than they appeared to. The result has been to frighten America’s allies much more than to impress the Communists.”

And Scared their Pals

But it really is not fair of the Economist to blame big brother Dulles. Dulles wasn’t bluffing. He wanted —

By
LIONEL FORMAN

wanted more than anything — to stick that skolly-knife right into the heart of the socialist world. But like all skollies the Wall Street gang wanted other skollies to be out front just in case something went wrong.

No Dulles wasn’t bluffing. He flew to Europe to push the Churchill gang and the Laniel gang into the enterprise.

But alas there is no honour among skollies.

“In the British and French press, the Dulles plan, coupled with the memory of threats of ‘massive retaliation’ grew to an ultimatum. The British began to see visions of H. bombs dropping on London”—Time (May 17).

Even our Malan had burnt his fingers in Korea. “We are not committed to support any intervention in Indo-China” he declared.

Not wanting H. bombs on Paris or London the cowardly satellites sent Dulles home cross.

And at home Dulles had an even worse shock waiting for him. The U.S. too had learnt from Korea. Not only were the Western European satellites unwilling to have their sons killed — the U.S. was also unwilling.

“If the Administration had wished the United States to take an active part in the fighting, its only hope would have been to act first, as Mr. Truman did in Korea, and ask afterwards. But to follow such a reception would have been almost inconceivable,” the Economist pointed out (May 8).

Dulles stayed cross and sulky through the first days of the Geneva Conference, then, still cross, he went home leaving a substitute behind. He hoped that if he went home Molotov would also go home — no more foreign ministers, no more conference. But the other foreign ministers hardly seemed to notice that he wasn’t there. They were too busy talking about peace.

The dismal Dien Bien Phu defeat, not the dyspeptic Dulles departure, dominated discussion.

With the greatest of pleasure Anthony Eden stepped into the limelight.

Where the York idea of diplomacy was to be rude to Chou En Lai, Anthony went and had a Chinese dinner. The press of Europe was enthusiastic. What a pleasure it would be if one of the satellites kicked Dulles in the teeth, they all seemed to gloat.

The other delegates were less enthusiastic. The Western “allies” are all a little irritable with each other.

Reported the “Star” (May 20).

“By a large section of the American delegation Eden is regarded as too willing to compromise with Communist China. By the French delegation he is regarded as ‘somewhat smug about willingness to compromise’.”

(Continued on next page.)

CECIL WILLIAMS' "THE TROUBLEMAKERS."

THE PRICE OF FIGHTING TALK

A Review By Roy Cousins

CECIL WILLIAMS' search for a play of the calibre of "Home of the Brave" and "Deep Are the Roots" has at last been rewarded. "The Troublemakers" is not only good drama, but is excellent propaganda on a vital contemporary issue.

The Play

The plot is primarily concerned with the dilemma of Stanley Carr, an American undergraduate who sees a roommate beaten to death by four more or less drunken students. To keep himself from getting involved he keeps silent about the identity of the murderers. As he comes to realise that they were really motivated by political intolerance — the victim was an outspoken critic of the Government — he decides to speak the truth and bring the whole matter into the open.

The authorities gloss over the affair as an irresponsible accident, and Carr and the four students are expelled. Soberly, the latter come to Carr's room to beat him to the point that will make him a hospital case, but he is now a determined young man with his eyes wide open, and he fights them off.

The play's greatest virtue is its truthful picture of human behaviour in a witch-hunting neo-Fascist society. It is at once an indictment of such a society and the violence it breeds, and an appeal to every decent person to fight back vigorously.

The play, as a whole, is well construc-



BOB HABER
who plays Stanley Carr.

ted, its strong climax flowing logically from consistent character development and the events preceding it. Some individual scenes, however, are not so well developed, and there are a good deal too many unmotivated entrances and exits. The relationship, between Stanley and the murdered boy's sister is hazily drawn and the dialogue is occasionally inadequate. Cecil Williams, the producer, deserves every praise for the manner in which he triumphed over most of these difficulties.

The Players

The key figures in the cast gave him fine support, notably Bob Haber, whose only defect was a failure to use every opportunity to play on a quieter note. Shelagh Ross as the mother and Colin Romoff as the grandfather were excellent, and Bill Fischer as Como was a complete success. Sandy Stewart ("Remington") and Philip Parvis (Sgt. Bender) did well in smaller parts, and Pamela Reed and Abe Katz looked very well and had their moments. The other players were below the standard we have been accustomed to in Cecil Williams' productions.

The set and lighting were excellent.

(Continued from previous page.)

Three Times Peace

The Viet Minh has made very definite peace proposals at Geneva. On the same broad principles as those put by the German Democratic Republic for the unity of Germany and of North Korea for peace in Korea, the Viet Minh propose free elections controlled by the people of Viet-Nam themselves.

The reaction to these proposals at the time they were put, mark stages in the victory of the forces of peace.

When the proposals for German unity were put at Berlin in January, Dulles simply snorted and his satellites lined up in total rejection.

When similar proposals for Korea were put at the beginning of the Geneva Conference Dulles snorted but Australia

and New Zealand refused to line up, said the proposals should be a basis for discussion.

And now when Viet Minh puts its proposal "*with most Frenchmen ignorant of the pitfalls in such a cease-fire, and impatient for peace Bidault would find it difficult to reject it out of hand.*" (Time, May 17).

The same issue of Time gives a very revealing exposé of the genuineness of the puppet governments Bidault is insisting should speak for Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. When a meeting was agreed upon they were not present because Bidault "had not bothered to discuss the situation with them seriously before going to Geneva — a French aide frantically telephoned the Quai d'Orsay: 'Send me three Viet-Nameese in a hurry. Otherwise we shall produce my cook — he's a Vietnamese.'"

Yes the Geneva Conference has thrown into the open the confusion, contradictions and cut-throat competition in the ranks of those who threaten the peace. But it has not eased the need for a continued and ever stronger campaign for peace. The S.A.B.C. report on May 22nd that Soviet newspapers have for the first time carried an article on precautions in the case of atomic air-raids is a sign of the times. Seeing everything crumble around them, the U.S. war-makers may yet try a last insane, suicidal effort.

Strengthening our own struggle for national liberation and for peace is the most effective way that we can help to strait-jacket that insanity; for the strength of the world wide struggle against imperialist oppression is today one of the most important guarantees of peace.

Kill! Kill! Kill!

"The Game of Death" — Albert Kahn's Spine-chilling account of America's Cold War Practice

MIKE HAMMER is conducting a one-man crusade against the 'Red menace' in the United States. Hammer has proposed this simple method of ridding America of its radical citizens:

"Treat 'em to the unglorious taste of sudden death. Get the big boys and show them the long road to nowhere and then none of these stinking little people with little minds will want to get that big. Death is funny . . . people are afraid of it. Kill 'em left and right, show 'em that we aren't so soft after all. Kill, kill, kill, kill!"

Who is this Mike Hammer? He is the ferocious 'hero' of the sensational 'sex and sadism' novels written by Mickey Spillane. Spillane is America's best-selling author. His books sell in millions — by 1952, five books had sold more than 13 million copies. The figure is much higher today.

Spillane himself graduated to the ranks of 'author' from the position of comic book writer. This proved good training for his novel-writing. More than 10,000,000 copies of comic books were sold each month in the United States in 1952, the overwhelming majority of them being 'macabre compendiums of mayhem and murder, perverted sex and sadism, weird and ghastly adventures, crime, brutality and blood-curdling horror'. In the words of a noted psychiatrist, Dr. Frederic Wertham, "You cannot understand present-day juvenile delinquency if you do not take into account the pathogenic and pathoplastic influence of the comic books . . . they immunize a whole generation against pity and against recognition of cruelty and violence."

Cruelty and violence. Read, for instance, this report on children's programmes on seven Los Angeles television stations during one week of May, 1951:

"Sponsors and station managers used the lurid details of murder, mayhem, and torture to compete for the attention of the more than 800,000 children under twelve who are regular viewers of TV in this area.

. . . the paragon of American manhood was impressed upon these children as a heavy-muscled, trigger-happy simpleton who settles all the problems of life with hard knuckles and

six-gun bullets.

. . . 70% of all programming televised specially for children was based on crime. 82% of the major acts of violence viewed by the monitors took place on programmes designed for child viewing."

Cruelty and violence. A nationwide network of narcotic rings in the United States garnered fifty million dollars a year profits from the sale of drugs to children.

"The niagara of horror and sudden death with which young Americans are being inundated day and night through motion pictures, TV, radio and comic books is not only training them to regard acts of brutality, violence and homicide as a natural, every-day part of life. It is also conditioning them to commit such acts."

These words end one of the chapters in Albert E. Kahn's latest book, "*Game of Death*." No Mickey Spillane best-seller ever told such a horrifying story of terror and brutality as Albert Kahn outlines in this book. For here is the creed of "Kill, kill, kill, kill!" translated into the lives of millions of children; the story of the effects of the Cold War on the children of America today.

I have never read a more moving and heart-breaking story than that of Jean Field, whose two children were forcibly taken from her because she taught them to believe in peace, and in equality for negroes in the United States; nor of a case more appalling than that of Rosa Lee Ingram. These are two of many 'Cold War' cases that Albert Kahn mentions in his book.

He tells you many things you have read about in the papers, and many things that have never been reported here. He describes, for instance, how the wives and children of Americans charged with political offences are being persecuted by the F.B.I., watched and followed, day and night, expelled from holiday camps and nursery schools. He tells of Nazi Storm-Troopers Youth Clubs, one of the conditions of membership being to hit a negro on the head with a brick; of anti-semitism on an alarming scale. He writes of the systematic and deliberate destruction of young minds.



He shows the effect of 'atom bomb drill' on school children; the terror and hysteria that is worked up among the little ones; the wearing of metal identification tags ('dog tags') by New York School Children for purpose of identification in cases of atomic bomb attack. (Newspapers publicised the fact that the metal of which the tags are constructed will withstand heat that will incinerate human bodies. A seven-year-old girl gravely told a woman that she wore the tag "so that people will know who I am if my face is burned away" . . .

The service that Albert Kahn does to us all through this book is not, however, simply to reveal this nightmare of our times that is ravaging and deforming millions of people; he shows quite clearly that the 'comic' book, the crime and sadism of radio, TV and film, the drug-taking among school children, the terrifying growth of juvenile crime and delinquency, the phenomenon of Mickey Spillane — all these things are not a matter of chance, or simply the outcome of a certain type of 'modern' civilisation. They are a basic, important part of the Cold War. They are part of a plot, not against the children of America alone, but against the children of the world.

The plot is so well-organised and well-planned, that it is surprising the extent to which people still hold out against it. The mother of a soldier killed in Korea wrote to President Truman in 1952: "Today I buried my first-born son . . . Having known the depth of his soul I can find no place among his memories for the Purple Heart or the scroll . . . I am returning it to you with this thought — to me he is a symbol of the 109,000 men who have been sacrificed in this needless slaughter, a so-called police action that has not and could never have been satisfactorily explained to patriotic Americans who love their country and the ideals it stands for."

"We ask you, Mr. President," wrote a group of mothers in Tacoma, Washington, when their children were issued with 'dog tags', "Will these tags save the lives of our children? No! They will

(Continued on page 13.)

Gunther Stein's Picture of

"THE WORLD THE \$ BUILT"

IS it true that every American family owns a car, a vacuum cleaner, and a radio? That there is no depression, or even a possibility of a depression in the U.S.A. but only a "slight readjustment"? Does the American economic system develop the tremendous resources of this vast and wealthy continent in the best interests of the American people? Every week the flood of literature pours into our country — Look, Life, Time, the Readers Digest — and all the others. All carrying in their extravagant pages the stirring saga of the "Great American Century"! All spreading the fabulous fables of the system of Free Enterprise which guarantees that the United States of America is the biggest, strongest, happiest and most wonderful country 'in the whole world'! Press, films, radio and all the other avenues of big business advertising and propaganda combine in the creation of the bally-hoo.

Many people, progressives included, eventually succumb, in some measure, to this glamorous portrayal of American splendour and prosperity. It is as a powerful antidote to this propaganda that "The World the Dollar Built" can be strongly recommended. With carefully chosen facts and quotations Gunther Stein reveals a picture of the American 'way of life' which brutally destroys the myths of the magazines.

Perhaps the most informative section of the book is that discussing the "City Workers' Family Budget" prepared by the U.S. Department of Labour. This budget which would provide a family of four with "a modest but adequate standard of living" is beyond the reach of fifty per cent. of all American families. A further 38 per cent. of families earn just this "Necessary minimum" or slightly more.

Other graphic chapters describe the terrific inequalities in wealth and the concentration of all power over every aspect of American life in the hands of eight gigantic business empires such as those of Rockefeller, Morgan and du Pont. We learn of the extent of malnutrition and of the rise in the profits of the food corporations. Of the appalling shortage of houses and of hospitals and health services which have caused nearly 45 per cent. of men drafted for military service since 1948 to be rejected on grounds of physical or mental ill-health. We are told that 8,000,000 Americans

are suffering from some form of acute mental illness, while a further 10 to 20 per cent. of the population are classed as neurotics. Education — America spends only 2 per cent. of its national income on public education, but "more than 7 per cent. should be spent if we expect to surpass Russia in her effort to educate her youth." Nearly 3,000,000 Americans are unable to read and write, and over 10,000,000 more are "functionally illiterate" which means that they cannot read a newspaper or a book, or write a letter.

A particularly important chapter deals with "The Other America" — the 15,000,000 Negroes, the remnants of the Red Indians, the Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and other non-white groups. Their higher death-rates and lower incomes and wages, the discrimination in trades and professions, in housing and schooling, the racial riots and the judicial frame-ups — all these make grim reading but must strengthen our bonds of solidarity with Americans in our common fight against all oppression.

Towering above all else is the great contradiction which dominates every feature of American life. With almost unlimited natural resources the American economic order is totally unable to make full use of her rich potential. *Yet even with production forcibly restricted she still produces more than her people can afford to purchase, even though many millions starve, go without clothes, schools and houses.*

This is not a dry collection of official facts and quotations. Gunther Stein has written a most absorbing book which gradually builds up to a terrific climax, as he brings us to a full understanding of the perilous position of the American economy, as the certainty of crisis and of collapse becomes apparent. There is however one flaw which mars this otherwise excellent work. Nowhere does the author show clearly the changes required to eliminate all the contradictions and injustices present in America's society. He discusses the weaknesses of organised labour and mentions the failure of the trade unions "to lead the way to reform of the economic order". He is altogether too vague as to the nature of the 'reform' required, so that his book is of value only as a description of contemporary America, but fails to offer any real solution to the problem facing all Americans today.

C.F.

KILL—(Continued).

only make it easier for us to identify their lifeless, mutilated bodies. We don't want our children to die! . . . The only security for our children is peace."

This is the importance of the book, the lesson it teaches: that the only security is peace, and that the Cold War drains more than simply the money and resources of a nation. If there are any among us who doubt the importance of the peace movement and the struggle for peace today, let them read this book.

But read it, whether you doubt or not. It is a powerful and compelling argument against those whose only cry in the face of progress and social change is: 'Kill, kill, kill, kill!' H.W.

WHO IS ENSLAVED?

*So captive slaves in cringing servitude,
Before base lords must stand with bended knees;
Must toil in bondage for their scheming ease,
And live in thralldom, shackled and subdued.
Thus we, constrained in manacles of laws,
Struggling to hobble in restrictive gyves,
Are forced to yield our subjugated lives —
Dark chattels to a petty grasping cause.
But when we turn towards our spirits freed,
And view — with souls unhindered soaring strayed —
Our masters caught in chains of hate and greed
And prejudice, the biting scars engraved
On lordly spirits warped; our bonds relieved:
We lift our eyes and ask, "Who is enslaved?"*

ESTHER NAIDU.

VERWOERD'S WAY BACK...

It is fashionable, especially in U.P. circles, to regard apartheid as a bit of a joke. "What is apartheid?" ask the pundits sarcastically and think they have disposed of the matter.

It is, of course, easy to dispose in this way of the sort of nonsense that the Nats talk about apartheid in Parliament, in Dr. Malan's letter to America or in polite and temperate articles in "The Forum". But there is another side to apartheid — a very real and practical side. The average European knows little about this practical apartheid but it has become the dominating factor in the lives of 8,000,000 Africans. The strangling of African education, the savage application of the Pass Laws, the farm prison system, the "redistribution" of rural squatters, the threat to confiscate land and homes, the attempt to abolish freedom of contract and collective bar-

gaining — these are the elements of practical apartheid.

"Where the Devil Drives" gives a brief but vivid summary of the effects of these measures. It goes on to reveal the motives behind the apparently crazy pattern of Nationalist tyranny. The motive is simple and sordid — cheap labour. It is primarily for the sake of the farmers' profits that 8,000,000 people are being reduced to slavery and the remaining 2,000,000 being dragged to ruin with them.

This is the most concise, forthright and thought-provoking pamphlet which has appeared for quite a time.

It is very well worth the expenditure of 3d.

"WHERE THE DEVIL DRIVES." A S.A.C.O.D. Pamphlet obtainable from Box 4088, Johannesburg. Price 3d. per copy.

Two Pamphlets for Our Time

Moses Kotane
Points

S.A.'s WAY FORWARD

It is almost two years since the first incisive analysis of the political situation in South Africa, and of the way forward for those who love liberty appeared under the signature of Moses M. Kotane in the newspaper "Advance". On that occasion, the article appeared while the writer was in prison, awaiting trial on a charge under the Suppression of Communism Act. This time, with the appearance of a second, penetrating investigation of the tasks and prospects before us, the writer is out of prison, but yet confined by arbitrary bans on his attendance at gatherings. Mr. Kotane's restricted activities have not in any way restricted his understanding of the scene in and around the liberation movement, nor have they reduced the clarity and preciseness with which he outlines the steps that are now due.

This time, "Advance" has taken the timely step of reprinting the series of recent articles by Mr. Kotane in pamphlet form, under the title of "South Africa's Way Forward." When the liberation movement is as poor of publications, statements of aims and of prospects as is ours, this pamphlet fills an aching void. It should be in the hands of every Congress member, every trade unionist. Properly used, studied and digested, it can be a great source of strength and understanding, without which there can be no progress.

South Africa's Way Forward. Obtainable from Advance Office, Box 436, Cape Town. Price 6d. per copy.



EVERYTHING, according to the newspapers, is ready. The blueprints have all been drawn up; statutes completed; areas proclaimed; transport provided. There have been a few houses built at Meadowlands (charming pastoral name that). All that remains to be done is to shift 70,000 people from one place to another by the sheerest force.

For any bloodshed and suffering that might arise from this fantastic piece of planned injustice, Verwoerd, Mentz and Company will have to accept the full responsibility.

What Strauss Saw

Hans Andersen's story of the little boy who saw the king parading through the streets stark naked when everyone else pretended to see him beautifully robed, was enacted in the House of As-

sembly last month. Mr. Strauss suddenly shook the whole country by announcing that integration of Africans in industry is actually taking place on an increasing scale.

Of course "Fighting Talk" has been saying the same thing for years. It was we who were some of the first to expose the naked sham of "Aparthate". To be fair, however, let me hasten to add that we had an advantage over both Mr. Strauss and Dr. Malan — we started on the basis that the Black man was fully as human as the White, and as deserving of the fruits of his labour. And we welcome this process of integration.

What a Pair!

The latest news from the U.S.A. indicates a sorry state of affairs for the Great American Public. Imagine the situation where democracy, endangered by Senator McCarthy is defended by Vice-President Nixon! A new St. George yet. It's a toss up which of these two is the more unpleasant species to crawl out of the American jungle. It reminds me of what Clarence Darrow once said.

"When I was very young I was assured that anybody can become President of the United States. When I grew up I found to my horror that this was quite true."

Considered Clerihew

So Bekker's a "rebel" (excuse the aroma). My friend, you're guilty of a grave misnomer. A rebel is a man whose daring not like Waring.

MORAL REARMAMENT

FORGOTTEN FACTORS

ONE Sunday night in April while walking down Central Road, Fordsbury, I found a large crowd of non-Europeans, many of them young workers, having a discussion on Moral Rearmament.

The crowd has just come out of a cinema that had shown the film version of "The Forgotten Factor". The cinema, incidentally, is well known for its discrimination against Africans.

The discussion went like this:

1st Moralist: "Before I could never get on with people around me and especially people like you," pointing to a young Indian as an example. "Now through Moral Rearmament I have learnt to understand people and have become a new man."

Worker: "But do you really think that Moral Rearmament can change people like the Nationalists?"

M.R.A.: "Yes I do."

Worker: "How?"

M.R.A.: "By a change of heart."

Crowd: Laughter.

Worker: "Tell me how it is that you, who are supposed to be preaching harmony and goodwill were allowed into the country, and welcomed by Nationalist M.P.'s, Cabinet Ministers, when people like Michael Scott and harmless sportsmen are barred from entering?"

M.R.A.: (Smiling but silent).

Worker: "How does a change of heart come about?"

M.R.A.: "What we ask for is self change, social change, economic change, National change and International change."

Worker: "What about Political change?"

M.R.A.: "No, we do not interfere in politics. We have succeeded in getting bosses and workers to work in complete harmony."

Worker: "I'm sorry you have your economics and conception of society all jumbled up. You can never have any such changes!"

M.R.A.: "Well! An example in India proves it. There was a case where a factory owner underpaid his workers. But, when he learnt of M.R.A. he paid back all he owed to the workers."

2nd Worker: "You have succeeded to some extent in corrupting Congress Leaders in India, but how do you explain the licking they are getting in South India?"

As if nothing was said the M.R.A. representative goes on to give another example:

M.R.A.: "In another case in France M.R.A. got 31 per cent. increase in wages for 48,000 textile workers."

Worker: "How do you explain the strike of 7 million workers in France recently?"

M.R.A.: "They did not include Textile Workers."

A roar of laughter from the crowd.

Worker: "I believe a change can only come about when we are allowed complete economic, social and political rights. Then only can we change our environment and outlook."

An interjection: "Not the Nationalists."

Worker: "Where do you people get the cash from, for running your headquarters in Caux?"

M.R.A.: "Our money comes from people all over the world. In India a poor worker learnt of M.R.A. and gave 5 rupees. That's how it comes."

Another Worker: "Yes! and the boss steals another 5 rupees."

Worker: "That chap Dr. Buchman, your leader, was he not an admirer of Hitler? He said something to the effect that Hitler was 'God sent'!"

M.R.A.: "I do not know about that. All kind of things are said about us."

Worker: "How about getting the Nationalists to withdraw all their legislation against us? After all you have their blessings."

M.R.A.: "In order to change we must start with ourselves. We have our mottoes: Absolute Purity — Absolute Honesty . . ."

An Interjection from somewhere: And Absolute Anti-Soviet.

M.R.A. Angrily: "Why don't you fellows give me a chance?"

Worker: "What you say sounds very nice. I know your job is to corrupt militant Trade Union Leaders and National Liberation Movement leaders all over the world."

At this stage an Indian who was evidently freshly captured by the M.R.A., says, taking the Moralist by the arm:

"Leave these fellows alone. They are Communist! When the war broke out Dadoo said it was a richman's war and the people shouldn't fight, but when Russia had to fight he said the people should fight."

Cinema Manager: "Hear! Hear! You said it!"

A Young Fellow: "Hey! I thought you fellows said M.R.A. was not political!"

Young Fellow: "Listen you — wait! Are you a Non-European?"

New M.R.A. follower: "Yes."

Young fellow: "Indian?"

New M.R.A. follower: "Yes."

Young fellow: "Tell me my friend, how do you intend fighting things like the Group Areas Act?"

New M.R.A. follower: "Well we must find a new way."

Young fellow: "If it's a change of heart you've a dog's chance."

There is no answer. The M.R.A. organisers together with their victims walk off.

The Cinema Manager to the crowd: "This is something new . . . you must give it a chance."

The crowd disperses.

—N.P.J.



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