

THE NEW LEFT

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THE NEW LEFT
COPY

OUR COVER PICTURE shows the Peace Dove Emblem of the Helsinki World Peace Assembly.

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REMOVING ALL DOUBT **COMMENT**

SOME years ago, a local columnist in satirical vein, proffered some free advice to the Nationalist politicians. Why go to such pains to try and convince the world of your goodwill to the Africans? he asked. Point out their lack of social responsibility, and their disregard of the real needs and welfare of South Africa. Tell UNO point blank that in all the years since Union they have failed to produce a single member of Parliament, a single Prime Minister, a single General Manager of Railways or a single President of the Chamber of Mines. Expose the bitter truth that the whole burden of carrying the civilisation of the country has been forced upon the European minority through the indolence and indifference of the African.

As usual in Nationalist South Africa, life improves on satire. Witness the Under-Secretary of Bantu Education, Dr. F. J. de Villiers. "How many dentists, engineers or architects have we produced?" he asked forty-one Non-European students of the University of South Africa at their graduation ceremony. "I know of none. How many doctors? A mere handful." There are, of course, good reasons for this backwardness. The rigid quota for Non-European students at the only Universities which admit any? Perish the thought. The complete closing of the dental faculties to Non-European students? Not at all. The rigid Mines and Works Act colour-bar against Non-European engineers or even train drivers? Guess again. The low wage scale for Africans and the high University fees? Nonsense. Dr. de Villiers has the answer. "It takes time—generations—for a people to rise from a primitive society to the level of modern business and professional activity."

The remark is worth attention. In the blunt assertion that Africans are savages, and will remain so for generations, lies the real essence of the Nationalist ideology, whose ugliest offspring is Bantu Education. It is an ideology untrammelled by facts. For what fact could more clearly contradict the theory than the presence, before Dr. de Villiers' eyes, of forty-one African graduates? Lesser men might quail; but not the arrogant, "white-man-boss" types who have risen so universally to the top of the Nationalist "native administration" hierarchy. Dr. de Villiers did not quail. With cold, studied insolence, from his mighty pinnacle as spokesman for the Bantu Education authorities, he delivered as blunt an insult to his audience as it is possible to conceive. It is possible that, up to that moment, the graduates had been left with gaps in their education—with incomplete knowledge of the utter contempt for people which is part of the essential equipment of ambitious members of what used to be known as the *civil* service. Dr. de Villiers has certainly closed that gap. Sometimes, as they say, it is better to keep your mouth closed and be thought a boor and fool, than to open it and remove all doubt.

WHEN President Eisenhower's publicity experts decided that the time had come to wrest the attention of the world's press from Marshal Bulganin at the Geneva Conference, they were hard pressed to find a way. Bulganin's proposal of an East-West non-aggression pact, followed by the dissolution of the Western Bloc NATO and the Eastern bloc Warsaw Treaty Organisation, had set alight the world's hopes for a real, enduring peace. Everywhere, people and their statesmen were welcoming the proposal. The initiative for peaceful settlement of international strife lay clearly with the USSR. Eisenhower's back-room boys cast frantically around for something bigger, something brighter, to restore the waning glory of their "world leadership." Out of the hat, with the deftness of a conjurer, came Eisenhower's proposal that America and Russia exchange blueprints, maps and surveys of their respective armaments, industries and establishments.

To the advertising men, no doubt, the scheme was "Terrific! Colossal!" To everyone else it was a joke. Eisenhower's advisers may have missed the point, but no one else did; the Geneva Conference was discussing the way to world peace, and no stretch of imagination could possibly disclose how an exchange of such information as this could assist. And few people missed the further point; that such information in fact, in a world armed and arming to the teeth, could provide a further incentive to trigger-happy fingers to try a sudden knock-out blitz. Marshal Bulganin, gravely, agreed that the proposal was worthy of study.

It is, in a world which has already agreed upon disarmament and the dissolution of aggressive blocs, and is seeking only to inspect the carrying out of disarmament undertakings. But before such agreement has been reached, it is patently a manoeuvre to secure vital information for the briefing of the US Army Air Force units, which stand alerted in a solid ring of military bases around the USSR, stretching from Pakistan, through Turkey, Greece, West Germany, Scandinavia and Britain to Alaska, the Pacific and Japan. To the Soviet Air Force, stationed in the USSR thousands of miles from the nearest frontiers of the United States, the information is of interest, but little more. Such a proposal could scarcely hope to get by the watchfulness of Marshal Bulganin, or even of his five-year old son (if he has one). Why then was it made?

President Eisenhower, and the army of officials who advise him, are neither so childish or naive as to expect their proposal to succeed *at this stage*. Their presence at Geneva has been forced on them, unwillingly, by the pressure of their own people and their allies in the Western Bloc. But still they fight a rearguard action, albeit a losing one, to preserve the atmosphere of cold war, and through it American domination of the capitalist world. The Eisenhower plan was a diversion, to unsettle a conference which was proceeding too easily and too well towards the solution of international tension. It failed to scuttle the ship—the tide of co-existence flows too strong—but it is a warning of the diversions and the sabotage attempts that still will come, before the process started at Geneva is completed by agreements that guarantee our peace.

DON'T LOOK NOW, BUT . . .

By HILDA WATTS

DID YOU NOTICE that car parked across the street near your house when you came home the other night? There were two men sitting in it. You should have taken down the number of the car. You'll see it again . . .

Are you a member of any political organisation today? Were you in the past? Did you ever attend a meeting convened by the Society for Medical Aid to Russia during the war? Did you ever donate anything to that Society? Have you ever taken part in the activities of a youth organisation, a debating club, a discussion circle, or any other group interested in political or contemporary affairs? Have you ever signed a circular or petition asking or demanding anything at all from the government, present or past? Do you believe the atom bomb should be banned? Are you in favour of maintaining peace through negotiation between the major powers? Have you ever associated with anyone who advocated improved relations? If you are a European, do you believe the Non-White people should have better conditions? Have you ever had a Non-European in your home, other than as a domestic servant? Have you ever met with any kind of "mixed" group? Have you ever protested, by word of mouth or by letter to the press, against unfair treatment of Non-Europeans by police, civil service, or municipal officials?

If you can answer "yes" to any of those questions—look out!

The other day, the father of a 19-year-old girl in America came home to find his daughter filling out an application for a job as counsellor to a local Scout Camp. The girl is a prominent member of her Girl Scouts troop.

Attached for her information was the Attorney-General's "Consolidated List" of subversive organisations—283 in number. They included the Friends of New Germany, which deceased the year she was born; the Los Angeles Labour College, the Industrial Workers of the World, and the Young Communist League, which was interred when she was five years old.

There was a boldly-printed sentence at the bottom of the form which informed the sinner that she was subject to prosecution for perjury if she swore falsely.

America's new generation is becoming accustomed to this sort of thing.

This Attorney-General's list was first drawn up to screen government employees; the list spread to the Army; then it moved up into private industry; by now, every organisation on the list carries the automatic connotation of subversive.

An American commentator says: "It seems impossible to pick up any official form these days which is not made heavier by the presence of the Attorney-General's list, right down to the Black Dragon Society and the Chopin Cultural Centre . . . and now we are extending it to little girls."

Don't shrug this off and say "That's America, things aren't as bad here . . . yet."

My eldest daughter, with other children, had her photograph taken by the police when she went to the Congress of the People. She has long been as cautious as we are when using the telephone—it becomes a habit, however innocuous your activities, not to want them recorded by the police. Walter Sisulu was arrested for drinking tea. What is most disturbing is that here, as in America, a new generation is arising who accepts this way of life as normal—the only way they have known.

People on the "left" have long known that their private correspondence was tampered with and their 'phone conversations recorded. But it comes as a revelation to "responsible" organisations such as the United Party, the Institute of Race Relations, and the United Party, to find someone is opening their letters and listening to their political plans on the 'phone. They attend a local Discussion Club, and find the police have taken the number of their car, and call on them . . . then they stop attending.

These are the solid citizens who never saw anything wrong as long as such police activities were confined to those nasty "named" people. They were Communists, weren't they? What else could they expect? But now it's happening to people who were always opposed to Communism.

FINGERS ON GUNS

Unfortunately there are still many South Africans who try to close their eyes to what is happening, even when it begins to affect them personally. When police invade peaceful meetings and closed conferences, when they surround orderly gatherings with armed men whose nervous fingers tremble on the triggers of their guns, when they take the names and addresses and private books and papers of 3,000 people, accompanying this with many disgusting and even unprintable acts of provocation, can any South African say this is not his affair?

Are civil liberties divisible? Can you have one standard for one part of the population, and believe the rest of the people have still preserved their liberties?

596 GAZETTES

Are you sure you have not any books or pamphlets in your house that have been banned? How can you possibly know? The *Rand Daily Mail* says you must read through 596 copies of the Government Gazette to find out. That was a couple of weeks ago. There have been additional issues of the Gazette since then.

Maybe you've never had any "left" literature in your home. That won't help you. The works of classical writers and famous contemporary novelists are included in those lists, as well as Spillane and Caine. It's not something you can forget lightly. The other day a man was fined £15 for being in possession of just one of those hundreds and hundreds of books. A policeman may enter your home any time and search.

Where is all this leading? What is it for?

We know it is directed against the liberatory movements of the Non-White people of our country. But there is more to it than that. It is directed against all progressive organisations. More still. It is directed against

all who are in opposition to the government and their police-state. In the words of our own rulers, when a law has been passed, to oppose it, to organise others against it, is treason.

There are many warning parallels from the past to prove the intentions of the present government, even if the banning of opposition newspapers, banning of literature, 'phone-tapping, ostentatious police-terror and the rest were not warning enough. Nevertheless, many have not learned the lessons of the past.

THE HOLY CRUSADE

When the police state came to Germany, the Nazis were planning war. Everything they did, every internal atrocity and external aggression, was done in the name of the crusade against Communism. This made it all permissible, and silenced many who might have protested. The pattern was simple—first silence all forms of opposition within the country, in the name of the fight against communism; then build the war machine for the armed crusade against the symbol of communism—the U.S.S.R.

But when Germany had been armed and made strong, the war machine was turned west, not east, turned against those who had built it.

Can people be so deceived twice over?

South Africa, we know, is not Germany. We are not a major industrial power. We lack the position, manpower and development of Germany of those years.

But South Africa is an indispensable part of the war-machine today. Today America leads the crusade against communism (and how closely the American attack on civil liberties is followed in our country!) With our uranium mines, our gold, and our position as the most advanced country in Africa, we fit in com-

(Continued from page 5)

One is surprised, not at the variety of physiognomies, but at the sameness. There seem such slight differences among the Chinese, Japanese, the Koreans and the Vietnamese; and who can tell whether a delegate comes from Spain or the Argentine or Chile or Brazil? And a black man may be from the Cameroons or the Sudan or Senegal; and an Arab may be from Morocco or Algiers or Syria or the Sudan or Egypt or Tunisia.

You see, every country is represented here. It is a constant surprise to see some placard not before noticed—Cyprus, Burma, Goa, Sweden, Iraq and so on—and everyone friendly. Smiles and meaningful handshakes are as numerous as the flowers on the rostrum.

Here, too, in addition to us ordinary people, are the great ones, scientists, singers, novelists, painters, professors, politicians, lawyers. Say what you like, the most stolid must be thrilled to meet cordially, to chat with, to link arms with Jean Paul-Sartre, Professor Bernal, Nazim Hikmet, Kabalewsky, D. N. Pritt, Monica Felton, Mulk Raj Anand and a score of others. We had a gay encounter the other evening with two Soviet artists: Alexandrov, the film director, who 25 years ago played a small part under Eisenstein in "The Battleship Potemkin" and is now himself one of the great film directors; and the laughing, amiable, sensitive, Obratsov, whose puppet shows in theatres and on TV thrilled England last winter.

The quality of the speeches is high in every respect, whether from Mrs. Ley of Australia, Mrs. Cusden of Great Britain, Signor Zuppoli, a member of the Italian

pletely as part of this co-called crusade. Even more so, because the real intentions are concealed.

While today the war-cry is still against the Soviet Union, every military act of the past ten years has been, not against the U.S.S.R., but against the people of colonial countries. Against Korea, Malaya, Kenya, British Guiana, Guatemala. The menace of aggression, so loudly proclaimed, is now tacitly admitted to be the menace of popular movements advancing within countries, especially colonial and semi-colonial countries. Let the lessons of British Guiana and Guatemala illustrate this new definition of "communist aggression." The world preparations for war and the restriction of civil liberties in this and other countries go hand in hand. They are preparing the military machine for use against us, the people.

LOOK OUT!

Freedom and peace are bound together.

Did you notice that car parked outside your house the other night? Remember the armed police who came to that meeting the other day? Behind those men are other men with guns in their hands. Behind them are the shadowy outlines of maniacs with deadly atom bombs, prepared to destroy the world to keep their power. Look out! The deprivation of civil liberties in South Africa has world significance.

And with this in mind we must fight back, with all our power, to prevent the loss of more liberties, to regain what have already been lost, and to lay the foundations of a truly democratic state—one in which such acts can no longer take place, one that will safeguard not only our personal liberties but the peace and security of all mankind.

Christian Democratic Youth Movement or General Corona, a former Mexican cabinet minister. Yet every now and then comes a speech which startles and moves us unbearably. One of the delegates from Korea is a petite woman of 45, who dresses sweetly in a long figured cream satin dress, topped with a little coat in blue. She looks too like a doll to be speaker, but she had every ear glued to a set of earphones. Then John Bernal of London spoke in solemn yet vivid tones, persuading with the clarity of his logic. But, so far, it has fallen to Ilya Ehrenburg to achieve the maximum effect. Solid commonsense, political insight, a cosmopolitanism of outlook, a command of imaginative speech and, above all, a deep, deep love of life and human beings, gave to his speech an irresistible appeal of emotion and intellect alike.

And Finland? It is now nearly 10 o'clock at night and we sit waiting for the extra plenary session that was called for late. Through the great space of glass windows along the length of both side walls comes flowing in the tranquil translucency of the evening sun.

The light in this latitude is remarkable. Last night as we walked home from a wonderful party of writers and artists given by the Finnish Writers Society, the horizon was quivering with warm, pink light. Was it, we asked, still sunset? No, came the reply, the dawn is already on us.

A final quotation from a governor of one of Finland's provinces who welcomed us: "May the white nights of Helsinki and the Saint John's Eve Bonfires be symbols of the light which the World Assembly at Helsinki will bring forth."

From Helsinki, CECIL WILLIAMS writes a first-hand account of the WORLD PEACE ASSEMBLY, held in June.

PEOPLE FOR PEACE

SOMEONE once wrote a book entitled "The Russians are People." On the bookstalls now is a book entitled, "The Americans are People." Oliver Tambo and other African leaders have repeatedly spoken on the theme "The Africans are People." In Helsinki at this World Peace Assembly every delegate is learning the simple truth, "PEOPLE ARE PEOPLE"! We are discovering that a woman from a kibbutz in Israel has the same personal problems, disappointments and longings as a housewife from Morocco: that a young Japanese gets on the dance floor and dances a waltz with the same pleasure as does his partner, a stenographer from Milan: that a Brazilian advocate is as interested in chess as his companion from Adelaide . . . and so on throughout the Assembly. We are all human beings seeking lasting peace, so that we can carry on the living of our individual lives fully and harmoniously.

Every time we see her we get a gay greeting from Sima Panich, a Soviet housewife, who is a typist home in Moscow. When we first spoke to her, we thought she was a member of the British delegation, so natural was her English accent. With careless coiffure, broad hips, bright red lips and dark hair, she appears always laughing and eager, more interested in our life in South Africa than in discussing the day's agenda. A grave contrast is Bleslaw Kramkowski, a handsome, blue-eyed engineer from Poland. Very seriously he bows formally and smiles rarely. Against his modest reluctance, we pull out the information that his medals, a small silver cross and a small gold cross, are awards for high engineering feats in the smelting works at Cracow.

Walking home one night from having tea with Gabriel d'Arboussier, a quiet, interesting, interested lawyer from Senegal and an ex-member of the French Parliament, we pass two young men from whose accents we get the impression of two more outlandish foreigners. After a couple of seconds, however, they are revealed as pure British, Andrew Robertson from Edinburgh and Albert Herbert from Birmingham. What interesting samples of Britain they are. The Scot was elected as delegate representing the powerful British Electrical Trade Union and the midlander as representative of the Woodworkers' Union. They, too, are marvelling at the friendship of people, at the identity of our problems. They are drawing great inspiration from the Assembly and their eyes are angrily opened, when they read the lies about the Assembly published in the London *Daily Telegraph*. (At that stage we did not know that the *Telegraph's* correspondent at Helsinki is employed by the American Associated Press!)

What a surprise to meet the delegate from Iceland. Contrary to preconceptions, there appeared a gentle, tall, grey-haired, charmingly dressed woman, Mrs. Thorvaldson, who at home is a nurse. In a soft voice, she explains that, although Iceland is a small country of only 168,000 inhabitants, they are nevertheless vitally interested in the question of peace. Iceland gained her inde-

pendence from Denmark in 1944, but now is "occupied" by U.S. military and air forces, thereby ensuring, not the security, but the insecurity of the island. Did you know that they grow grapes in Iceland? They do—in hot houses, heated by the permanent hot springs.

A charming, slim girl from Madagascar sat beside the delegates from French West Africa. She spoke sadly of the 90,000 Malagasy people who died in the last abortive attempt to attain independence and the 2,000 of their best sons still in the French gaols.

Then there was the story told to the Disarmament Commission by Nils Helgessen, a worker at the Nobel Explosives Factory at Bofors in Sweden and a member of the Peace Committee in that town. Campaigning among the workers for signatures to the Vienna Appeal, he met Ella Magnusson, a plum, happily-married woman with one child. They had a long chat on the need to fight for peace. Ella signed the appeal and promised to help the campaign. On the following day Ella was in the antiquated drying room finishing her day's work, when some nitroglycerine exploded and killed her. 400 workers signed the appeal in that factory.

Nils reminded the Commission of the words spoken by Alfred Nobel when he invented dynamite. He declared then that dynamite was so powerful and dangerous an explosive that no country would dare to use it. That was 60 years ago!

But, for a moment, let us give you a picture of our meeting-place, the famous Finnish Messuhalli. The principal hall is four times the size of our City Hall in Johannesburg. Facing you at the far end is the Praesidium, five rows of desks, the fronts draped in light-blue cloth and fringed with fronds of conifers. The back wall is draped in tight folds of the blue cloth, with large golden letters spelling out: ASSEMBLEE MONDIALE DE LA PAIX—HELSINKI 1955. In front of it towers a graceful, strong pine, felled by woodmen in one of Finland's forests. At the end of the Assembly, it will be cut into more than 2,000 small pieces and each delegate will carry away a tangible souvenir of the Assembly and of Finland.

The hall is filled with serried rows of delegates' desks. Each desk is equipped with earphones, which can be plugged in to hear the current speech in any one of six languages. In parts of the hall there are translations available in other languages. One group of people who have gained universal admiration are the numbers of official translators and interpreters who cope with every linguistic barrier.

From the ceiling of this great hall float a hundred doves of peace, cunningly made of wood. (Described in the *Telegraph* as having atom-bombs in their under-carriages!) Flags of all nations line the side walls—and people fill the immense space. Most delegates, as someone remarked, look like middle-class business men and their wives, but here and there a national costume or the robe of a Catholic cardinal or a mufti or a Buddhist monk stand out dazzlingly.

THE "NATIVE LABOUR" ACT AT WORK

By MIKE MULLER

"THE Native Labour Act has been law for nearly two years. It is trying to prevent African workers from making gains, is prolonging disputes, and using force and intimidation to deny workers' demands. Yet workers are learning that despite the Act they can still win better conditions . . . and BECAUSE of the Act they need trade union organisation more than ever before . . ."

THE African workers at a Transvaal factory are on strike. Soon an official from the Department of Labour arrives on the scene. He tries to address the workers, they howl him down. He tells the employer that he will call in the help of the Native Affairs Department, because they have a better understanding of the "Native mind." With this expert assistance they go to work differently. They address the workers in their departments, telling them to resume work and to elect representatives to negotiate on their behalf who should come to the office of the Native Commissioner. Everywhere they get the same answer: we already have elected spokesmen, the members of the union's executive committee. The part about the Native Commissioner's office gives the wits among the workers their chance. "Must we bring our tax receipts?" they ask. Or, "That is the place you go for divorces. We all love our wives, we only want more money for them."

Not one department from the factory sends a representative. Only the employer goes. When he comes back he tells the workers' representatives that he agrees with their attitude. "We must learn to settle our differences together between your union and the management. We do not want outsiders to come between us." Soon afterwards the dispute is settled by negotiation with the union. The workers get some of the things they want, other things they will have to carry on fighting for.

Now that the Native Labour Act has been law for nearly two years, strike stories do not always end as happily as that. In the case of the factory above there are many workers, too many to arrest and bundle into pick-up vans. They have been trade unionists for many years and they have many struggles behind them. They are conscious of their own strength. Their employer has also been broken in to trade union ways and knows that workers do not strike lightly, that the only lasting settlement to a labour dispute is a just settlement.

Factories with such workers and employers are unfortunately rare. In other factories where workers approach the employer about grievances, they usually send spokesmen, or else go altogether to interview the boss. Sometimes the spokesmen are dismissed and the workers go out with them. Then the boss appeals to the police and to the Department of Labour. From here on,

the pattern is always the same. The Labour Department tells the workers to elect spokesmen to negotiate for them, and then to return to work. The workers refuse to do this. They fear that their representatives will be victimised. The workers are then told to disperse, or are arrested, depending upon their numbers and the numbers of police present. That the workers are right in refusing to point out their leaders is shown by the fact that when arrests take place it is precisely those workers who have spoken up who are arrested, or who, at a subsequent trial, turn up as "Accused Numbers 1, 2 and 3." These workers are then discriminated against in the evidence, and in sentences.

If a trade union is connected with a dispute, the Special Branch (Political Department) also soon arrive. They take statements from the employer and apparently "brief" him on the background of the trade union organisers involved. During one strike in Johannesburg, a trade union official telephoned the boss at the factory. "I am sorry, Miss So-and-so," he said, "I cannot speak to you now. The Special Branch is taking a statement from me. By the way, they tell me a few interesting things about you." Such intervention does not induce an employer to negotiate. He believes that the Nationalist Government will back him up in refusing to pay better wages or to improve conditions. He is led to believe that the workers' leaders will in some way be penalised by the State. In this way disputes are prolonged and the just demands of the workers denied by force and intimidation.

There is in the Native Labour Act not one word about African trade unions being illegal. In fact Schoeman when he introduced the Act in Parliament said: "We do not prohibit Native trade unions. Consequently the question of freedom of association does not arise. They will still have the right to associate; they will have the right to form their own trade unions. We do not prohibit it."

That may have been said with one eye on the International Labour Organisation. The officials acting in terms of the act seem to have different instructions. At the Pinetown textile strike, the stooges of the Regional Native Labour Committee told the workers they must resign from the union and then the Regional Committee would talk to the boss for them. When the workers rejected this and appointed their own union leaders as their spokesmen, the Regional Committee men tried to stop the employer from discussing the dispute with them. After they had withdrawn, the employer got in touch with the union directly and the dispute was settled.

At Amato Mills in Benoni, the Labour Department officials told the workers that they must leave the union and bring their complaints to the Regional Committee.

Employers who operate stop orders in favour of African trade unions have been told to withdraw such stop orders. In the case of food canning factories on the

Reef, employers were actually told such stop orders were illegal. Only after the union concerned had confronted the Department with this untrue statement was the ruling altered and the employer told that deductions of trade union dues may continue.

Since the passing of the act it is worth noting that the Labour Department, whenever a group of organised African workers are involved in a dispute, loses all interest in its primary role, that of conciliation. The only aspect which then interests the Department is that of instituting a prosecution. This was so in the Jolly-Dolly Toy dispute. In the Peanut Products dispute, which is still on at the moment of writing, the Department announced its decision that the workers are engaged on an illegal strike before even hearing statements from the workers on their allegation that they were locked out. One is forced to infer from this behaviour that its aim is to prevent organised workers from making gains, that the intention is "to teach them a lesson."

It must be remembered that the Nationalists and their henchmen pretend to the world that this act is part of that political fraud, "positive apartheid." It is supposed to help African workers to improve conditions and settle disputes without the benefits of trade unions and collective bargaining. What is the truth? After the Act has been in operation for two years, precisely one order has been made in terms of it. This lone effort relates to the Dairy Trade in Johannesburg. But ever since 1945 wages in this trade have been fixed by means of arbitration awards in terms of War Measure 145. We would, therefore, have had such an award even if the Act had not been passed.

We know of two other instances in which the Act was applied. That of the Durban dockers is well known. It will be remembered that after threats of force and eviction from their quarters these workers accepted an employer's offer. Afterwards, when the offer was put into effect the workers said that the employer's interpretation of it was not what had been put to them and what they had agreed to. The workers believed they had been tricked into going back to work. Yet this instance was called a triumph for the machinery established under the act.

In the Dairy Trade in Durban the Natal Dairy Workers Union started to organise the African workers in the trade. When the employers got to know of this they quickly assembled a few of the boss-boys as spokesmen for the workers. The Native Labour officials were then called in and an agreement made giving the workers

an increase of a few shillings a month. They were then told how good their bosses were and that they must not join the union.

Answering a question during the last Session of Parliament, Minister de Klerk had to admit that in two years precisely four "works committees" had been established in terms of the Act. It is the responsibility of the African members of the Regional Committees to propagate such committees. In Johannesburg trade unionists have met these hand-picked gentlemen only once. They were attending court at the trial of the striking golf caddies. The prosecutor said they were there to learn how the Act works. They heard half of these children—those under 16 years of age—sentenced to a whipping. Did they think at all that these kids were in court because they had rejected everything the Native Labour Act and the Committee men created by it, stand for?

Workers have learnt that despite this Act, they can still win better conditions. So, for example, the caddies. After paying their fines, or receiving their strokes, they did get the higher wages and better rations they went on strike for.

We have also learnt that many employers in industry are not interested in "positive apartheid." Confronted by united and determined workers, with a good leadership, employers are often quite prepared to settle disputes by direct negotiation. The most effective way to resist the act is by having active and trained shop-stewards in factories, acting together as a factory committee. These workers must know what to do if a dispute arises, and disputes involving work stoppages often come about quite suddenly. They must be able to win the confidence of the employer because he knows that they have the support of the workers.

Not all employers are amenable. Many are anxious to take advantage of the act. If workers of other races think that this is a matter which does not concern them then they should realise that some employers are actually getting rid of Coloured and other workers, so that, by taking on African workers they can enjoy the benefits which this Act gives to the unscrupulous employer.

Schoeman said that when his act starts working, African workers will lose interest in trade unions, and the unions would die. On the evidence it cannot be refuted that the African workers have already lost interest in this act. They are in fact realising that *because* of this act they need trade union organisation more than ever before.

Before the act came into force the trade unions could only say to the workers: "This act is meant to keep your wages down, to prevent you from struggling for a better life." Today thousands of workers know, from personal experience, that this indeed is the function of the act. As word of its operation spreads, its rejection will become general. The trade union movement has a duty to publicise each application of the act and its results as widely as possible. This must not only be linked with the question of wages and working conditions but with that of freedom from political repression. The ultimate aim of this act is, as both Schoeman and Dr. Albert Hertzog made clear when Parliament debated it, to prevent African workers from realising that unity can win, not only concessions from employers, but freedom as well.

I PREDICT that within a year after this scheme (in the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act) has been in operation, there will be very few trade unions left."

The Minister of Labour reported in *Hansard*, August 1953.

★ MOKGOMANA ON ETHNIC GROUPING ★

The Nats. Fan Tribalism

ETHNIC GROUPING is the natural product of the apartheid policy of the present government. It must appear to them to be the only sensible plan for the housing of Africans in urban areas. The urban African, so runs the argument, has very strong ties with his members of kin. In spite of outside appearances, he is essentially a tribalist. He likes to live with members of his tribal group. He has a keen sense of loyalty to traditional leaders (e.g. the chiefs) and bows down to traditional authority instinctively. The present careless and haphazard way of housing urban Africans means that the African finds himself in a strange atmosphere; living in a strange environment, with strange neighbours who speak a strange language. His child grows up in a strange surrounding, goes to a strange school together with strange class-mates, and is taught by a strange teacher who more often than not, does not speak his own language. Social life is hindered, if not altogether rendered impossible because a MoSotho cannot enjoy a measure of freedom and intimate social life with a Zulu, a Xhosa, a Shangaan, a Venda, or a Chopi. This makes for isolationist behaviour patterns. It causes unnecessary strife and friction. Where and when friction occurs, individuals take sides according to ethnic affiliations.

Back to Tribalism

Secondly, say the protagonists of ethnic grouping, Africans have a fascinating social, religious and political background. They can boast of one of the finest social structures in the world, a society in which no man could hunger while his neighbours lived in plenty, or thirst while others drank to their satisfaction. Even strangers and passersby shared in the common meal. Under the impact of western civilisation many Africans in urban areas, particularly the intelligentsia, tend to look down on their past. They tend to despise anything "African." This is a pity because Africans, even urban Africans, ought to "*develop along their own lines.*" Their education ought to develop along Bantu cultural lines rather than along western lines which are alien to his true nature. Given a chance "ethnic grouping" will help to cultivate and develop in them a love of African languages and culture. In that way they will become the architects of their own progress and future. It will help them to live like real Africans, proud of their being. Then they will stop mimicking the White man, a thing which makes them mere caricatures of the latter. Then they will stop making impossible demands like "Votes for all;" "Equal pay for equal work;" "Equal distribution of the land;" "Universal education for all;" and so on. What is more, there will be no Sisulu to think of visiting Europe and the Eastern countries. There will be no Stephen Ramasodi trying to go to Kent High School in the U.S.A. There will be no co-operation between Zulu and Sotho (or, as they are wont to say: "Nguni and Sotho"); let alone interracial co-operation of the type recently demonstrated at Kliptown.

In other words, "ethnic grouping" is a desperate plan to put a stop to African progress and development.

All the arguments adduced in its favour are puerile and barren. They are meant to cloud the issue. The truth is that ethnic grouping is a backward plan aimed at throwing the urban Africans back into their outmoded tribalism. It is a crude plan born of unscrupulous politicians who are desperately trying to fight against the natural course of history.

Ethnic grouping is a technique of domination. Through it the Nationalists hope to achieve for apartheid what previous governments since Union failed to achieve through "segregation," "trusteeship," and "Christian Trusteeship." It is aimed primarily at smashing and breaking up the power and influence of the African National Congress. It is aimed at smashing the liberatory struggle. It is the Nationalists' version of "divide and rule" via tribalism—and tribalism is the antithesis of African unity and solidarity.

According to the policy statement of the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, "There are a number of advantages attached to the ethnic grouping system.

Thus in the field of education: "The education of children in the home language will be simplified and improved. Schools can be so sited that they are within easy reach of the children of the same ethnic group. It will lead to the development of an intensified community spirit."

Dividing the Children

Theoretically it is very difficult to disagree with the above assertion. It seems so obvious that mother-tongue instruction is the only effective way of teaching children at school. But we have the example of the Language Ordinance in the Transvaal which has kraaled off English-speaking children from Afrikaans-speaking children at school against the wishes of the parents. The result has been a deterioration of race relations on the other side of the colour line. Dr. Verwoerd wants to import these animosities into the African community. Ethnic grouping in the educational field is not intended to simplify the task of the teacher, less still, to make the education of African children "simplified and improved." The aim is to make them wear blinkers so that they cannot see beyond the narrow horizon of tribalism. The next thing is that Zulu pupils, attending a Zulu school, will be taught such rubbish as "Zulus are the strongest and bravest amongst the natives. Xhosas are thieves. The Sotho are timid and weak", etc. In fact this is the type of trite talk the Minister of Native Affairs is reported to have spoken on the banks of the Olifants river when he held his "Indaba" with Pedi chiefs. He is reported to have asked: "Would you like your daughters to be married to Shangaans?" In this he was trying to justify his holding "Indabas" along ethnic lines. (Note that he uses the Zulu term "Indaba" to a Pedi audience; a contradiction of ethnic grouping when applied linguistically.) Obviously, under the system of ethnic grouping, teachers will be selected not on the basis of qualifications or professional suitability but on the basis of tribalism.

This will naturally lead to narrow parochialism and the serving of sectional interests. Far from leading to "the development of an intensified community spirit," it will lead to fracas and factional fights, much to the amusement of the Verwoerds, Eiselens, Cooks and de Villiers.

What of social centres like the Bantu Men's Social Centre, the Donaldson Community Centre, and the Davey Social Centre, to mention only a few? Will there be a night for the Nguni, one for the Sotho, and another for miscellaneous groups? Or are these centres going to be duplicated according to the number of ethnic groups catered for in the location? If not, these centres will undo ethnic grouping. Obviously sporting activities will have to be organised along the lines of ethnic grouping if the scheme is to achieve its purpose. Just as a European boxer is not allowed to fight against an African boxer, perhaps under ethnic grouping Zulu boxers may not be able to fight against Sotho boxers, let alone Coloured and Indian boxers.

Appointing Tribal Leaders

There is talk of "Tribal Discipline." This is obviously linked with the Bantu Authorities Act. This presupposes that it is possible to reconstruct and recreate tribal life in urban areas. Paradoxically the Bantu Authorities Act is in itself a terse admission that tribal life as it was known and practised in the days of Tshaka, Ndlambi, Kgama, Moshesh, Sekkukhune, Mantatise and Modjadji, the Rain Queen, is a thing of the past; and it is the White man himself who destroyed tribal life and undermined tribal authority. He is doing so today in spite of Verwoerdism. The question is: Can it be re-established? Never! Says the Eiselen Commission's Report (page 21; para. 101): "The change in the status of the individual from the old order to the new has been radical." With this statement I agree. "Under the traditional tribal system the individual was bound in every way to the family and the tribe for his personal security as well as economic, religious and social well-being. The individual as such could not exist alone. *Today the individual is free, within wide limits, to earn his living quite independently of the family and he may do so at a great distance from his relatives. His geographical freedom allows him to cushion, if not entirely to discount the disapproval and possible action of his family.*" (The italics are mine.) This individuality has in fact come to stay and no amount of "ethnic grouping" can stop it. This Drs. Eiselen and Cook of the Native Affairs Department know and accept as an irrefutable fact. But as political functionaries, however, they have no choice but to recommend antiquated and outmoded tribalism.

Under the heading "Tribal Discipline," Minister Verwoerd says: "(b) Inhabitants will look up to their leaders who derive their influence from their status in the tribe of the district of origin." This envisages the abolition of the Urban Areas Consolidated Act with its Advisory Boards and Advisory Boards Congresses. There will indeed be no need for these mock elections. The government of the day will choose the so-called leaders according to "their status in the tribe of the district of origin." This latter revelation gives the lie to the supposed broad basis of ethnic grouping as outlined by the government, namely that there are "two main groups, 'Nguni' and 'Sotho'." This cannot be true if the leaders must "derive their influence from their status in the tribe of the district of origin." The intention is clearly not "ethnic grouping" but "tribal grouping."

As for Bantu Authorities, far from enjoying local

autonomy, they are to be given "some measure of self-government." This means that the highest Bantu Authority will have to be subservient to the lowest white official in the hierarchy of the Native Affairs Department. The constitution of bodies to replace the present "Advisory Boards will be based on principles which are understood by the Bantu." Which are these "principles which are understood by the Bantu?" Can there be any difference in "principles" governing the life of a boy born in Sophiatown and another born in Newlands?

The tendency in African organisations today is towards allowing women a share in the struggle for national independence. Women are sometimes preponderant over men in A.N.C. conferences. They are allowed all the privileges of membership, including the right to participate in elections. The protagonists of "ethnic grouping" want African women "to be seen and not heard." They must have been disappointed to see so many active women in the now historic Congress of the People held at Klipfontown on the 25th and 26th June, 1955.

Will ethnic grouping succeed? From the point of view of getting people to occupy houses under the scheme, YES! Mofolo and Daveytown are good examples. So long as the housing muddle continues, many Africans will ignore principles in favour of personal convenience and relative comfort. This cannot be otherwise. One could hardly expect a family to prefer slum conditions to a nice cottage at Dube, Mofolo, or Daveytown.

The Fight for Unity

Where the whole scheme is going to fall is in achieving the aims of the government, namely—the enslavement of the African people; the destruction of national organisations like the A.N.C., and the scuttling of the liberatory struggle. Like Canute, they might as well command the sea to recede or the earth to stop rotating. *The forward march to freedom will continue.* Yes, Africans have already given their answer to ethnic grouping. They rejected G. W. Prinsloo's rondavel scheme at Vlaktefontein, Pretoria. The few rondavels that are now occupied are today an eye-sore to what looks like an ugly and retrogressive township with antiquated lavatories, walls without plaster and rooms with no flooring. In this way the "Malapa" scheme of Prinsloo died in Vlaktefontein only to be brought to life, in an improved form, at Mofolo and Daveytown. For that matter the Minister says: "Even in existing locations, ethnic grouping should be applied systematically. When houses are rebuilt or become vacant and are allowed to Natives belonging to the ethnic group for which that area in which the house is situated, has been zoned." Just imagine a house vacant in Hillbrow with a notice on the door reading: "Only Jews need apply."

Africans have "defied unjust laws;" they have rejected the Bantu Authorities Act, the Bantu Education Act, and other discriminatory legislation in no uncertain terms. They are today waging a titanic struggle against the iniquitous Bantu Education Act—that in spite of government pressure. The African of today knows fully well the meaning and significance of "United We Stand, and Divided We Fall." His reply to the proposed ethnic grouping is:

"Freedom in our life time!"
 "Tokologo ka nako ya rena!"
 "Inkululeko nge xesha lethu!"
 "MAIBUYE AFRIKA!"

A Piece of Ground and a Privy

"SIDE AND SERVICE." What would it mean outside South Africa? As in the case of other unpleasant phenomena relating to the conditions of living for NonEuropeans, it would probably not be understood in other countries. Perhaps it has different meanings for different people? To Verwoerd it means a speedy round-up of urban Africans into vast controlled squatters camps, under the pretext of a housing scheme—which it is not; to the City Council it means a saving of face and an appeasement of the Government, a pretence of solving the housing problem—another shack this year—a house next year? Sometime? Never? It has the undoubted merit of being a cheap solution; it costs the Council very little,

African people. This is the culmination of a long and shameful history.

Housing Backlog

It goes back over 50 years to the time when the African people were moved to Pimville, 14 miles

By
HELEN JOSEPH

from the town where they worked, moved to "temporary" shelters—until such time as the City Council should be in a position to erect permanent houses. Today, 50 years later, the second generation still awaits those

rooms, in grossly, dangerously overcrowded conditions. An upheaval followed inevitably; homes can stand just so much overcrowding and no more. The flimsy walls of the Africans' houses and shanties were strained to bursting point, and the people overflowed. The result was the Moroka "Temporary" Emergency Camp and—the Orlando Shelters. This was no planned housing, but planned slumming. The war was the official reason for the delay in building the houses. "We'll win the war first and then we'll build homes for the heroes." Possibly heroism was considered to be yet another herrenvolkk quality. The war has been over for ten years and the African people still wait in the Shelters and Moroka, while Johannesburg's Non-European housing creeps on, a few thousand houses here, a few thousand houses there.

And with the rise of nationalism to power, the situation changed and became sinister. For it was no longer a question of homes for the homeless, the fulfilling of a long overdue responsibility to the hundreds of thousands of workers contributing through their labour to Johannesburg's prosperity. The ugly menacing word "control" came to be spoken openly by Verwoerd and his fellows. The Mentz Report appeared, that overall plan to draw almost all urban Africans into a vast controlled transit camp; for let there be no misunderstanding, Verwoerd wants the urban African as migrant labour; he is prepared to extend the term of labour to cover a man's working life, no longer. When the African is too old or too ill to work, or unable to find work, then he must be driven out of Johannesburg. The Western Areas Removal Scheme was proposed, opposed—and implemented. The trek to the south western areas began, the trek to the "controlled" areas. But despite all this, Verwoerd waxed impatient; the control was not being applied quickly enough. Public protest had forced him to provide houses for the uprooted people of the Western Areas, but time could not be wasted in build-

THEIR OWN WORDS

"THE Government can give no guarantee of the amount of funds which will be made available for purely housing purposes, but it has been indicated that if the Council makes satisfactory progress with site and service schemes, it will get its rightful allocation of available housing funds."

From a Department of Native Affairs letter to the Johannesburg City Council.

"Profits from the sale of kaffir beer in the Vereeniging municipal brewery at Sharpe Native Township are to be used to finance in part the Native site-and-service scheme."

Press report.

"The Minister of Native Affairs and the department regard the establishment of site-and-service schemes as the most practical method of tackling the problem of housing and of obtaining the most effective control of Natives within a short period."

Circular from the Department of Native Affairs.

"No public meeting may be held without giving the superintendent 72 hours' notice in advance, no public meeting of entertainment may continue after 11 p.m. without the approval of the superintendent"

From the regulations for the site-and-service camps.

and most of that little is recoverable from the unfortunate victims. But to the African people it means the perpetuation of the present shameful conditions of housing, a further evasion of the responsibility to provide housing for the underpaid workers, who can afford neither to build their own homes, nor to pay economic rentals.

Once more the City Council has capitulated at the expense of the

permanent houses. Long after the Pimville "resettlement" came World War II. By this time municipal housing schemes had been started; Orlando, the "model" township was up and occupied, but economic pressure and the demands of industrial expansion had not waited for the houses and hundreds of thousands of Africans were already in Johannesburg, living as and how they could—in back yard

ing for thousands of others, the African people must be re-herded, not re-housed, in the iniquitous site and service scheme. No matter that many Moroka shacks, through years of patient endeavour and saving, had been transformed into homes—let the people build again, they had done it before, they would need only twenty-four hours to erect a shelter, only £35 to provide a home for the family. But what can be obtained for £35? "A few sheets of corrugated iron and some poles," say the experts. And forgotten are the pie-crust promises that the Council would build houses "within a few years" for the residents of Moroka and Orlando. And Pimville? The echo of another generation. Now the African people must move, but build for themselves, with a borrowed £35—or else? But to that question there is as yet no answer. Verwoerd has cracked the whip, and the move has begun.

Ground and a Privy

What is it, this site and service scheme? It is a piece of ground and a privy. It is a tap and a trough and a loan of £35 worth of building material; the Africans must provide their own labour and pay back the £35. And the cost—to the tenant—of this "serviced" site, which he will never own? Thirty shillings a month—not for life, but for as long as he is allowed to live on it. Thirty shillings a month! Yet the City Council admits that at least 60% of the present residents of Moroka and Orlando are in the "sub economic" group (by Verwoerd's own standards) earning less than £15 per month, admits that more 20% are "sub-sub economic," unable to afford any rent at all, and admits that in the Orlando Shelters alone there are over 600 widows, struggling lonely women, whose income is less than £5 a month! And once again we hear the City Council harp on the same old string—the ratio of rent to income should be not more than one-fifth—and it twangs as falsely as ever, ignoring the fundamental assumptions that "income" means an economic income and that the one-fifth is a maximum, a ceiling. Now it is proclaimed as a virtue that the Council will remit the difference between one-fifth of the earnings and 30/- a month. How does it work out?

If the income is £7 10s. a month, the tenant will pay 30/- (plus 12/6 to repay the £35 loan, for it is hardly likely that on such an income a man will be able to find money himself). And this will leave him £5/7/6 a month for himself and his family! And the widow whose income is not more than £5 a month? £1 for rent, and 12/6 to repay the loan and £3/2/6 to live on. But let not the 600 widows lose heart, for they "may be given further consideration in due course." Perhaps the Council could also answer the pertinent question; from what resources will the 60% of sub economic families be able to build their own permanent homes?

And what is this "rental" of 30/-? It is made up of a number of items, capital charges, administration expenses, sanitary services, water supply, maintenance of roads, medical services and schools. And 10/-, one third, goes to administration, the cost of the location officials influx control and the permit system; medical services will take 2/-, although the Health Department claims that 5/- represents the cost. Once again the poorest section of the community is to pay for the cost of illness, to pay for the privilege of health to earn inadequate wages. And then the final crack of the Verwoerdian whip—2/- to pay for Bantu Education Schools!

"Houses. Security and Comfort"

Were the site and service scheme and its implications not so vicious, so tragic, the present blandishments of the City Council, its sales talk, would be almost laughable. For the African people are indicating quite clearly and unequivocally that they mistrust this site and service scheme, regard it as a repetition of Pimville, of Moroka, of Orlando Shelters; they have no faith in Council promises to build houses within the next few years. Have they not heard these tales before? They regard this scheme quite correctly as a long term policy to compel the urban African population to build their own houses with their own materials and their own labour, regardless of low wages and the struggle to meet the high cost of living. But the City Council cajoles, threatens, "Help us. Move onto the new sites, into the new slums, build your own shelters — or else you'll lose your chance of a house—if we ever build any. See, we give you presents—a

"THE site-and-service" scheme is a blatant evasion by the City Council and the Government of their housing responsibilities. The poor are being forced to build their own homes, and by any civilised standards this is an unheard-of precedent."

*"We demand
freehold tenure*

*land to be made available
for those who can afford to
build their own homes*

Council-built houses at reasonable rentals."

*From the Memorandum
of the Moroka Residents'
Housing Action
Committee.*

lavatory pail and a dustbin." Indeed, fitting gifts for such a sorry scheme. "A passport to a new life and a new hope" hailed the Press, but the pail and the dustbin represent no more than a move to a new shanty town and to the end of hope that the Council will provide the sorely needed houses.

This site and service scheme bears all the hallmarks of Verwoerdian policy: the African people, the lowest paid of all, must provide their own houses, must pay for their own schools, must be denied ownership of land and security of tenure, must risk being endorsed out of Johannesburg through unemployment and away from the houses they have built, must be screened for the privilege of being allowed to build these homes (whether they can or cannot afford to build), must be segregated, not only from the White people but from each other in "ethnic" groups, must submit to permits and location control, must forfeit the fundamental human right to a decent home in return for their labours. "Forward to Shantytown!" cries Verwoerd and the City Council echoes faithfully. "Forward to Freedom!" cry the people, and out of the shacks and the shanties, the new and the old, rise the demands of the people, loud and clear:

"All people shall have the right to live where they choose . . . Slums shall be abolished . . . THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT."

LIGHT ON AFRICA

ALGERIA IS NOT FRANCE

By **DESMOND BUCKLE**

FOR a very long time—in fact, for nearly seventy-five years—the French imperialists have been pretending that the North African territory, Algeria, which they annexed during the 19th Century, is simply an extension of France into Africa. Since 1881 when the three northern departments of Algeria — Algiers, Oran and Constantine—were declared to constitute an integral part of metropolitan France the imperialists have contended that Algeria is France. By telling them that they have been “assimilated,” the French colonisers sought to deny the validity of the national aspirations of the Algerian people.

The imperialists claimed that, in sharp contrast to their North African neighbours of Tunisia and Morocco, the Algerians were well satisfied with the “benefits” of French rule. Right up to November 1, 1954, Algeria was the one African territory in the French Empire from which the dispatches, the imperialists confidently expected, would continue to say, “Rien à signaler” (Nothing to report).

The French colonialists were, therefore, taken completely by surprise when in the early hours of that November day Algerian patriots, rising in revolt against conditions which had become intolerable despite all claims to the contrary, launched attacks at thirty different points, mainly police posts, in the department of Constantine.

Crude Evasions

The French authorities in Algeria made crude attempts to explain away this revolt. They blamed the attacks on Tunisian fellagha who, they alleged, had crossed over the border from Tunisia where French Army units were conducting a punitive campaign against them.

They claimed, further, that the attacks were “ordered from abroad” and declared that documents had been found on the body of a fellagha leader, issued from the Algerian Liberation Committee in Cairo. They also said that pamphlets had been discovered in the troubled area echoing the propaganda of the Arab League.

The French Government thereupon sent a strongly worded protest to the Egyptian Government demanding action against the radio “Voice of the Arabs” which, the Note contended, had been extolling the activities of those who are opposed to French rule.

In some French imperialist circles the assertion was made that the British intelligence service was to blame, as it encourages Libyan gun-runners who keep the Tunisian fellagha supplied with arms. These circles expressed the opinion that the protest should have been directed to London rather than to Cairo.

However, these manoeuvres could do nothing to deny the fact that the people of Algeria, like those of Tunisia and Morocco and, indeed, like all colonial people, feel that they have had more than enough of

colonialism. The Algerians, despite the docility claimed for them by the French imperialists, have always struggled against the arbitrary definition of the status of their country while it was treated just like any other colony. And with the help of the French working class they succeeded in winning important concessions in the post-war constitution of the French Union.

From 1947, in theory at least, Algeria was to be ruled on the basis of a special statute which recognises its status as a separate country. In practice the French authorities have continued to take drastic action against any movement which conducts its activities on the strength of this special statute. Indeed, almost the first step taken by the French Council of Ministers following the outbreak of Algerian revolt (which their own officials had said was the work of Tunisians and not of Algerians) was to ban the M.T.L.D. (Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties) which aimed at achieving “home rule” for Algeria.

It may be recalled that the predecessor of this mass organisation, the P.P.A. (Algerian People's Party) was dissolved in 1939 for the same “offence” of advocating autonomy for Algeria. The reasons given by the French authorities in both cases were that the three departments of Algeria, being integral parts of France, are not only subject to the common law, like the metropolitan departments, but are also governed expressly by a law passed in 1936. This law forbids the formation of all associations or groups “whose aim is to attack the integrity of the national territory.”

But Algerians are not Frenchmen and no decree can make them so. As the Paris newspaper *Combat* (June 8, 1955) says:

“It is not enough to proclaim that Algeria constitutes three departments like La Lozère or L'Aveyron in order that all may be well.”

A Colony in Fact

The Algerian people know from their own experiences that their country is in fact a colony of imperialist France and that they are its colonial subjects. French settlers have taken seven times the land available to the Algerian people. The Government itself has alienated more than twice as much land as the people own. Large numbers of Algerians are forced to hire themselves out for work as agricultural labourers for the settlers. They are paid a meagre 300-400 francs (6s. to 7s.) for working day of 12 hours. For them it is either this kind of toil or unemployment, and the ranks of the unemployed have swelled to one and a half million.

Little wonder, then, that large numbers of Algerians emigrate to France. Since 1947, the number of Algerians in France has steadily increased so that there are now over 300,000. They work as navvies, peddlers, small traders and farm labourers. A third of these Algerians in France live in Paris in wretched conditions. The average monthly earnings of an Algerian

in France is about 20,000 francs (£20) the annual income of a fellah family in Algeria.

The total population of Algeria is about 10 million. The indigenous peoples (Arab and Berber) account for nine-tenths, while the other one-tenth are Frenchmen and other Europeans. For electoral purposes the country is divided into two Colleges, the first consisting almost entirely of Europeans, and the other of the indigenous population.

The First College, with the votes of one-tenth of the population, sends as many deputies to the French National Assembly as does the Second College with the votes of nine-tenths of the population. The same undemocratic allocation of seats is repeated in the Council of the Republic, the Assembly of the French Union, and the Algerian Assembly. It is even more undemocratic in the municipal councils, where the First College accounts for three-fifths of the councillors as against two-fifths from the Second College. More often than not deputies and councillors elected by the Second College are stooges forced upon the electorate by all forms of trickery on the part of the administration.

The social services of Algeria, particularly housing, health and education, are at such a primitive level that the claim that Algeria is France becomes all the more ridiculous. In no case is this more emphasised than in the sphere of public education. Only twenty per cent. of all Algerian children of school age receive any education. Official figures admit that only 430,000 out of 2,200,000 children between the ages of six and fourteen go to school. The language of instruction is French; the language spoken by the vast majority of the population, Arabic, is treated as a foreign language.

The Only Escape

It is not surprising, then, that Algerians should at last find that revolt is the only means left to them to find a way of escape from such conditions. And it was no accident—certainly not the work of Tunisians—that the outbreak should have occurred in the Aurès and Kabylie mountain regions, where resistance to foreign rule has always been strong.

Having despatched strong forces heavily armed with automatic weapons, tanks and planes, to the area, the French imperialists counted upon isolating the revolt and crushing it quickly. However, the Algerian Army of Liberation began rapidly to win the support and sym-

pathy of the mass of the people. The cruelties perpetrated by the French civil and military authorities, which have been compared with the enormities of the Gestapo during the war, have only made the people more bitter opponents of colonialism.

Events in Algeria took a sharp turn for the worse in the middle of May when the French authorities suspended civil liberties over more than a third of the country and augmented their forces of repression to over 100,000 men. In order to do this they sent in troops fresh from Indo-China, and withdrew from Western Germany a whole motorised division which had been committed to N.A.T.O. Governor-General Jacques Soustelle, Gaullist and former secret agent, noted for his ruthlessness, put into operation a policy of "pitiless severity."

Pitiless Repression

After a tour of Algeria, M. Bourges-Manoury, French Minister of the Interior, declared in a speech at Constantine that the Government was determined to exterminate the rebels "to the last man." "There will be no truce and no pity for those who have rebelled against the laws of the Republic," he added.

The French authorities have admitted that the forces opposed to them in the Aures mountains number no more than 1,500. Against this tiny force they have massed over 100,000 troops including some of France's best regiments, like the Chasseurs Alpins.

A large number of Aurès and Kabylie villages have been razed to the ground by gunfire or dynamiting as a collective punishment. Thousands fill the prisons and the concentration camps, which are located in the desert. With grim humour the authorities call these camps "lodging centres."

Despite the tribulations through which they are passing the Algerian people are steadfast in their refusal to tolerate colonialism any longer. *L'Agence France Presse* (June 2, 1955) reports that more and more young people are fleeing into the mountains to join the maquis.

The French colonialists have sparked off something in Algeria which their experiences in Indo-China should have warned them against. Even the aggressive colonialist journal, *La Dépêche quotidienne d'Alger*, warns that "to maintain order" it would be necessary to have "a soldier per square metre" in the Aurès mountains. And that is only a part—a very small part—of Algeria.

LETTER FROM A CONCENTRATION CAMP

A letter recently reached Paris from detainees in a camp at Guelt Es Stel in Algeria.

"We are 101 at the Guelt Es Stel concentration camp, which has been named for the requirements of the case 'lodging centre.' We arrived in army lorries after several days of detention in various barracks in the department. Leaving at 4.30 in the morning we arrived at 6.45 in the evening. A number of us fainted as a result of hunger, the journey, the heat, etc. Among us there is a blind man with a white stick, old men, consumptives, very young people. Some have never taken part in politics and have been taken away simply on denunciation. We have been arrested by virtue of the 'state of emergency' for having 'sought to impede the action of the public authorities' and on the other hand we have received, on May 6th, a personal requisition order, in execution of the directions of Article 121 of the law of the 11th July, 1938, on general

organisation of the nation in time of war. We wish to know, at war against whom?"

As soon as they arrived these men were told to take up picks and shovels, by virtue of the requisition order. But all 101 of them refused. On this refusal they were told that they would have to pay for their food and would have to advance 5,000 francs (£5) each.

All this time the families of the detainees have been without support. The conditions under which the men are detained are deplorable. They are housed in frail military tents, exposed to sand-storms, to the tropical heat, to freezing cold at night, snakes and scorpions which swarm over the ground in this part of the South.

"We want you to know that it is slow death in this camp," concludes the letter from the 101 detainees of Guelt Es Stel.

EINSTEIN, A UNIVERSE-BUILDER

ALBERT EINSTEIN who died at the age of 76 on April 18, was one of the greatest scientists mankind has ever known. He was an intellectual giant, a fervent lover of peace and of his fellow men, a champion of human liberty.

He towered above his scientific colleagues like a colossus. In his eighth decade he defied the dark forces of McCarthyism with dignity and high courage.

A generation ago, George Bernard Shaw described him as "one of the eight universe-builders in history."

For, like Aristotle, Ptolemy, Copernicus, Pythagoras,

Galileo, Kepler and Newton, his thought soared to the farthest limits of time and space, enriching the sum of human knowledge with brilliant discoveries and audacious theories.

In 1949 this genius, who saw the logic of socialism, wrote: "Human society is passing through a crisis... The economic anarchy of capitalist society as it exists today is, in my opinion, the real source of evil..."

Here is the tribute paid by another of the world's leading scientists, J. B. S. Haldane of Britain:

By J. B. S. HALDANE

EINSTEIN will mainly be remembered for his theory of relativity, which has been accepted by almost all physicists, and constitutes a clean break with the theory which had dominated physics since Newton's time.

It can be summarized in many ways. The simplest is perhaps as follows:

Space and time have no absolute being of their own. They are a framework for the material changes. People with different motions give different accounts of these changes.

Two events which seem to happen at the same time to a man in England will seem to happen at slightly different times to a man in New Zealand.

But it is possible to specify a joint framework of space and time which removes this contradiction.

By overcoming the contradiction one gets a great deal nearer to reality, and finds out new properties of matter, for example, that a moving object weighs more than a resting one.

What was more important, Einstein calculated just how much more it weighs.

Unfortunately the most important application of this knowledge has been to the production of atomic bombs.

One can calculate the energy to be got from splitting an atom of uranium or plutonium from the weight lost when it is split.

Besides this work, Einstein did a number of other calculations, any one of which would have given him an international reputation, for example, on the relation between the speed at which electrons are emitted from a metal and the wavelength of the light which forces them out.

Swiss Born

EINSTEIN was born in Switzerland, and settled down to work in Germany.

He was of Jewish origin, and felt the growth of anti-Semitism long before Hitler came to power. He emigrated to the United States, and became a citizen of them.

But though he worked very hard, the work which he did there was much less important than what he had done in Europe.

He early began to protest against injustices done in the United States—for example, the imprisonment of Tom Mooney—and in his last years he was quite an embarrassment to the U.S. government.

On August 2, 1939, he wrote a letter to President Roosevelt pointing out that it was possible to construct atom bombs and drawing attention to the fact that Hitler had just prohibited the export of the uranium which he had seized in Czechoslovakia.

This letter did not urge the U.S. to make atomic bombs. It was rather a warning that the Nazis might make them. But it certainly played a part in deciding the U.S. government to make them.

"Debasement"

HIS last pronouncement on the subject which I have read was his letter to C. N. Martin the author of a French book on the danger to all humanity of atomic explosions.

I quote a passage from it:

"Your work on numerical data as to nuclei is most valuable, and I thank you very much for sending it to me. But still more important is your note on the menace to life of the cumulative action of experimental atomic explosions."

He was not, however, very clear what could be done to avert this menace.

He was sure that scientists should not help to make instruments of destruction. In his message to Italian scientists in 1950 he wrote:

"He debases himself so far as to

help, under orders, to perfect enormously the means for the total destruction of men. Should a man of science allow himself to be dragged so low? . . . A man who is free internally, and conscious can be killed, but not reduced to slavery and transformed into a blind instrument."

Unhappy Man

OTHER men, such as Joliot-Curie, who played a more direct part than Einstein in the discovery of atomic fission, support a definite plan for the prohibition of such weapons.

Einstein probably died an unhappy man. He had seen his life's work applied to wholesale killing, and he saw no clear way out of this horrible situation.

The world will mourn a very great man who saw further into the nature of matter than anyone had seen before him.

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aged that Papagos, the Greek dictator, is strongly in favour of Enosis. In fact, in May 1954, he said that he did not want Enosis, but a constitution for Cyprus. But his government has been forced to bow before the emphatic demand of the Greek people, on their side, for union with their fellow Greeks in Cyprus.

It may be asked why the people of Cyprus should want to bring themselves under the dictatorship of Papagos? That question is easily answered. The government of Papagos is not an eternal institution. Governments come, and go, and certain it is that the organised, democratically inspired people of colonial Cyprus would only hasten the day of Papagos's going, if once Cyprus was united with Greece in a single Greek national union. For the Cypriot fighters against foreign imperialism, Enosis is not the end, but the beginning of the great surge forwards to democracy and human liberty.

CYPRUS STRUGGLE

By S. TRAPIDO

FROM the streets of Dublin to the alleys of Nicosia, the British Empire has retreated a long way. Like the Bourbons, they have seen all and learned nothing. The colonial people have everywhere resisted their oppression. From Dublin, through Delhi and Tel Aviv, colonialism has been rejected. Now in the streets of Famagusta and Nicosia the Greek people of Cyprus demonstrate again that the days of colonialism are numbered.

The struggle for democracy on the mainland goes on side by side with the Cypriot fight for national liberation. It has been a long fight which began before Cyprus first came under British rule in the nineteenth century. In 1882 Cyprus was granted what Whitehall cynics called a "constitution." But during the 49 years of the operation of this constitution, not one single bill was passed by the so-called Legislative Assembly. In 1931 when the Governor's tax legislation was rejected by the Assembly, it was in typical fashion made law by decree. The outraged Cypriots protested vehemently and the British met these demands by replacing the mockery of a constitution with a military dictatorship.

This was the situation presented to the post-war Labour Government. Labour offered Cyprus a constitution where the majority of members would be elected. However, there were snags. The executive was to be appointed by the governor who also had the right to veto any legislation passed by the assembly. The offer was rejected out of hand.

No Independence

Within a little while, however, the Churchill Tory administration was looking for "men of goodwill." To a Cyprus asking for democracy the Minister of State for the Colonies had the following insult to offer: a legislature containing official and nominated members who together would have a majority over elected members. The Minister stated categorically "we cannot contemplate a change in the sovereignty of Cyprus." He then went on to put an end to any idea that the policy of the British government would lead the colonies to self government, by declaring that certain commonwealth countries could never expect to be fully independent.

Yet why this finality? What has brought about the need to stifle all hope of Cyprus gaining her national liberation? The answer is a very simple one. The government of Greece, like the British domination of Cyprus, exists by the grace of American dollars. Cyprus has become a vital link in the chain of aggressive bases that surround the socialist countries. The people of Cyprus, however, long ago rejected participation in a new imperialist war, when, for example, over 100,000 people signed a peace petition in 1950. Since the people of Cyprus would not come into the camp of the aggressors of their own free will, they are being forced to give over their island as a base.

This brings fearful consequences to the people of Cyprus in this age of nuclear warfare. Long before, the Tory M.P., Major Legge Bourke had said: "If the arguments for removing ourselves from Egypt because of H-Bomb vulnerability are applied to Cyprus, the position of Cyprus becomes terrifying." The Cypriots are very conscious of the position that confronts them.

In vain the British Government looks for these "men of goodwill" to help in the subjection of Cypriot national aspirations to the military-political aims of the Anglo-American alliance. Mr. Hopkinson, and latterly Mr. Boyd, have spared no mercy in their attempts to crush the Cyprus islanders. In denying the Cypriots their national rights, they have sought to crush their national feelings, and destroy their cultural and national traditions, which are the same as those of the people of Greece. Thus the teaching of Greek history, or the singing of the Greek national anthem, are forbidden. Knowledge of English is of paramount importance in the promotion of civil servants, including school teachers; those who wish to acquire a higher education have to do so in Britain, since the local university degrees are not recognised.

Greek in Character

Recent events have proved that the British have failed to crush the national aspirations of Greek Cyprus.

As in the case of the Turks, who came before the British, this was not for want of trying. The Turkish

Empire tried for four hundred years to crush the Greek national character of the people of the island of Cyprus. Despite all efforts, a British ex-governor of Cyprus has had to admit that the "Greekness of Cypriots is indisputable. No sensible person will deny that the Cypriot is Greek-speaking, Greek-thinking, Greek-feeling."

Still the search for "men of goodwill" (or collaborators with the British plan went on. Cyprus gave the Tory Government the only possible answer when it rejected the Hopkinson "constitutional" scheme out of hand. Within five days of that rejection, the laws of the 1931 Fascist regime were brought back into operation. Every political party, whether of the left or right, was outlawed, for the simple reason that all parties on the island are fervent supporters of "Enosis," or union with Greece. From that time on, any newspaper that supported Enosis could be, and is suppressed for five years. The leaders of political parties could, and do, find themselves in jail for a similar period for advocating union with Greece, while their followers are liable to a two year sentence.

Unity for Enosis

Yet the effect of the anti-Enosis laws on the people of Cyprus has been the exact opposite to what the British had hoped. Left and right now stand side by side in their opposition to imperialist rule. Agreement has been reached between the Archbishop of the island and the secretary of the left-wing People's Party. A first sign of this united opposition came when all newspapers, regardless of political ideology, stopped publication for a day as a mark of protest against the incursions on the freedom of the press. The most significant event, however, was the pro-Enosis general strike of peasants and workers. Since then Cypriots have become impatient and the first signs of a liberation army appear to be coming into being.

At the time of writing the mayors of the towns of Famagusta and Nicosia are flying to Geneva to place the Cypriot case for self-government, democracy and union with Greece before the Big Four powers. At the United Nations every attempt was made by the United States and Britain to prevent a hearing of the Cypriot case. Only the Soviet Union was prepared to listen to it.

Though the Greek government formally supported the hearing of the Cypriot case, it should not be im-

(Continued on previous page)

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