

FIGHTING TALK

INDEPENDENT MONTHLY REVIEW

Vol. 10.
No. 7.

Price 6d.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

AUGUST, 1954.

BLASTING THE CANON

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".

COUNTERING COLLINS

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.

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 Sudetenland. There is no threat to law and order in the East-

CANON

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 accepting 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

NATAL SOCIETY

THIS ISSUE:
MAN BITES DOG

Page 5.
THE GREAT MINERS'
STRIKE
Page 8.

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

WAY OUT
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

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.

I 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.

I 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 Russians are enraptured by statistics. One young girl told me yesterday that in the old Moscow there were 207 dead-ends.

Was presented with fat notebooks and am jotting down statistics as I go.

May later go to the Black Sea but it depends on the time in the Republic.

The best is still to come here. This is the fourth day of my visit, and the pace is terrific. But deeper impressions will have to wait until I see you.

June 23rd.

HAVE spent three days in Leningrad and today I returned to Moscow. Tomorrow night am flying to Armenia. I have been reading in the Library here this afternoon (the first time I have sat down for weeks, it seems) mostly about the Central Asian Republics, and I greatly regret now that I agreed on Armenia and did not press for one of the S. Asian Republics. But this is such a vast country and needs such vast labour to absorb even a part of it! We're on our feet all day, and the theatre half the night, and yet so much has to be left out, or skimmed for lack of time. And over this vast territory they are striding in 7-League Boots. It is difficult to describe. "Nothing is impossible", I was told when first I arrived and asked whether it could be arranged for me to see certain places. Now I am beginning to understand: "Nothing is impossible." Stalingrad has been built again. To understand that you have to see a film of how it looked after the battle in 1942. It had been crumbled to the ground. Today three ruined buildings still stand, and all three are to be preserved as historical reminders of what the war did to the city. Stalingrad is the dream of all architects and townplanners. It has been re-created, from the beginning and is the mode of the new Soviet town. Splendid public buildings, avenues, boulevards, a great embankment along the river which makes the city look as the old Athens might have looked, graceful columns and marble structures, sculpture, wide steps . . . and the Volga looks in some places almost like the open sea.

And as for the Volga-Don Canal! We steamed down the River to the first three sluices (there are nine in all) and saw how the rivers were joined by this gigantic canal — and how the sluices enable the two rivers to meet, as the Volga was higher than the Don. Moscow, as you know, is now the Port of five seas as a result of the triple-canal system, and in the Stalingrad-Rostov area, where formerly the Steppes were dry and barren, cotton and rice are today being grown.

I feel more and more inadequate to describe the things being done here. And the friendliness of the people also defies description.

June 28th.

TONIGHT came back from 4½ magnificent but exhausting days in Armenia. Did not sleep last night as the farewell party went on until it was almost time to catch the plane and on board I could not sleep but wanted to read and write.

The days in Armenia were amongst the happiest I have ever spent. Let me try to tell you something about the country.

The wonders of socialism you can read about in many a good book and how the backward republics advanced in 34 years. I have a notebook crammed with such facts and

figures. There is the usual background: 1917, three factories in the whole of the capital, farming with a wooden hoe. The history of the Armenian people one of exchanging one band of conquerors and persecutors for another. Such dreadful riots that the people left in droves for Egypt, Syria, France, Iran and the U.S.A. And some have been repatriated as late as a few years ago, after the war.

Women who half their life-time ago wore veils and could not speak, except by making hand signs to the relatives of their husbands, now legislate, engineer underground power stations, design new types of bridges. All that and more. Per head of population Armenia has more doctors than any other Soviet Republic. And so on, and so on.

But to me the charm was in the people. Someone said that eight out of every ten Armenians is a poet. And the other two must be composers or painters or musicians. And all ten of every ten dance. Perhaps you remember seeing a film of their dancing at some time? Those graceful swooping movements; the men with arms outstretched like proud mountain eagles. The children dance as soon as they can totter on their legs. The girls of 4 or 5 in nursery schools have already those delicate hand movements; the little boys the imperious gestures.

Lonely songs, exquisite music with ever a strain of sad melancholy even in the gayest songs—lingering perhaps from their history in the days of the persecution.

Such a blossoming of culture, everywhere. It is breathed in the streets, from the air. It isn't only Socialism, or the great talents of the Armenian people — its both taken together and that great gift they have of stimulating and encouraging so that those who feel the thrill of the cultural milieu may themselves bequeath something to it.

Much of Armenia reminds one of portions of our country. The vineyards are like the orchards of the Cape — the valley of the rippling Gacen Hills like our Valley of a Thousand Hills. They have cherries and strawberries falling into your lap at this time of the year. And Mount Ararat, snow tipped, everywhere you turn, today part of Turkey but once part of Armenia and regarded as their own. "Our first love" they call it.

At our party last night I met some outstanding people. The foremost Armenian novelist Sexuno, whose latest book sold many millions of copies last year, was there. There was a young poet who recited his poems and sang them, till we could have been with Scheherazade, hearing tales from the Arabian nights for the first time. Sexuno's wife, also a poetess — delicate, porcelain looking—singing her poetry. We felt the spell should never be broken. And for the first time in my life, since I've been in Armenia, I've wanted to write something. I wanted to try to capture something of my country and in brief speeches I made I think I managed partially, so warm was the response. I'm not trying to boast, just to give something of the atmosphere among those talented, sensitive people. I wrote a short piece on the story of Sibande from Bethal because I told it to someone and he insisted that such human material ought to be recorded.

I'm afraid I was spoilt in Armenia. Everyone said I looked Armenian and made me feel very much at home, for they are a warm hospitable people.

This morning's papers here carry news of the first Atomic energy power plant which is now in production. It's a small experimental one (only 5,000 Kilowatts but work has already started on one to produce 100,000 Kilowatts).

To meet me on my return to Moscow was a cable from China saying I am welcome to visit them. Wonderful news.

SEGREGATING THE STUDENTS

THERE is only one tea-room in Johannesburg where large numbers of Africans and Europeans, Indians and Coloureds, sit together each day at their lunch and their tea. There is only one roadway in Johannesburg where African and European men and women stand together and chat as equals without any passer by being in the least surprised. The tea-room and the roadway are in the University of the Witwatersrand.

A city of nearly a million people and only one such tearoom! Clearly it is an important tearoom and is not passing unnoticed. Dirty hands must surely be itching to hang a "Europeans only" sign on the entrance.

There used to be, in the whole of this city of nearly a million people one fully equipped, big and comfortable hall where Africans and Europeans, Indians and Coloureds could sit together and watch cultural performances. That hall too was in the University.

The dirty hands itched, and today this city has the disgusting distinction of being the only city of nearly a million people in the whole wide world where there is not one single theatre-hall where people of all colours may sit together.

Today there is apartheid in the University Great Hall. The dirty hands rub together in glee. The malevolent eyes turn towards the tea-room, the roadway, the lecture-rooms.

A terrible thing has happened at Wits. Savages are fighting civilisation, and the savages have won a skirmish. A bitter student cartoon shows the Nats. laying barbed wire round the seats reserved as a Black ghetto.

Wits is the only institution in South Africa where Europeans have put up a successful struggle and kept out apartheid. So strong has been the student stand that every attack — and there have been many — has been repelled without loss.

But now apartheid has got a tenacious toe-hold. Ghetto law has been applied to the Great Hall. How did it happen?

It was, of course, imposed from above. It was imposed by the University Council, a body which does not represent the students, the past students or the University staff, but is dominated by Government nominees, representatives of the Chamber of Mines, and Reef municipalities.

The situation at Wits demands that student democrats participate in the very broadest united front to defend student autonomy and prevent further inroads into the policy of non-segregation. In the past such unity has won notable results — as for example when a previous principal forbade Non-European participation in the Rag and capitulated when the order was defied.

THE NATIONAL UNION

The crisis at Wits is paralleled in the whole student field. The National Union of South African Students is also at the crossroads. Under weak, frightened leadership it reached its lowest ebb last year, preferring to water down opposition rather than offend European "public opinion." But the NUSAS July Congress was marked by the protests that were aroused against the liberal attitude

By LIONEL FORMAN.

that the "most effective public is the European public" and a resolution was unanimously adopted to seek support from such organisations as the African National Congress in the struggle for university freedom.

The real basic issue is the one which lies at the root of the disaffiliation of the Non-European centres from NUSAS.

And that is that the fight for "academic non-segregation" is in the long run not enough. It is true that at this moment the fight against the Nat. attacks on academic non-segregation at Wits and Cape Town is the most urgent immediate issue. But it must be seen in its true context.

South Africa has about eighteen thousand university students. And only one thousand are Non-Europeans — only a few hundred, Africans. In spite of the fact that there is no formal colour bar in the enrolment regulations of Wits and U.C.T. fewer than three hundred Non-European students are able to register at these centres.

The fact is that the whole South African apartheid system is a far more effective barrier to the universities than the present University Council can ever hope to be.

As long as there is apartheid there will be very few Non-Europeans indeed who are able to attend the universities. For before you can attend a university you must have had the opportunity to attend a school — and fewer than one

African child in three ever has the chance to learn to read and write. And the few who do manage to matriculate come against the barrier of the extremely high university fees (a NUSAS survey has found them to be among the highest in the whole world).

Our universities are extremely exclusive institutions. Scholarships are few. Only a small proportion even of the White population is able to afford to send its sons and daughters there.

The essential requirement for registration is money, not merit.

The Non-European university centres have therefore urged that NUSAS recognises these facts and takes a real stand in support of a demand that is in fact part of its Constitution — that ability to learn and not ability to pay, be the sole criteria for university registration and that NUSAS take its stand against the whole racist system which prevents this.

The NUSAS Assembly agreed that the Executive would attend a "Unity Meeting" which is to be sponsored by two of the Non-European university centres, with Wits as host. At this meeting the Executive will have the opportunity of take the steps necessary to make NUSAS a properly representative student union once more. Full participation by NUSAS in the aspects of the Congress of the People relating to education will surely be a basic prerequisite.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

In the past year a new development which shows the awareness of students of past organisational weakness has been the drive to organise secondary school pupils. Valuable experience gained at international conferences has been well applied.

Among all colonial and semi-colonial peoples to whom higher education is denied, the secondary school students have played an important part in the liberatory struggle. Secondary school pupils are the university students of backward countries.

The militant spirit of South Africa's Non-European secondary school pupils has frequently been shown. Hardly a term passes without its strike or lock-out at one secondary school or another, and the arrest of students at the instigation of the authorities is an everyday affair.

(Continued at foot of page 7)

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 barefoot 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' STRIKE OF '46

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 successful attempts had been made to form a trade union prior to 1911. 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 insuperable 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 widespread use of spies by the mine owners. Time and again provisional shift 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 Transvaal and other reserves was ignored.

The report of the Commission was received with bitter disappointment by the workers. As months went by, even the swiftest 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.

Failing agreement, decided the Conference, the workers would take strike action.

BOSSES IGNORE THE WORKERS
From May till July the Union leaders redoubled their efforts to get the Chamber to see reason. To all their repeated communications they received one reply — a printed postcard stating that the matter was receiving attention, in his evidence at the subsequent trial of strike leaders and their supporters, Mr. Limebeer, secretary of the Chamber of Mines, said that postcards had been sent in error. It was the Chamber's policy not to acknowledge communications from the Union.

On Sunday, August 4, thousands of delegates from Witwatersrand mines assembled at an open-air conference held on the Newtown Market Square — an hall was big enough. Speaker after speaker from the floor mounted the platform, demanding immediate action.

force them back down the shafts into the mines. A peaceful procession of workers began to march from the East Rand to Johannesburg. They wanted to get their passes and go back home. Police opened fire on this procession and a number of workers were killed. The Rand Daily Mail, in a disgraceful piece of yellow journalism, wrote this incident up as if the workers were a band of armed insurgents descending upon the city. At one mine, workers forced to go down the mine, started a sit-down strike underground. Police followed them down the mine. They drove the workers up — according to the Star — "step by step, level by level" to the surface. Then they started beating them up, chasing them into the veld with baton charges. Then the workers were "re-assembled" in the compound yard, and, said the Star "volunteered to go back to work".

In protest against these savage br-

MILESTONES TO LIBERTY.

This is the first of a new series of articles, in which, month by month, we will recall anniversaries of great events in the history of the people of South Africa, and their march to freedom.

One worker said the strike should start on August 12. It went on:

"When I think of how we left our homes in the reserves, our children naked and starving, we have nothing more to say. Every man must agree to strike on August 12. It is better to die here than to go back with empty hands."

The strike motion was carried unanimously. A letter conveying the decision to the Chamber, and adding a desperate last-minute appeal for negotiation, was as usual ignored. The capitalist newspapers did not print any news of the decision, until the morning of Monday, August 12, when the Rand Daily Mail came out with a front page story that the strike was a "complete failure". The "Star" that evening had a different tale to tell: Tens of thousands of workers were out on strike from the East to the West Rand; the Smuts Cabinet had formed a special Committee of Cabinet Ministers to "deal with" the situation; thousands of police were being mobilised and drafted to the area.

POLICE USE VIOLENCE
They dealt with it by means of bloody violence. The police hitwood and bayoneted and even fired on workers to

trial of workers and communists on charges of "conspiring". (The charges failed). Insufferable police raids followed on offices and homes. The veld was lifted: We saw the South African state mobilised and rampant in defence of cheap labour and big dividends for the landlords.

LESSONS TO BE LEARNT

The African Mine Workers' Union was never a closely-organised well-knit body. During the strike there was no central strike committee operating, and the workers at each mine had to struggle in isolation. They were continually told that all the others had gone back, and apart from Union leaflets hazily brought into compounds by gallant volunteers there was no system of inter-changing information.

Nevertheless thousands of miners defied terror and propaganda and stood out for five days — from August 12th to 16th. It is difficult to say how many workers were involved. Official figures were 75,000 (from the Director of Native Labour). Probably over 100,000 participated though not all of them for the whole period. Many mines came to a complete standstill.

The Union was not able to survive the intense repression that followed the strike. Thousands of members were sacked, and the compounds turned into concentration camps. Organisers could not get in.

Was the strike a "failure"? So-called liberals and others have been led to so calling it. But no great assessment of its character is really a "failure", even though it may not succeed in its immediate aims.

The miners' strike was one of those great historic incidents that, in a flash of illumination, educate a nation, reveal what has been hidden, destroy lies and illusions. The strike transformed African politics overnight. The timid opportunism and servile begging for favours disappeared. The Native's Representative Council which, in a sense, embodied that spirit, adjourned during the strike, never again ready to function.

Many European, Coloured and Indian people boldly supported the miners; other so-called "friends of the Native" hid away or even justified the police. (The S.A. Trades and Labour Council is the tenth of bitter criticism from many affiliated unions, attacked the African Mine Workers' Union and praised the police).

In a very profound sense, August 12th 1946 marks the true beginning of the South African people's fight for freedom.

“THE INTERFERING CLERICS”

Charles Bloomberg Discusses The Church Opposition to Apartheid.

A MOST significant feature of the political scene has been the entry of the so-called “English” churches, and prominent churchmen in the fight against apartheid.

That the churches would be brought into conflict with the Apostles of Apartheid was largely inevitable. On the one hand the Nats. preach exploitation, subjection and suppression of dark-skinned people, while on the other Christian precepts enjoin equal treatment of all men before the eyes of God.

Thus the scene was set for many years for a break between the non-racial church organisations, and our discriminatory system of society. But the churches were apparently contented to allow the racist ruling class to have its own way in governing the country so long as they were permitted to practise non-segregation in their institutions, and as long as the State did not interfere.

FIRST ATTACKS

This highly dangerous illusion akin to the “lets keep out of politics” cry in the Trade Unions and Universities, was shattered by the Nationalist Policy of refashioning the country, its institutions, and the minds of its people in the Apartheid mould. Recent legislation, although not so specially directed at the churches has struck at the very basis of the Church’s work among the Non-Europeans. It is no longer possible for churches to sit on the political sidelines for the political schemes of the Nats. threaten to destroy Church autonomy. And with this realisation seems to have come another realisation: *That the threat to church freedom is linked with the threat to the freedom of other sections of the people.*

The acts which contain the most drastic curtailment of church autonomy are the Bantu Education Act and the Native Resettlement Act.

Any doubt that the Nats. did not intend that the Bantu Education Act would displace the “undesirable” Church influence in non-white areas and replace it with Nat. influence was dispelled in the speech of Mr. A. Hertzog during the parliamentary debate on the bill. He claimed the Act was necessary in order to combat the teachings of the Wesleyan, Methodist and Anglican missions which “tended to arouse contempt among natives for their parents, chiefs and race.”

FIRM OPPOSITION.

The opposition of all the churches with the notable (but not surprising) exception of the D.R.C., was unanimous and immediate.

The Archbishop of Cape Town, Dr. Clayton, said: “There is something peculiarly offensive in educating people to fit them only for an inferior position, and then to withhold from them more responsible positions on the ground that they are not fit for them.” (Cape Times 3/1/53).

The “Pretoria News” of 30/4/54 reported that a conference of Catholic Bishops from all over the country expressed “serious concern” over the manner in which the Act would be applied and recorded its “grave fears” for the future of the Mission schools.

In Natal, the President of the Methodist Conference in South Africa, the Rev. H. W. Rist issued a national unity call for all the churches to stand together in the face of the threat to the Mission schools.

The Bishop of Johannesburg the Rev. Ambrose Reeves denounced the “new education” which the act envisaged as “even more inefficient than the old.” (Star 29/4/54).

The intensity of this opposition is understandable when one appreciates that 99 per cent. of schools for African children are conducted by churches.

The “Vaderland” had of course a different explanation: “The reason for the hostility of these clergymen to the transfer of the mission schools must be sought in their anti-South African attitude.” (13/4/54).

GREATER GOVERNMENT HOSTILITY

These words echoed the menacing tone of “Die Volksblad” a few months earlier, when, commenting on churchmen who attacked the government, it wrote: “If this goes on, the Government and the Nationalist Party eventually will feel obliged to take action against the Anglican church as against any other political movement or political party.”

Attacks in similar vein have appeared in other Nat. papers and in speeches of Cabinet Ministers. But while with the one hand the Nats. vilified the Churches for opposing the Government, on the other they passed acts encroaching on religious liberty. “Capitulate unconditionally—or join the opposition” was the Nat. ultimatum.

What are non-racial churchmen expected to do when, as in Upington, the Catholic Church, school and hostel are threatened with “removal” under the machinery of the Group Areas Act — the campaign against the “Romish danger” originating in the Dutch Reformed Church?

What are churchmen to do when passports, as in the case of African Methodist Episcopal Church, are denied to high religious leaders who visit the branches of their church in South Africa? As the former Judge of Appeal, the Hon. Richard Feetham noted: “The exclusion of churchmen on official business opens up serious possibilities of similar action being taken in future in regard to other churches in South Africa.”

Is it at all surprising that church leaders are becoming politically conscious, when, because there is no prohibition in Catholic laws against the solemnisation of mixed marriages, the police are reported to be checking up on Catholic priests in case they break the race purity laws? (Die Volksblad 3/12/53).

All the techniques in the Nat. armoury, previously labelled “For use against Reds only” are being employed against the Churches.

Iron curtain passport restrictions, the omni-present political police, arbitrary state infringements on the autonomy of institutions; the “traitor” smear for criticising the government, deprivation of the right to teach views not sanctioned by the government — these and many other violations of basic freedoms which were once reserved only for the

(Continued at foot of next page)

"Let us speak of Freedom"

EXCERPTS FROM PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY'S GREAT POEM — "THE MASQUE OF ANARCHY" — AS TIMELY IN THE DAY OF THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE AS WHEN IT WAS WRITTEN IN 1819.

*"What is freedom? Ye can tell
That which slavery is too well,
For its very name has grown
To an echo of your own.*

*"Tis to work, and have such pay
As just keeps life from day to day
In your limbs as in a cell
For the tyrants' use to dwell:*

*"So that ye for them are made
Loom, and plough, and sword and
spade;
With or without your own will, bent
To their defence and nourishment.*

*"Tis to let the ghost of Gold
Take from toil a thousandfold
More than e'er his substance could
In the tyrannies of old:*

*"And at length when ye complain
With a murmur weak and vain
'Tis to see the tyrants crew
Ride over your wives and you
Blood is on the grass like dew!*

*What are thou, freedom? Oh, could
slaves
Answer from their living graves
This demand, tyrants would flee
Like a dream's dim imagery.*

*"For the labourer thou art bread
And a comely table spread
From his daily labour come
In a neat and happy home.*

*"Thou art clothes and fire and food
For the trampled multitude.
No — in countries that are free
Such starvation cannot be
As in England now we see!*

*"Thou art justice; ne'er for gold
May thy righteous laws be sold
As laws are in England, thou
Shield'st alike the high and low.*

*"Thou are peace: never by thee
Would blood and treasure wasted be
As tyrants wasted them when all
Leagued to quench thy flame in Gaul.*

*"Let a great assembly be
Of the fearless and the free
On some spot of English ground
Where the plains stretch wide around.*

*"From the corners uttermost
of the bounds of English coast;
From every hut, village or town
Where those who live and suffer moan
For others misery or their own;*

*"From the workhouse and the prison
Where, pale as corpses newly risen
Women, children, young and old
Groan for pain and weep for cold;*

*"From the haunts of daily life
Where is waged the daily strife
With common wants and common cares
Which sow the human heart with tears;*

*"Let a vast assembly be
and with great solemnity
Declare with ne'er said words that ye
Are, as God has made ye, free!*

*"Rise, like lions after slumber,
In invincible number!
Shake your chains to earth, like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you!
Ye are many — they are few!"*

most outspoken critics of the Nats. are today being applied to the Churches.

THE CHURCHES TAKE THEIR STAND

And so it is heartening that the religious leaders are doing something about the position and are joining with other sections menaced by the repressive machinery of the Nationalists. They have courageously taken up the cudgels on behalf of the Universities, the trade unions, and the un-touchable Red-listed "Namees".

The Bishop of Johannesburg was responsible for initiating a "Citizen Committee" of leading communal figures to arouse public support for the Universities' fight against segregation. Father Huddleston organised an "Anti-Banning" campaign against the application of the Suppression of Communism Act, towards the end of 1953.

When the pernicious Public Safety Bill and Criminal Laws Amendment Act were before Parliament, Rev. J. B. Webb, Rt. Rev. Ambrose Reeves, Rev. W. H. Kinney, and Father Trevor Huddleston, signed, with others, a public statement rejecting the laws as aiming "to stifle any criticism in regard to the basic issues confronting the country." (R.D.M. 16/12/53).

Speaking against the Suppression of Communism Act Amendment, the Bishop of Johannesburg declared: "The most disquieting feature of this legislation is the fact that the condemnation of those who are suspected of being communists is taken completely outside the normal processes of law" (R.D.M. 18/11/53).

Evidence that the opposition of such influential and important bodies as the churches is nettling the Nats. is indicated by the bitter attacks on people like Dr. Clayton and Ambrose Reeves. Their attempts to discredit the "English" churches, strictly for local consumption, are spiced with a dash of colour conscious appeal. But for the rest of the world and for these South African whose minds are not blinded by colour prejudice, the Nat. pattern is as clear as if it were overprinted with a script, and its bluster fools nobody. The Nationalists are heading for total dictatorship and will stop at nothing to crush every semblance of opposition, whatever its source; which blocks their path.

For this reason it is of immense importance that the anti-Nat line-up — the trade unions, churches, universities, women's organisations and all democratically opinionated persons — unite with the Congress movement in a close and intimate alliance to stem the dangerous tide of Fascism which threatens to wash away the remaining foundations of democracy in South Africa.

ATOMIC POWER FOR PEACE

ON 27th June the first power station in the world using nuclear fuel (Atomic power) started working in the Soviet Union. The announcement heralding the beginning of a new and greater Industrial Revolution was brief. It merely added that the Soviet Government were following up this achievement by constructing atomic-engined power stations with greater capacities.

To the Governments of England and the U.S.A. planning to operate their first atomic power stations in three to five years' time, this announcement was a sentence of doom. But to all the peoples of the world June 27th is a day to be celebrated for ever with rejoicing.

Every Soviet leader, from Lenin to Malenkov, has emphasised time and again the need for a vastly increased supply of electric power to enable the U.S.S.R. to raise her productivity per head. In 1948 Stalin suggested a target of 500 million tons of coal by 1961 to raise Soviet productivity to the British level. This involved a great increase in the number of miners as well as a steep rise in the amount of railway transport needed to move the coal. It should be borne in mind that distances are vast in the U.S.S.R. and the railway system is relatively sparse.

POWER FOR THE PEOPLE

Now, however, power from Atomic Energy provides a far more rapid and economic way to achieve even higher levels of productivity.

Prof. Blackett calculated a few years ago that the U.S.S.R. might need about 4,000 tons of Uranium per annum. Recent developments in nuclear reactors known as "breeders" have reduced this quantity to about 100 tons annually. It should be explained that in its natural state uranium consists of 0.7 per cent. of the active form and 99.3 per cent. of the inactive form. Heretofore, atomic fuel has been made merely by separating the two and using the active variety only, at high cost. This means that less than a hundredth part of the Uranium could be used. But with the "breeder" reactor, all the remainder can now be made active. Therefore the world's resources of uranium fuel are multiplied 140 times and every pound of uranium can be used at very much lower cost. For these reasons there is no longer any need to fear that the world's supply of uranium fuel is insufficient.

In the U.S.S.R. where the people are willing and able to make the utmost use

of this new source of power, numerous modern communities will be able to flourish in regions remote from existing sources of power. The effect of the use of nuclear energy in the U.S.S.R. during the next five or ten years will accelerate her already staggering rate of development in every direction to an extent which none can as yet foresee. This will have such profound effects upon the world as a whole that one's imagination runs riot in the mere contemplation of it!

RUSSIA FORGES AHEAD

The U.S.S.R. has now taken over the lead in the use of atomic energy, whether for war or peace.

In the New York Herald Tribune of June 9th, 1954 we read:

"The first proof of this dread fact came when the Kremlin exploded its large economy-size H-bomb. In this highly important instance Soviet science actually surpassed American science.

There are other such proofs. There is the appearance of the new Soviet long-range jet bombers, two years ahead of our schedule. There are the recent Soviet advances that we cannot match in the field of electronics, where we used to think that we had a commanding lead. There is the mass of evidence that the Soviets are well ahead of us in the vital field of guided missiles."

The U.S.S.R. has clearly demonstrated before the world her scientific and technological superiority. As Gordon Dean, former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission said in his new book:

"Russia's explosive rate of increase will bring her up to American production levels in a very short period of time . . . We have consistently underrated the Russian technological and production achievement and it is now time we stopped doing it."

The 27th June is very important to the power-starved countries peopled by two-thirds of the world's population.

Take India, for example. She has ample supplies of thorium and possibly uranium but she is too weak in industrial and technological resources to exploit atomic energy without help. Belgian Congo and Brazil are very rich in uranium but have not used their great resources for industrial power. Then there are countries where the supply of power not involving the transport of large quantities of coal or the building of long electrical transmission lines would open up large areas. The use of

nuclear fuel for the industrial development of agricultural countries will mean an even greater revolution to them than was the invention of the steam engine to Europe 150 years ago.

For any unindustrialised country to reach the level of the U.S.A. today would involve many years of tremendous social labour and vast cost. Such countries must welcome avidly the potential gigantic saving from the successful development of the new source of power.

Who will help those countries? Will the U.S.A. and England (even if they had the means to do so — which they have not yet) assist these countries to expedite their industrialisation? Obviously these imperialist powers are in no hurry to see their "wards" achieve independence, as the peoples of those countries know to their cost.

But, as Mr. Murray of the Atomic Energy Commission, said last October:

"This recent U.S.S.R. accomplishment (of the Hydrogen Bomb) is less dangerous today than would have been the case if the Soviet had announced that it had been successfully operating a practical industrial nuclear plant — and was offering foreign nations nuclear power technology in exchange for uranium, coupled with other favourable economic and political agreements. Unless we embark on an all-out attack on our nuclear power we may be deprived of foreign uranium ores. There is a possibility that power-hungry countries will gravitate towards the U.S.S.R. if it wins the nuclear power race."

WHAT OF THE U.S.A.?

And what of the U.S.A.? Will she not catch up and pass the Soviet Union in the field of Nuclear Energy? No! Because the U.S.A. has the overpowering disadvantage of her capitalist economy. Because her multi-millionaire government has found the sterile use of atomic energy for military purposes to be most payable. Furthermore vested interests in public utility companies are powerful opponents of the use of the new source of energy. Also the cost of power in the U.S.A. is low due to abundance of easily-mined coal, oil and natural gas. Then too science in the U.S.A. has been crippled by fears and purges. Finally the capitalists are not anxious to increase the supply of power and productive capacity of the U.S.A. in the face of a coming slump.

"URANIUS."

TEACHING LITTLE CHILDREN . . .

All quotations in this column are from the "History Book for Grammar and Secondary Schools" published in 1953 and used in all schools in Western Germany.

All quotations in this column are from the "Textbook for History Teaching" published in 1952 and used in all schools in the German Democratic Republic.

Hitler Comes to Power (1933)

"General Schleicher became Chancellor, but he could not bring order into political life . . . 'One must have this picture of the state of affairs in Germany clearly in mind in order to understand the attitude towards the new man who took over power (Hitler, ed.), the man who had so bravely opposed the reds, and who had offered to restore order in the interior and to restore the Reich to might and power externally' — From Francois-Poncet's Memoirs." (p. 115).

(Francois-Poncet is today French High Commissioner in West Germany, ed.)

"The monopolists supported Hitler with grants running into many millions. In January 1933 Papen arranged a talk between Hitler and a group of heavy industrialists and bankers, in which final plans were drawn up for the nazis to take over . . . At the last moment, on January 30th 1933 the Communist Party called for a general strike against Hitler with the words: "A bloody regime of fascist terror is being erected in Germany! Do not allow the mortal enemies of the German people to succeed in their criminal plans!" (p. 207-208).

Hitler's Racial Policy

"One of the great mistakes of National Socialism was the misuse of the racial idea . . . In 1938 a Jew shot a German diplomat in Paris: the leadership of the Nazi Party took this as the excuse for an unworthy persecution of the Jews. Acting on Goebbel's orders, misled National Socialists fired synagogues, destroyed Jewish shops and mistreated many Jews. During the war almost the whole of European Jewry was exterminated in liquidation camps" (p. 119).

(The West German schoolbook devotes a total of 13 lines to Hitler's racialism, and deals exclusively with the antisemitic aspect.)

"In order to prepare for the enslavement of other peoples, the nazis used the weapon of racial hatred. The German people were told that they were supermen, appointed to rule over other peoples. The racial hatred was directed in the main against the Jews and the Slav peoples. The hate propaganda against the Jews, also known as anti-semitism, is an old weapon of the reactionaries. The fascist terror against the Jewish people began with racialist propaganda, and ended with the murder of many millions of Jews in the extermination camps" (p. 232-233).

(The East German schoolbook devotes about four pages (160 lines) to Hitler's racial policy of extermination and extermination camps).

Nazi Campaign against the West (1940)

"The German Wehrmacht understood magnificently how to use its superiority in tanks and air force. On May 14th, Holland capitulated. Always supported by the planes, the tank divisions smashed through by Sedan and reached the mouth of the Somme . . . Marshal Petain, the new Premier of France, realised the uselessness of further resistance, and on June 22nd (1940) an armistice was concluded. The French negotiator stated that the conditions imposed were 'Hard but they contain nothing dishonourable'" (p. 129-130).

(The West German schoolbook makes no mention of such nazi crimes as the air attack on Rotterdam, except in the form of an exultant quotation from "Die Wehrmacht", nazi propaganda paper.)

"The campaign in the west opened on May 10th 1940 with the aggression of the nazi Wehrmacht against Holland and Belgium. One of Hitler's greatest crimes was his attack on the city of Rotterdam; it was completely flattened by the nazi Luftwaffe, and more than 30,000 peaceful people were killed . . . The German-French armistice signed on June 22nd 1940 imposed severe conditions on France; the German Wehrmacht occupied the larger part of France. A government amenable to nazism was established" (p. 258-259).

War on the Eastern Front (1941-1945)

"The length of the lines of communication made the war in Russia very difficult. In addition there was the activity of the partisans, who according to Russian statistics, have the lives of 300,000 Germans on their consciences" (p. 133).

"Behind the enemy lines in the territory occupied by the fascists, partisan detachments were established, fully supported by the population. They waged a planned guerilla war against the German imperialist conquerors . . . The Wehrmacht, SS and SD behaved even more inhumanly in the east than in west Europe . . . Everything was allowed: torture, starvation, hanging, shooting, gassing, burning and burying alive" (p. 262, 267).

Heroes of the Empty View

JAMES ALDRIDGE has given us in his latest book a fine and fascinating novel that once started I found impossible to put down. It is a realistic work without the depressingly naive propaganda or clumsy self-righteousness that so often accompanies attempts at realism in modern novels. His characters are typical human beings and not 'what-is-most-often-met-with' or mere statistical averages. Their typicalness is real and penetrating because they sum up the doubts and hopes of millions of us.

In a plot, cleverly based on the life of Lawrence of Arabia, the author tells a tale of the search of a man of intellect, vigour and action for freedom and dignity. Gordon, the hero, threw himself into the revolt of a group of Bedouin tribes against foreign interference and encroachment on their land. The tribal revolt is inevitably defeated and Gordon is forced to continue his search in modern industrial Britain. The story ends with the central figure back in the empty view of the desert where he plays his last desperate scene in a fanatical attempt to blow up an oil-field. This symbol of modern commercialism is, for Gordon, death to the noble life of his beloved tribesmen.

The essence of the novel is that it is a profound study of two fundamental problems raised for many of us in our world today. What is the meaning of individual freedom and what is the significance of the acts of individual heroes?

Gordon is shown to be a man with all the gifts of heroism called to play that role, but due to circumstances unable to answer the call. His individualistic acts are subtly contrasted with those of men and women who direct their energies towards working in mass movements. We all know people like this who fulfil their goals of personal freedom by activity for general freedom.

Events have shown that the intellectuals have a large part to play in democratic struggle; our own national liberation struggle is no exception, and it is for this reason that I found James Aldridge's acute understanding of the intellectual problems so absorbing. Disgusted, frustrated and filled with contempt for the commercialism of modern life, Gordon looks for better relations between men, among the tribesmen. In the free and open frankness of tribal life he finds something of what he

dreams of — a noble and dignified life for all men. Here in the midst of primitive tribal cruelty he finds his ideal of comradeship with men, free from the taint of money, open, frank and equal, and because of this affinity he is able for a short time to perform heroic acts on a large scale. But the defeat of the Tribal Revolt is shown by the author to illustrate Gordon's lack of understanding of the real issues at stake in the struggle for liberty that is today going on, in a mass scale the whole world over.

It is when he is back in Britain that Gordon has his deepest experience. Here he comes to the full realisation that



HEROES OF THE EMPTY VIEW. By James Aldridge. Published by Bodley head.

●

30 PIECES OF SILVER. By Howard Fast. Published by the Bodley Head.

●

TELL FREEDOM. By Peter Abrahams. Published by Faber.



the future belongs to the men who labour, he sees them "as the simplest men with the hardest ways, the obvious victors over a softer sunken world . . . the world would be theirs, intellect and all . . ." It is here that Aldridge's realism becomes so fully evident for he paints a tragic picture of the hero's "empty view" when he cannot accept the implications of his new realisation.

The novel is written in language which is in the best traditions of the great English novelists, a language which fully echoes the humanity and dignity of the ideas expressed. I can confidently recommend it as a book that will hold all Fighting Talk readers spellbound.

A.L.



30 Pieces of Silver

THIS short play by the noted American author is his first venture in the realms of drama. It deals with present day witch-hunting in American government circles, and the effect which this has on the hysterical and the cowardly. David Graham, a minor Government official, does not find it very difficult to choose between bearing false witness against a Jewish acquaintance who he suspects of having relations with his wife, or losing his job. As the result of his choice in favour of a very false security, his wife leaves him and goes to stay, most symbolically, with their Negro servants' people.

In the first act the play promises a realism which is unfortunately not fulfilled. The plot is presented simply, and a skillful dialogue brings an understanding of it to the reader almost immediately. Its unravelling however tends towards over-simplification and lack of subtlety, and the final act jars with a sense of great improbability. It is as though the author's preconceived ideas had forced the characters to behave in a manner which is foreign to their nature, and even foreign to any real and not idealistic life.

The main characters in the play, the Grahams and their servant, do not develop as people for whom it is possible to feel great sympathy and understanding, and they remain as slightly stiff puppets throughout.

Three attempts have already been made by Howard Fast to improve the way in which this very topical situation is presented, but greater skill and experience will definitely still have to be acquired by him in this new medium before he is successful. When this has occurred we shall read and treasure his plays with the same love which we feel today for such books as "Freedom Road" and "My Glorious Brothers."

B.L.

Peter Abraham's

Memoirs from a Distant Shore

BEFORE discussing Abrahams, I would like to recall a short conversation I had with Abrahams at the Trades Hall when he visited South Africa in 1952 to report for "The Observer". It throws some light on the author's approach to South Africa:

N.J.J.: "How long are you going to be here Mr. Abrahams?"

Abrahams: "For about 6 weeks."

N.J.J.: "Oh! I thought for good!"

Abrahams: "Why do you ask that question? There must be something in it."

N.J.J.: "Well, I think you can serve a very useful purpose here. We need people like you."

Abrahams: "I don't think so. Here I would be talking to the converted. In England I am able to use the radio and the press. Besides I can write. You need people overseas for that."

N.J.J.: "You can work here and still write. All good books about S.A. are published abroad."

Now "Tell Freedom" (What a lofty title!) is a very well written but an unimpressive story of a writer who claims to be "serving the cause of the dark peoples of Africa" (page 17 "Return to Goli"). Written 6,000 miles away, the Drum Magazine hails it as "The Greatest book to come out of Africa." (Drum and Abrahams are great pals).

He describes his life in the slums of Johannesburg, struggle against tremendous odds for education and his ambition to become a writer. His short participation in the political movement shows him up. He is disillusioned, confused and suspicious of the people in

the left movement. He tells his story in exactly the same manner as Richard Wright, who was once a progressive. Abrahams sees his wants and hopes from an individualist angle and not as part of the common man's struggle for prosperity and happiness. A typical conservative approach — "You must battle to get to the top."

Unfortunately he tells his story only up to 1939. The rest of his 15 years story and career as a writer is not mentioned at all. It is probably put aside for a later edition.

However, by his writings one can tell Abraham's poor understanding and approach to the problems of South Africa. He has not been able to interpret the life and struggle of our people honestly because he has that peculiar "individualistic" approach.

Then he criminally uses the American method of discussing our problems by introducing a heavy concentration of sex.

What we need in South Africa are not writers of the approach of Abrahams, Paton and Millin, but writers (in South Africa) who can sincerely and honestly write and work for liberation.

Howard Fast of America is an amazing example. There is a writer who gives a true interpretation in his novels of people's struggle for liberation. And every one has an inspiring message to peoples the world over fighting for liberation.

There is plenty of room and urgent need for a South African Fast.

N.J.J.

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Published by "Fighting Talk" Committee,
Care of P.O. Box 1355, Johannesburg.