

# FIGHTING TALK

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

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# THE CREEPING SCOURGE

## COMMENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### WHITE EYE FOR BLACK

### RUNNING DOGS

# LICENSED FOR MURDER

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

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

## ROAD BACK

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

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

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

## THE RETURN OF THE WEHRMACHT

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

## MURDER WILL OUT

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

## JUDGEMENT GIVEN

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

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

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

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

## FEAR THE FUTURE

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

# “LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM”

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

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

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

## A CALL FOR 50,000

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

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

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



Congress President

**CHIEF ALBERT R. LUTHULI's**  
Address to the Natal Congress of  
the People Conference.



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

## INTO MOULDS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## NO MORE BANS

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

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

(Continued at foot of next page.)

In the Matter of

## *Regina vs. Walter Sisulu*

*A document for our time*

IN THE REGIONAL DIVISION OF NORTH/CENTRAL O.F.S.  
HOLDEN IN BLOEMFONTEIN.

### FURTHER PARTICULARS TO THE CHARGE.

THE Crown alleges that the accused was attending or/and had just attended a gathering when he was taken into custody by the police at approximately 9.5 p.m. on 24th July, 1954.

THE Crown alleges that the following persons, who are described as—

1. Freddie Morris.
2. Agnet Kehiloe.
3. Emery Molotole.
4. Z. K. Nhlabati.
5. Timothy Thole,

and the accused were, at one time or another present at the gathering.

THE Crown alleges that the common purpose which the accused had with one or more or all of the other persons (mentioned in paragraph (b) above) was — either one or more or all of the following.

*To partake of, or be present whilst others partake of refreshment (in the nature of tea and/or edibles and/or a meal),*

*and/or*

*To discuss, and/or to be present at the discussion of matters relating to a body or organisation known as the African National Congress and/or any other organisation or body,*

*and/or*

*To make arrangements and/or have discussions and/or be present during the making of arrangements and/or discussions regarding a meeting to be held at a later date (the nature, the place and the date of the meeting are to the prosecutor unknown),*

*and/or*

*To discuss and/or be present*

*during the discussion of matters to the prosecutor unknown,*

*and/or*

*To come together and/or to assemble together for a reason to the prosecutor unknown,*

*and/or*

*An intention to meet and or to assemble together for a reason to the prosecutor unknown,*

*and/or*

*To listen to what one or more or all of the persons present had to say about any matter (the matter to the prosecutor unknown),*

*and/or*

*To inform one or more or all of the persons present about any matter (the matter to the prosecutor unknown),*

*and/or*

*To have social intercourse.*

On the charge and particulars above, Mr. Sisulu has been sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

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of the people. I must however, enjoin our people in words, actions and attitudes, to respect the policy of non-violence wisely adopted by our Congresses. Non-violent resistance in any provocative situation will acquaint our people and the world with the facts of our situation. No doubt we shall be accused of inciting the people, and be labelled as agitators and communists. We should never be deterred from our path of duty to our people and our country by these accusations. We should rest contented in the conviction that we are performing a divine duty when we struggle for freedom.

### **A CALL TO ALL**

Let me invite all progressive people

and leaders to rally to the cause of freedom. The ascendancy of the reactionary forces must be halted before they harm the true interests of our country.

The time demands that we think courageously together, plan boldly together, in an effort to bring freedom to all in our land. For the achievement of this noble purpose we invite all progressive people and leaders to join us and participate in mobilising the people of Natal to rally to the Congress of the People, so as to make the voice of Natal heard in that Great Assembly, "The Congress of the People".

**LONG LIVE OUR CONGRESS! AFRIKA! AFRIKA! AFRIKA! MAYIBUYE! MAYIBUYE!**

## Open Letter to a Censor

The Principal,  
St. Joseph's College,  
P.O. Vryheid.

Dear Sir,

We are informed by one of our readers that you have taken on yourself the right of censorship which not even the South African government possesses, and that you are withholding copies of 'Fighting Talk' which reach you addressed to one of your students. The allegation, we understand, is that Fighting Talk is 'communistic'. This allegation is becoming the standard catch-all phrase by which obscurantists seek to cow into silence those ideas against which they cannot argue. "All the powers of old Europe" wrote a more gifted pen than ours, "have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies. Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as communistic by its opponents in power?"

We are, we confess, in opposition. We oppose the ideas and practices of race discrimination which have flourished everywhere in South African society, and today feed like jackals on the slowly dying body of our democracy. We oppose the beating of the war drums and the conditioning of peoples' minds to accept the inevitability of war and the necessity of wars of 'containment' and 'preventive' wars. If this is 'communistic', we are proud to be guilty of it.

May we suggest that a similar open declaration of support for the things we oppose would be more courageous on your part, than the secret, silent suppression of our views, which you are apparently taking upon yourself. Sufficient damage has already been done to South African liberties by the Minister of Justice and his "Special Branch", banning, raiding, censoring, suppressing and deporting. It would be tragic if private individuals took it on themselves to assist the process, which in the end of ends will destroy them along with those who uphold opposing views.

We are, Sir,

THE EDITORS.

# ACROSS THE ALL-WHITE FOOTLIGHTS

*George Shaw Looks At National Theatre*

THE correspondence and news columns of the daily papers indicate an increasing public interest in the value and integrity of theatrical enterprises. In these discussions and comments South Africa's National Theatre Organisation has figured largely. Let us look at the facts.

NTO is sponsored by the Ministry of Education, Arts and Science and enjoys a government subsidy of £15,000 per annum. A National Director has been appointed, who takes his directives from a board of governors. Under the Director there is a small technical staff. The Organisation has its headquarters in Pretoria.

The set-up usually has two companies on the road, one touring an Afrikaans-language production, the other an English. Tours of each play last on an average from 5—6 months, though some have lasted much longer. On occasions a 'large-town' tour is undertaken, which covers about three months.

So far there has been a wide selection of plays ranging from Shakespeare through Jonson, Moliere, Flecker, Molnar, Shaw to the modern works of Priestley, Fry, van Druten and Anouilh.

The Organisation has recruited its actors, actresses, producers and designers from inside our borders (with the single (?) exception of Basil Dean). It has given practical encouragement to indigenous playwrights. In the platteland NTO's prestige stands high; in the larger towns low. Over the few years of its existence NTO, despite its subsidy, has barely paid its way.

## REORGANISATION.

Currently, NTO is planning to de-centralise itself, so that in each province there will be NTO administrative offices and a company (or companies) which will tour its home-Province only.

It is hoped at Headquarters that this arrangement will lead to a more flexible, creative theatre, less costly, more intimate to the people of the province, something more vital and more personal. A national appeal is being launched to finance the new arrangements.

## COMPLAINTS.

There have been many complaints levelled against NTO. It is said that we are being asked to pay three times for each production, viz., as taxpayers we pay the £15,000 annual subsidy to NTO: as members of an audience we pay the normal admission prices: as patrons of the theatre-arts we are now asked to make a donation to the national appeal.

There have been recent complaints that the choice of plays, both in English and Afrikaans, is bad and that translations into Afrikaans are inartistic. Some patrons are of the opinion that NTO productions have not as yet been noteworthy for good acting, the general standard of acting and production being on the low side — lower, for instance, some say, than the best English provincial repertory companies.

From the side of the actors and actresses some protests against the strain of 'one-night' stands; of travelling too far in one day over perhaps poor roads in not too comfortable transport; of tours that become boring, playing the same

part day in, day out. (Overseas professionals get bored, too, but are glad to be in work.) Older, more experienced members of NTO are dispirited when they see a future which has in it a wearying prospect of endless tours. They would like to believe that one day they will be able to settle down for a long run or a repertory season in one centre.

## JUSTIFIED?

How far are these complaints valid?

Most of them are accurate — there *are* such grounds for criticism and complaints. I would say, however, that they are justified to only a small degree, because they nearly all spring from the peculiar circumstances that "theatre" finds itself in in South Africa. Let us have a look at these circumstances.

Much as we would like to find here the technical brilliance found in all departments of London's theatre-world, the plain truth is — that's a pipe-dream, a frustrating, foolish wish. There just are not enough people in our circumscribed 'cultural' sphere to throw up great theatrical artists — writers, performers or designers. There is an appalling poverty of worthwhile theatre-writing in England and America. We cannot be too bitter, then, when we find an equal or greater poverty in South Africa, in both languages.

We have not, moreover as yet a sufficiently large theatre-going public to ensure large audiences for the classics. NTO is in a difficult position. The Old Vic and the Stratford Memorial Theatre produce the classics only, complimentary to the popular stuff of the commercial theatre — in a thickly-populated country, mark you, where distances are small and where the population is comparatively theatre-conscious. NTO, on the other hand, is trying to accomplish two heavy tasks at once — build up theatre audiences and present classical plays and others which have no guaranteed box-office appeal — two tasks which appear almost contradictory in this cinema-debased age.

When we consider the 'value-for-money' aspect I think we do fairly well, considering:—we have to have English and Afrikaans-speaking companies — a duplication of personnel and equipment, rents, costume, set and other expenses: the distances to be covered are enormous and transport very expensive: the companies are compelled to fit in an abnormally large number of the plays chosen are not 'box-office'.

## THE REAL OBJECTIONS

There are, of course, several fundamental, very real objections to the whole NTO set-up, but readers of this magazine will appreciate at once that these complaints cannot be laid at the door of the NTO board of governors only — nor alone at the door of the government which subsidises the enterprise. The complaints must rightly be laid against us all, who complacently allow the situation to continue, which gives rise to the faults and weaknesses that anger us.

Firstly, NTO is a 'white supremacy' adjunct: it is meshed over with large and small colour bars — no African, Indian, Coloured writers, actors, dancers, designers or producers allowed. Africans, Indians and Coloureds do

(Continued on at foot of next page.)

## WORLD STUDENTS MEET IN MOSCOW

ON the Lenin Hills, some miles southwest of Moscow, stand the beautiful and enormous new buildings of the city's university, founded by and named after M. V. Lomonosov, the eighteenth century philosopher, scientist and poet. These buildings, which cater only for students of the natural sciences, reach a height of almost 300 feet, contain 32 floors, and are the study centre of some 20,000 graduate and undergraduate students of 57 nationalities.

In the last weeks of August these buildings were the scene of the ninth council meeting of the International Union of Students. The meeting was attended by 85 delegates and 122 observers from 73 countries, together with observers from three international organisations. To understand the meeting one must know something of the history of the I.U.S.

### POST-WAR UNITY

The I.U.S. was formed by the students of the world in 1946, and was born out of the desire of students whatever their cultural, economic and social differences, to unite in an attempt to prevent a resurgence of fascism and war. It greeted the peoples of the world with a determined call for world peace, for the improvement of studying and living conditions of students, for the national independence of colonial countries in order to ensure democratic educational systems in those countries, and for an increase in practical co-operation between students the whole world over. Since 1946 the I.U.S. has made significant contributions from the student world towards the goal of preserving peace. It has helped strengthen the confidence and friendship between human

beings, which is one of the most precious values of humanity.

However, not unrelated to the general increase in International tension about 1950, a great deal of disharmony and strife arose in the I.U.S., and many of the so-called "Western" Unions of students disaffiliated from I.U.S., and subsequently formed a body known as the Co-ordinating Secretariat, financed largely from America, which has rapidly set itself up as a new sectional, International Union. The movement in the student field definitely had its similarities with post-war events in the world trade union movement.

### MOVING FORWARD

In the year preceding the 1954 Council meeting there has once again been a shift in international student relations, and the Moscow Council reflected the strengthening of bonds between students of differing cultural and ideological backgrounds on the basis of issues both practical and political in nature which affect students wherever they may live, whatever views they may hold on various events. This shift has been demonstrated in the successful applications by the National Unions of South Africa, Israel, and Britain, for "Associate" membership of the I.U.S., by the signing of bi-lateral agreements on practical activities between the students of French Higher Schools and Indonesian students with the I.U.S., by the attendance of large observer delegations at the Council from countries such as Norway, Canada, Scotland etc. The meeting demonstrated most forcefully the gains to be had from exchanging experiences, rendering assistance to other students, and participating in a broad international student movement dedicated to

making its contribution to strengthening peace and friendship between peoples.

Overwhelming hospitality from their Soviet hosts greeted the delegates. Housed in the spacious students' hostel, treated to the traditional large 2 hour meals of the Russian people and offered every amenity for sport culture and recreation, delegates were most impressed by the lavish scale on which the Soviet students expressed their friendship. Delegates had an opportunity to see a performance of Swan Lake at the Stanislavsky Theatre, to visit a Peoples' Park for Culture and Rest — there to see a charming and realistic operetta about a collective farm, to attend the enormous All-Union Agricultural Exhibition, to visit the Metro, a Peoples' Court, the Kremlin, a collective farm, concerts of folk-dancing and music, and later to visit either Leningrad or Kiev.

### SIGHT-SEEING

The Kiev streets were lined with trees, there were many beautiful parks and flower gardens, the people seemed cheerful and busy, and their clothes showed some of the variety regarded as normal in Western cities. Above all, it was the children who seemed to carry the joy and happiness of the new life which is being created in the Soviet Union. The visitor can never forget the spontaneous freshness and vitality of the folk dancing by the Young Pioneers, the earnest and lively studies of the school-children, and the dancing and singing of the children in the parks and playgrounds. Side by side with this rich cultural life one cannot help noticing the enormous strides in building, in agriculture and industry visibly taking place. From all this springs one desire more potent than any other on the part of the Soviet people. And that is for world peace, so that the people of the Soviet Union may continue to build up the new life which is being created in their country.

permitted to see a performance. Apparently the attitude which prevails is: there are some white people who need 'culture'. Ten million other people — non-white — neither not exist for NTO — except rarely when non-whites are need nor deserve 'culture'.

In this context, of course, one sees the solution — albeit in the future — to some of the present problems of NTO. When *all* South Africans are eligible to participate in NTO's culture, we shall gradually improve the quality of our writing — in all languages — producing, acting, and designing — because there will be in the larger numbers of people actively participating more stimulation, competition and co-operation. We shall be able to have many more companies, presenting a wider variety of theatre fare. Audi-

ences will be greater. We can even foresee permanent NTO companies in our larger cities, while still maintaining adequate touring companies.

In the meantime, without expecting miracles from NTO, we should encourage its continued existence, especially in the contemplated de-centralised form. Our support, however, should not be uncritical. Criticism should be addressed to the director. Send in your suggestions for suitable plays — both English and Afrikaans. Do not hesitate to express your rejection of the turgid old way of life, reflected in 'So Praat die Ou Rivier' and such plays. Start pressing for the formation of non-European companies of actors and actresses. Above all — in my opinion — press NTO to start an actor's *training school*, so that our people can learn to act before being presented to the public.

# CRISIS YEAR FOR THE CHURCH

By Rev. Arthur W. Blaxall

**M**OST of the non-Roman Catholic churches and missionary societies in South Africa held their annual assemblies during the last quarter of the year, 1954 promises to be a year when specially acute questions will confront these bodies of whom the largest are the Presbyterian Church, Methodist Church, Congregational Union, Church of the Province (Anglican) Episcopal Synod.

Before attempting to assess the gravity of certain questions which will be considered by all it is advisable to remember that in South Africa the forces of Protestant and Orthodox Christianity are not well organized for co-ordinated action, a loss which is likely to be felt more as never before.

During the past few years, since various measures have been placed on the Statute Book which directly and indirectly affect the work of the churches, numerous statements have been issued by the Assemblies of some churches, and by the Christian Council, but very seldom have they been specific, dealing rather with broad principles. During the 1954 May biennial meeting of the Christian Council it became clear that the time has now arrived to deal with particular issues. There were before the Council's two important reports, one from a committee dealing with possible threats to Religious Liberty, the other from a committee which dealt in detail with the highly contentious Bantu Education Act. In addition to these two reports other matters were mentioned by some of the section conveners. It was obvious that a new sense of urgency has arisen.

In the past, really effective statements have been difficult because of widely different attitudes adopted by the churches and missionary societies, combined with the fact that some members of Council change frequently to the hope that there might be areas in which agreement could be reached with the Dutch Reformed Churches, which are not affiliated to the Council. The main ground of difference follows closely the pattern of church struggles with governments in other countries. There were those who immediately took legislative and Government regulations, at face value, seeing clearly potentials for costless enforcement of ideological enactments, especially in the field of compulsory racial discriminations generally known as Apartheid. Others were more

questioned Synod of the D.R.C. in the Transvaal.

Secondly, during the discussion on Bantu Education two fully accredited observers were present from the Roman Catholic Church.

Thirdly, at the public meeting held during sessions one of the speakers addressed the gathering in Afrikaans and did not hesitate to make a very strong appeal for a real effort at mutual understanding among all South African Christians. The speaker was Pastor P. E. P. Kruidel of the Berlin Missionary Society.

What are the subjects which will make these Assemblies so very important? Very shortly, they include these matters. The African Methodist Episcopal Church which has an extensive membership built up during 60 years of missionary endeavour, and is a foundation member of the Christian Council, has for nearly two years been deprived of episcopal supervision because the South African Government refused an entry permit to Negro Bishop E. Jordan, duly elected by the highest authority in that Church. After protracted negotiations the Government relented to the extent of offering a temporary residential permit on terms which amount to dictation by the Government as to how a bishop is to be elected, and restricting the choice to South African membership. Churches and societies which have organic connection with overseas churches will unquestionably consider the implications of this situation as far as it affects themselves, as well as the objective question as to whether such action on the part of the Government constitutes direct infringement of religious liberty.

There is the implementation of the Bantu Education Act which so vitally affects all churches with African membership that this is likely to overshadow every other discussion, and may prove to be the acid test of the attitude of the churches and missionary societies to Government policy which has all the ingredients that they will be refused. I think it is safe to say that few who value their principles and their liberty to practise and preach what they believe, think like that today.

The problem at the moment is to know which churches and societies are unquestionably opposed to apartheid in any form, and which believe — as Dr.

Ben Marris contends in his famous book *The Colour Problem and the West* —

that however impossible it may be to purge Apartheid from Scripture or Science, it is essential for the peaceful co-existence of the races in this country, and will be so for generations. In other words the time has now come for all the churches and missionary societies to know for themselves, and proclaim to the world, just where they stand.

But mostly the question is who can apply to this situation the refrain of Maxine Geok in the ballad of *Iron Warrior and Missus the Hermit*: "Let us not make obedience an excuse for sin. When commanded to do evil our duty is to stand firm."

"The hatreds, jealousies and suspicions with which the world has always been afflicted are deepened by racial prejudices and fears entrenched in law and custom. In some situations men come to accept race conflict as inevitable and lose hope of peaceful solution. Separation solely on the grounds of race is abhorrent. We seek to justify such exclusion on the grounds of difference of culture. We even say that we are willing to abandon all separations, but must retain them because so many others are unwilling to abandon them. We often make use of the ungenerousness of the world to excuse our own.

*Declaration of the World Council of Churches after its international assembly at Evanston, U.S.A., 1950.*

It was decided at a Bismarckian Conference that the delegates from the Churches and Societies should take back these subjects for discussion at the various assemblies, and that then the Christian Council should endeavour to issue a co-ordinated statement at its next executive meeting. It cannot be known whether the same subjects will receive attention by the other two co-ordinating bodies, the Federation of Lutheran Missions and the Federal Missionary Council of the Dutch Reformed Church.

Before briefly outlining some of these questions it is worthy of note that during the biennial meeting of the Christian Council three significant things happened:

# "OUT OF THIS WORLD"

Firstly, Dr. J. Beyersdo, for years an unofficial fraternal member of all Christian Council meetings, brought with him an official greeting from the recent force of law.

There are, too, administrative matters too numerous to mention, which will demand attention, such as new conditions attaching to the citing of churches and mission activities in African townships. The case of all these applications is in the final authority vested in the Ministry of Native Affairs to decide whether leases already granted should be cancelled because he considers anything said or done by any member of a congregation is likely to disturb what is called "good relations with Government persons".

In addition to all these subjects the member organizations in the Christian Council will be asked to express their views as to the functions of that body, and the possibility of financing it in a

Of a large number of evenings spent in the theatre three or four stand out forever in my memory as excellent — the first night of "Schubert's" danced by the Ballet Russes de Monte Carlo at the Empire Theatre in 1937; Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies in Barrie's "What Every Woman Knows" at the Pretorius Hall in 1941; the ballet "Ballet" at the Roma Opera House in 1941; Paul Scofield and Claire Bloom in "Ring Round the Moon" in 1950 . . . and now Evelyn Williams as Charles Dickens in 1954. One phrase springs to the otherwise inarticulate lips of the large audience at Williams's first-night in Johannesburg: "Out of this World". And that is what we felt — that we had been transported to some magical, yet very real place, where we had met a variety of magical, yet very real people.

This famous actor of the London stage made up his face and hair, donned a beard, moustache and frockcoat, so that he looked very like Charles Dickens. Then, in front of black curtains, he stood at a replica of the great novelist's lectern. With nothing whatsoever in the way of "props" the actor proceeded to tell us a selection of stories.

What was miraculous was his unbelievable skill in creating before our eyes the characters he was reading about — his body swelled, drank, grew round, grew crooked, his voice swelled like the voices of a dozen different people in a dozen different moods. Yet all the time — and this was the breathtaking brilliance of his artistry — he seemed hardly to move his body at all and his voice seemed to proceed quietly and without display from one incident to another. Evelyn Williams proved herself to be an actor of sensitivity, profound imagination, having at his command a rich, yet always beautifully-controlled, technique.

Mr. Williams earned our applause and gratitude not only for his actor's performance, but for his startling revelation of the unshakable richness of Dickens's characterization and Dickens's precise feeling for the correct word. In fact, on this wonderful evening one was pulled into debating which had proved himself to be the greater artist — Williams or Dickens, quite forgetting that only Mr. Williams was there on the platform. I have no doubt that kneeling libraries will repeat increased demand for the works of Charles Dickens.

AN APPRECIATION  
OF  
EMILYN WILLIAMS  
AS  
CHARLES DICKENS,  
BY COCEL WILLIAMS.

The programme consisted of six stories. From "Our Mutual Friend" Mr. Williams gave us the Veneering's dinner party, with Mr. Podsnap's pompous insularity, his precocious gesture of dismissal of Amy and everything that would not do for the Young Tussler. After meeting young Paul Dinsley and following him sadly to his deathbed, we attended Gob Snopce's party in his lodgings. What a collection of guests and how indignant the landlady, when the noise became unbearable! And how on earth did Mr. Williams create that picture of the landlady's husband underneath the blankets?

From "The Christmas Stories" came two narrations — the frightening ghost story, "The Signal-Man" and the tender, sweet-sad story of Mr. Chops — perhaps I enjoyed this story of the midday meet of all. And what, I wonder, impelled Mr. Williams to select his concluding story from "The Tale of Two Cities". It seemed so surprisingly apt — that story of the Marquis's callous attitude to the death of the man whose coach has ridden over, the frenzy of the tortured father, the silent resentment of the bystanders. Somehow it suggested the resentment of all oppressed peoples of all times — including the rising tide of righteous anger felt fervently along the veins of all oppressed and suppressed peoples in South Africa. In the theatre we felt, vicariously, hatred and bitterness and ragefulness against those aristocratic exploiters.

Ah yes! It was a wonderful evening because — let us not forget — of Dickens's lucidity, his deep, deep sympathy with the downtrodden, his artistic dexterity of hyperbole, artificiality, heartlessness — a humanitarian that the great actor through his motions revealed for us pedestrians, making us perhaps a little more human ourselves.



# EDUCATION'S PROGRESS BACKWARD

*By Daniel Quilp*

**"The Vortrekkers gave their children an education in the fear of the Lord. They prevented them from mental and moral degradation; they taught them obedience and respect for authority; they stirred in them pride of race and love of Fatherland." (A. K. Bot).**

THE descendants of the Voortrekkers, fortified as they were by their sturdy Calvinistic faith, their fear of the Lord and respect for authority, endeavoured to instil in the Bantu a feeling of subservience and an attitude of obedience to the authority that they imposed upon them.

Ironically, the first efforts at educating the Bantu arose from those missionaries whose liberal ideas had proved so hateful to the Boers in the Cape. Entering from the West and the South West, the London Missionary Society were the first to bring the gospel to the Bantu in the Transvaal and with it the rudiments of modern education.

## FIRST SEDITION.

However, mindful of the liberal views of Dr. Philip, the London Missionary Society were soon expelled from the S.A. Republic and two of its members charged with sedition! They were replaced by more reliable religious elements whose presence was conditional upon their remaining free of political activity. The established missions at the time were the two Lutheran and the Dutch Reformed Mission who, realizing that evangelization alone would not realise their aim of regenerating Bantu Society on to a Christian basis, approached education from a broader point of view.

The Hermansburg mission worked amongst the Tswana-speaking peoples. The Berlin mission catered for the Northern Sotho, Zulu and Bavenda groups and the Dutch Reformed mission worked in a belt further North. In this manner little schools arose here and there throughout the Transvaal. At the turn of the Century there were 201 such schools with an enrolment of approximately 12,000 pupils.

The first Education Ordinance of 1903 made "provision" for the education of African and coloured children and a "scheme" for Native Education aimed at giving instruction in the ordinary mission school in the elements of speaking, reading and writing the English language was laid down. Instruction would also be given in simple Arithmetic and schooling would continue up to St. III.

## EARLY AIMS.

The aim of Native Education as expressed at this period was "to make provision for the combining of manual training with elementary instruction so as to equip the Native for more intelligent comprehension of any industrial work that is put before him."

The Act of Union placed primary and Secondary education and Teacher Training in the hands of the provinces. The aims of Native Education were re-assessed and it was proposed that Native Education should consist of:—

Religious and moral training with the cultivation of such habits as cleanliness, obedience, punctuality, truthfulness, honesty, respect, courtesy, self dependence, self restraint, temperance and chastity.

Physical training, including besides physical development, questions of personal hygiene and the prevention and care of such diseases as Natives are specially liable to.

Social Training, including ideas of civic duty and acquaintance with the laws especially affecting Natives.

Industrial training to be adapted to the environment.

In 1925, the Transvaal Provincial Council, troubled by its expenditure of £61,700 on Native Education, transferred the financial responsibility of Native Education to the Union Government. The policy of the Government during this period was to establish various Community Schools under the control of the Missions.

## N.A.D. STEPS IN.

This position prevailed throughout the forties. The responsibility for Native Education now being placed in the hands of the provinces and now with the Union Government. Eventually in 1953 the "burden" was placed with the Native Affairs Department under the direct control of the Minister of Education.

Figures relating to expenditure on so-called Native Education are not often made available for public information and on the few occasions when this was done they were so compiled as to prevent the reader from drawing telling comparisons. In 1950 £1,493,207 was spent on Native Education in the Transvaal. Expenditure for European children amounted to £8,377,310. There are 210,000 European school children in the Transvaal and 242,097 African children.

African Education has never received the proper attention of educationists in South Africa. It has been passed from one department to the next as though it were dry ice, which, if allowed to remain in one place for any length of time, would inflict nasty burns upon the holder.

So-called Native Education aims at "equipping the Native for more intelligent comprehension of any industrial work that is placed before him." It aims at training him in obedience, respect, self restraint, and punctuality, qualities which will ingratiate him with his employers and enable them to exploit him for ever.

## AND FINIS.

As though dissatisfied with the pitiful facilities available to Africans, the Bantu Education Act has come as a climax to a shameful policy of discrimination in education. It is hoped that by this Act the Africans will systematically be debarred from taking an equal part in the life of the country, and continue to act as cheap labour for the farms and the mines.

The Union's attitude to African education recalls to mind the views of Rousseau on the subject of women. "They are to learn as quickly as possible and be brought under restraint at an early age. They cannot understand moral precepts and should never be taught philosophy, art or the sciences . . ." Rather, said Rousseau, "instruct them on domestic matters and allow them to concentrate on the home, singing, dancing and other accomplishments."

Stripped of the refinements of language, Rousseau's views might well have fitted into the Bantu Education Act. Only this is the year of grace, 1954!

# WEST MEETS EAST

## The Labour Party Mission To China

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**By Ben Giles**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on page 12.)

# A 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY PASSION



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

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

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

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

English is the spirit that even in death defeated tyranny.

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

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

## WEST MEETS EAST—Continued from page 11.

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

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

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

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

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

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

A.L.

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

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

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

## NATIONALIST REPUBLICANS

"THE Prince has gone! Long live the Republic!" This was how the platitudinous Cabinet Ministers' speeches sounded on Kruger Day. There had been no time for the echo of the gushing Royalist slobber to die away, before it was time for the trite phrases and promises of "republicanism" to be trotted out for their semi-annual airing. No visiting Royal personage had been so sought after and lauded by the Nationalists as Bernhard of the Netherlands; no Prince's words had ever been so hoarded up as pearls, so broadcast, printed and applauded. Earnest Nationalist "republicans" fought for places in the queues to be 'presented', and for tickets at the banquets where praise would pour out more lavishly than wine. They outdo the Royalists, these self-styled republicans.

In the circumstances, the republicanism of the Kruger Day gatherings sounded hollower than empty barrels. It was demagogy of the cheapest sort, designed to rouse the anti-British passions of its rabble supporters, and the pro-British ire of its Heaton Nicholls opponents. Republicanism — the drive to free South Africa from all political and economic servitude to British imperialism — republicanism, if it ever existed in Nationalist Party circles, is dead and waiting to be buried. All that remains is an anti-British racialism, feeding on memories of past wrongs and carefully fostered race hatreds. Today it is racialism, ready to burst out in chorus of 'Long Live the King!' — if only he is not a British king.

And logically so. They are the world's strongest and most intransigent upholders of imperialism, these Nationalist

"republicans". Every last and latest device conjured up by a dying imperialism in Europe finds its most ready acceptance in their ranks. When imperialism can not survive except through open, terrorist dictatorship, they are Nazis, extolling the Third Reich and praying for Hitler's victory. When the scene changes, and imperialism's survival depends on Western blocs and German rearmament for war, they are the staunchest upholders of "Western civilisation", setting the pace for the rest in their savage suppression of all opposition labelled "communism." For Churchill it is enough that, in his lifetime, he should not 'preside over the dissolution of the British Empire'. For the Nationalists, the aim is the preservation of imperialism and white supremacy "for ever."

*"Yes; and what else would you expect, I said, when you think of the puny creatures, who, seeing this land open to them — a land well stocked with fair names and showy titles — like prisoners running out of prison into a sanctuary, take a leap out of their trades into philosophy; . . . Are they not exactly like a bald little tinker who has just got out of durance and come into a fortune; he takes a bath and puts on a new coat, and is decked out as a bridegroom going to marry his master's daughter . . . What will be the issue of such a marriage? Will they not be vile and bastard? . . . And what sort of ideas are likely to be guaranteed? Will they not be sophisms captivating to the ear, having nothing in them genuine, or worthy of or akin to true wisdom?"*

(Plato. 'The Republic'.)

## SO YOU WANT GOOD BOOKS?

SINCE the hysteria of the 'cold war' age gripped the publishing houses, good books concerned with the lives and struggles of ordinary people, and with socially important ideas have been few and far between. Nowhere has their rarity been more deeply felt than in South Africa, where regular Friday newspapers report laconically: 'A list of sixty-eight banned publications appears in today's Government Gazette.'

In England, the publishers' 'iron curtain' is being broken by a new book club, formed as a co-operative society to publish progressive books, fiction and non-fiction. ". . . of interest to people who broadly speaking share the aims of the Labour movement, whether as trade unionists, co-operators, party members or as unaffiliated sympathisers." People's Books is a going concern, producing a book every two months for members

only. Six books have already appeared — and some of them, like Robert Brittain's 'Let There be Bread' and Howard Fast's 'Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti' have been reviewed in these columns. The others include 'Through the Chinese Revolution', an eye-witness account graphically told by two British missionaries, who lived through the whole historic process of the building of People's China; and Cheddi Jagan's informative and factual inside story of British Guiana, "Forbidden Freedom."

The books are well produced, in hard covers. And they are well chosen by a committee which includes several people well known in progressive circles in South Africa, Basil Davidson, Doris Lessing, John Berger, Professor H. Levy and Gordon Schaffer. And they are at prices that ordinary

people can afford—5/6 per book post free from Britain.

So if it's good books you are after, you cannot do better than become a member of People's Books. The minimum subscription is 16/6 for three books; and you can start with any of the books already published, or with the next publication — 'The Scalpel, The Sword', which is a brilliantly written biography of a famous Canadian doctor, Norman Bethune, who gave up a lucrative and fashionable medical practice to help the people's cause, first in the civil war in Spain, and later with the Chinese People's Army.

The address is: People's Books, 28 Southampton Street, Strand, London, WC2. Or, if you find it easier, subscriptions will be received and passed on by "Fighting Talk", if the 16/6 for three books or 33/- for six is forwarded to us.

# LEFT, RIGHT AND CENTRE

*Before Durban's Trade Union Conference,  
Michael Throne Reviews the Road Forward.*

It is well-known that the trade union movement has for some years been deeply divided in its attitude to the Nationalist offensive against democratic rights. These dissensions are largely responsible for the failure of the trade unions to make an effective stand against the Government and to give the workers a proper lead.

There has always been a considerable minority of trade unionists who have understood that workers' rights cannot be maintained if it allows other democratic rights to be destroyed. This progressive minority generally referred to in trade union circles as "the Left" knows that the trade union movement cannot survive if it is isolated from the other democratic forces in the country. The overwhelming majority of trade unionists who suffered under Minister Swart's sadistic bans come from this band of progressives.

There is also a body of right-wing trade unionists to whom the present problems present themselves as requiring a *modus vivendi* with Schoeman. They seek a sort of non-aggression pact, which would leave them in peace in return for good behaviour towards the Government.

Probably the largest body of trade union opinion takes up a centre position, and they are indeed in the middle. Their sincere desire to preserve trade union rights cannot be doubted. They know that it is suicidal to make non-aggression pacts with little Hitlers. But they lack confidence in the democratic forces within the country. They do not believe that the African people, in the foreseeable future, play any decisive role in South African politics. They believe that only the enfranchised European worker, and the ballot box, can rid the country of Malan. The analogy between this group and the United Party is obvious and both are products of the same social class.

The right-wing element are found in the S.A. Federation of Trade Unions and in the Pretoria Ko-ordinerende Raad. The centre is drawn from the Federation and the S.A. Trades and Labour Council. The progressive group are mainly in the Trades and Labour Council and in the Council of Non-European Trade Unions.

Out of this confusion and disunity the passivity and vacillation of the trade union movement as a whole has arisen. It is a situation which cannot continue: either the trade union movement unites on the basis of a common programme of demands and action, or each group goes its own way after a shake-up of the co-ordinating bodies. Fortunately, the time for a decision is at hand.

## DECISIVE CONFERENCES.

On October 6th the Annual Conference of the S.A. Trades and Labour Council (the T.L.C.) convenes in Durban. Normally this event takes place in April. This year it has been postponed while "unity" talks went on between representatives of the centre and the right-wingers. These talks, conducted through the Unity Committee, have now led to a proposal for the establishment of a new body, the S.A. Trade Union Council.

Immediately before the T.L.C. Conference there will be a conference of registered trade unions only, that is, excluding African trade unions. This conference will consider the draft constitution of the new council, and will probably inaugurate that body. Having done this, many trade unions will come to the T.L.C. conference on the following day with but one intention: to dissolve this pioneer of trade union co-ordination, which has had a continuous existence since 1925.

The delegates who go to these conferences in Durban will represent over 200,000 organised workers. Except possibly for a few right-wing elements, they will come with a single purpose: to unite the trade union movement.

## UNITY — WITHOUT THE AFRICAN WORKER.

The membership clause of the proposed constitution of the new body provides that—

"Trade unions other than those of African workers or those which include Africans as members shall be eligible for membership of the Council."

The objects clause allows the establishment of a liaison committee between the new body and "the Council of Non-European Trade Unions or any other such co-ordinating body of African trade unions."

These provisions, together with the proposed dissolution of the T.L.C., will destroy one more common meeting ground between the African people and South Africans of other races. Today, any African trade union can belong to the T.L.C. and be represented at its conferences. Many African unions are so affiliated and many more can, and should, do so.

Many of the people who advance the claims of this rather exclusive unity sincerely regret what they regard as the "necessity" to bar Africans from the new body. But however sincere they are for unity the fact stubbornly remains that this is not unity. However regretful they are, it is still true that they are inflicting a new disability on the already beleaguered and harassed African trade unions. Whoever votes for this exclusion is bending the knee to the politically most backward element in the trade unions. They are pandering to and confirming that element in its attitude, instead of leading it out of the night of racialism towards the dawn of racial tolerance and workers' unity.

The very phrases used by them are an admission of their departure from trade union principles: "Today the trade union movement must rely on expediency and not on principles. You cannot have principles when you are dead." Those are the words they used to persuade African trade union leaders to accept the apartheid of "parallel lines".

## THE CHOICE OF ALLIES.

If this attitude is persisted in, then the centre will have surrendered to the right-wing. Who, if not Mr. George McCormick, the acknowledged leader of the right-wing, has pressed for throwing African trade unions out of the trade union councils? And who now gets their way?

To justify this surrender it is said that the unity of all registered unions is needed against Schoeman's Industrial

Conciliation Amendment Bill. But has not Mr. McCormick said that he accepts that Bill as it now stands? He did say this and withdrew from the Unity Committee on the question of opposing the Bill. Yet he remained associated with that Committee to bring about "unity" in the trade union movement. Unity against the Bill?

Events have shown that these right-wingers are political men of straw, who do not stand when the winds of change start blowing. They are the poorest allies for a movement which throughout the world has survived sweeping social changes. On the other hand, what is the African worker if not the rock upon which our economy and prosperity is based?

The magnificent stand by African workers — dockers, tobacco workers, textile workers and others — in recent weeks, must compel the admiration, even of their enemies. With all the power of the State bent on crushing them, without effective backing from the labour movement as a whole, they have fought courageously and often successfully, for better conditions and recognition of their dignity as workers.

Here indeed is an ally.

**AFRICAN WORKERS WANT UNITY.**

It is not true to say that African workers, by refusing to accept their exclusion, are opposed to unity. The reply given by the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions to the Unity Committee places this beyond doubt:

"The Council of Non-European Trade Unions is in favour of Trade Union Unity. It would like to see the establishment of a single co-ordinating trade union body on the basis of complete equality, irrespective of race or colour. This is the only sound trade union principle."

The statement then goes on to propose that the T.L.C. be kept in being on a non-racial basis and that non-white representatives be admitted to the Unity Committee, which should campaign against the Native Labour Act, the I.C. Amendment Bill and for better living standards for all workers.

**TASKS AT THE DURBAN CONFERENCES.**

The issue before every delegate who is opposed to the policies of the Nationalist Government, is clear. It is to seek one great co-ordinating body for the whole trade union movement, with a democratic constitution. The great majority in such a body will see that an uncompromising struggle is carried on against Malan, Schoeman and Swart.

If a new body is formed, from which the Africans are barred, it is the duty of all anti-Nationalists to prevent the destruction of the S.A. Trades and Labour Council and to keep it as one of the few remaining inter-racial forums, as the spearhead of the only unity that counts — the unity of all workers regardless of race.

But whatever happens, after Durban the road forward will be clearer, and the fight will go on.

**WITHOUT COMMENT**



*Skokiaan* (Bulawayo Sweet Rhythms Band; London). A South African number that, after four plays on a Cleveland disk-jockey show, got such a response that it was immediately "covered" by more than a dozen other labels. It is based on an old Zulu drinking song (approximate translation of the title: happy-happy) has a jiggling, mambo-like beat. Mercury's version (by Ralph Marterie) is the current best seller. Columbia's Four Lads made the first version with words. Excerpts:  
*Skoki, Skoki, Skoki, Skokiaan*  
*Okey, dokey Anybody can Skoki, Skoki*  
*Man oh! Man oh! Man*  
*You sing a-bing, a-bang, a-bingo*  
*In hoey pokey Skokiaan.*

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