

FIGHTING TALK

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LIFE WILL NOT BE OUTLAWED

A MONTH ago the learned Stellenbosch professors who assembled at the S.A.B.R.A. conference discovered the new, South-African-scientific term for what in less enlightened days was called bluntly "the black menace". "Integration" they proclaimed earnestly, with much shaking of heads, threatened to upend the 'South African way of life' and white 'Baasskap' on which that way of life is built.

Through two serious days of debate, these leaders of apartheid pseudo-science considered the way to meet the creeping army-worm of "integration". Some, the idealists and visionaries, proposed large-scale white immigration from Europe to displace for ever the black man from South African industry, mining and even — though here the imaginations boggled—even from farming.

But it recorded that the august gatherings of Doctors of Philosophy, Religion and Economics failed to slay the dragon, or even to reach agreement for its slow starvation. "Integration" had come to stay as apartheid's 'Public Enemy Number One'.

Fools they say, rush in

The Stellenbosch professors, having discovered 'integration', prepare to slay it. Mr. Strauss, having read of the discovery, prepared to capture 'integration', to use it as a mascot to restore the waning fortunes of his party. Canute, the stupid, ordered the tides to stop. Strauss, the cunning, claimed that the tides rolled because it was his official policy that they should do so.

In the space of two short weeks from the SABRA Conference, 'integration' had been proclaimed the 'Official policy' of the United Party. Only the hired clique of the daily press applauded, shouted 'Historic!' 'Epoch making!'

Integration, as proclaimed by Mr. Strauss, turned out to be the same old, bankrupt story. The black man shall work where, how, when and for whom the white man ordains. The white man shall rule, and the black suffer and obey. The crumbling of the United Party proceeds at the same speed as before.

Fools they say, rush in

Enter Sir Galahad Louw, armed with the shorter Oxford Dictionary, determined to slay the dragon 'Integration'. Amidst the plaudits of the crackpots and Stellenbosch professors, he proclaimed integration to be the opposite of apartheid. Certain occupations, even certain industries would be set aside exclusively for white men. The white man rules. The black man shall work where, how, and when and in what industry the white man ordains.

Thus Tweedledum disputes with Tweedledee over his newest rattle. A plague on both your houses!

Integration is not a plaything of Stellenbosch professors. It is a fact of life, existing independent of our thinking, like the weather. There are now, so the statisticians tell us, eight Africans in industry for every two Europeans. If it were not so, South Africa would still be the backward, pastoral mediaevalism from which African energy and strength have developed it.

That development has a logic of its own. The real power to move or stop the wheels of the country's industry, mining and agriculture have passed from the hands of the Nationalists, to the hands of the men who work. They begin to understand and feel that power. They begin to demand a place in the sun, a share in the prosperity they have created and the institutions of government which they have made possible.

Their demands can neither be sidestepped, nor harnessed to a discredited party chariot. Nor, as Mr. Louw and his colleagues will surely learn, can they be outlawed. For these demands are the reflection of South African life in our own times; and life as Hiroshima shows, refuses to be outlawed.

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"FIGHTING TALK" CHANGES HANDS

"FIGHTING TALK" has, for many years, been the organ of the Springbok Legion. It is no longer. From here on, it is "An Independent Monthly Review", edited and managed by an independent committee of supporters of the Congress movement, and members of the three Congresses, the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the South African Congress of Democrats.

To the Springbok Legion who have handed over to us a publication whose name has always been associated with the cause of democratic South Africa, the cause of liberty, we say we are pledged to continue in that tradition.

We intend to continue "Fighting Talk" as a vigorous, outspoken magazine which fights the good fight for the rights of men, and which challenges the ideas and outlook of the white supremacists, because their ideas spell death to democratic institutions, to racial harmony and to peace, "Fighting Talk" if we can make it so, will be the voice of the Congress Movement.

Fine feathers, we know, do not always make fine birds. Our first concern will be with the substance and the content of our magazine. At the same time, we hope by the changes we are making in its layout and make-up, to render "Fighting Talk" more readable, and more effective in presenting the Congress viewpoint to the people of South Africa.

We welcome suggestions, advice and original articles, stories and poetry from our readers, in the conviction that there is wide support for the Congress movement in South Africa, and that that support has, until now, had little chance of expressing itself in print, and reaching the audience of those South Africans who have been fed to choking with the ideas of apartheid, trusteeship and segregation.

THE EDITORS.

The Chisa-Chisa Story

by
L. BERNSTEIN.

News Item. The Star 18-7-54.

From our Correspondent.

CAPE TOWN, Thursday. — All parliamentarians this week received chain letters from what claims to be an organization of Native incendiaries pledged to revenge themselves by fire for the hindrances of apartheid.

The organization calls itself the Cheesa-Cheesa — cheesa is kitchen kaffir for fire.

Some of the letters have been posted in Durban, others in Johannesburg.

The message is typed on thin white paper, and it is obvious that a number of carbon copies have been made.

MOTTO

Some M.P.'s have received in the same envelope a message on blue notepaper printed in blue ink.

The word Cheesa-Cheesa which appears at the bottom of the typewritten letter appears to have been set up and stamped with a child's printing set.

The letter says: "The words cheesa-cheesa have the meaning of fire-fire. The motto of the Cheesa-Cheesa Army is 'We burn for liberty.'

"In South Africa there is the worst oppression ever perpetrated in the name of civilization . . .

"But it is not the British who oppress us. It is the Afrikaners (Dutch men). These people hate and detest us . . .

SUGGESTIONS

"C.C. Army is there to burn the property of Afrikaners who oppress and murder us in every way.

"We have burnt many schools, farms, cane fields, tree plantations, mountains, etc. But the newspapers of the world refuse to mention C.C.

"All the Members of Parliament know about C.C., but they are afraid to use that word in Parliament."

The hand-printed letter suggests ways of destroying property by fire.

The police are investigating.

"CHISA! Chisa! Burn! Burn!" This is a story to make South Africa's flesh creep. It is the story in the first place of a simple man, whom we will call Joe: a black man of some education, who works in Johannesburg's business centre, and lives quietly, unobtrusively in one of its sprawling slum locations: a man who reads the newspapers, knows what is happening and should be happening in the political life of his town and country, but leaves political work to others while he tends his family and their needs.

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THE time is June, 1953. It was a warm Saturday afternoon. The city hum had died away into week-end somnolence: only round the African bus-stops were there still knots of people waiting, talking, buying fruit from kerbside hawkers. On a corner nearby was Joe, and a friend, met by accident, exchanging greetings, gossip of friends from home, turning as men will to talk of prices, wages and the difficulty of making ends meet. Almost at their elbows stood a white man, back to them, waiting for none knows what.

For a while Joe talked: of arrear rent, of no wage raise since 1940, of potatoes at 2d. each and of the difficulty of buying shoes for his fast growing children. Then his friend left abruptly, to catch a departing bus: Joe turned to walk off in the opposite direction.

Suddenly the white man came awake. "Hey, boy!" he said, Joe turned round startled. "Come here" the man said, Joe shuffled uncertainly a pace closer. The man looked him coldly up and down as white men will. "You want to make money?" he said in the brusque, unfeeling white man's way, Joe thought for the moment he was to be sent on an errand, or told to carry a heavy load. His only ambition right then was to get home, and take his badly-fitting shoes off and relax. "No baas" he said hesitatingly, deferential.

"Boy!" the man said again. "You want to make money!" This time there was no question in the voice, only the 'don't argue-with-me-kaffir' note that Joe had become to know so well in the big city. "I can get you money" the man said, staring at him, studying him. "Lots of money, boy. Working for the Government. Money!" he said, putting up a finger to emphasize. "Money! A house! No pass trouble!" Joe felt his skin prickling, the sweat breaking out on him. He knew it was time to go away, and go fast before something terrible happened. But his training told him to beware turning his back on a white man until dismissed. "No baas" he said again, pleading this time, "I don't want money baas."

The white man stared him down. "You go to Marshall Square boy!" he said. This time it was an order. "They'll give you money! Government money!" He ignored Joe's frightened, murmured "No baas". "They'll give you money boy! But first you've got to do something." Joe was cold and taut with fear. The man came closer to him, close enough to whisper. "You know the Albert Street Church?" he said softly. "You burn that church down boy! And then you'll get your money."

Joe backed away, one pace, then a second, looking at him in horror. Suddenly Joe turned and fled. The man stared after him.

All the way home in the bus, Joe sat thinking over the whole incident, the fear making a tight, hard lump in his stomach. The more he thought, the more familiar the white man's voice seemed. There was the cold, merciless eye; the unfriendly, masterful bullying voice; the bulky, overfed, solid muscular hulk of the man. "Policeman" he said to himself. "Policeman!" Suddenly he realised why the man had seemed so familiar, though he was sure he had never seen him before. "Mofokis" he said aloud, turning the idea over in his mind all the way home in the bus.

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HAD Joe been a more sophisticated man, he might have thought of other burnings; of the Reichstag fire, and he might have seen himself in the role of a Van der Lubbe. He might have thought thought of Minister Swart's statements about 'Schools for fire-bugs' which justified the Martial Law Act. He might even have thought of the British Government's white paper about 'arson plots' which justified the suspension of British Guiana's constitution and the round-up of many Guianese popular leaders.

As it was, Joe went home, and thought and worried about it for a long time. And then at last, he decided what to do. He wrote an account of the whole incident to the editor of the "Star", for publication. For some days he waited in anticipation. But nothing happened. Not a line of his letter appeared in the newspaper. Again he thought it over, conscious that he carried important information about a matter which might one day become important in South African affairs. Finally he reached again for pen and paper, and sent a copy of his letter to the African National Congress, which he had never joined, but which he knew, as all thinking men know. Shortly afterwards, at the suggestion of

the African National Congress, he told the whole tale to a lawyer, and swore to the truth of its contents in an affidavit.



THERE the tale could have ended. For some months, locked away in the lawyer's files, it lay gathering dust, another forgotten oddity of a black man's life. Until January, 1951. On that morning, the Nationalist Party newspaper, "Transvaler" carried a spine-chilling story of the existence of an organisation of Africans called "Cheesa-Cheesa", pledged to destroy by fire all the churches, government offices and schools erected by the white men. Nowhere, in all the country, has there come forward in public or in private a single black man to state that he has ever heard of such a body, or even heard rumours of a campaign of arson. Only Joe, and the Congress officials who had read his affidavit.



AND now there is the letter to Parliament, threatening again "Cheesa-Cheesa". Note well the spelling. Bantu speaking people will tell you that, spelt that way, the word would make the

sound 'Chay-esa'. Only one whose home language is English — or Afrikaans? would spell the word the way it has been spelt in "Star" and "Transvaler" to make it read phonetically as it should. Note well the reference to "fire, fire". Only one whose knowledge of the word is derived from the pidgin 'fana-galo' language — "kitchen kaffir" as South Africans call it — could translate "Burn! Burn!" to read "Fire! Fire!"



THIS is a story without end. Perhaps that is as it should be. Perhaps there is to be an end to that story sometime in the future. If there is, then that end is known only to the white man who spoke to Joe, and perhaps to the Government of which he spoke, and on whose behalf he offered to freely to pay out money.

Footnote: Joe's story is not accurate in all its details. It is written from memory, since the copy of his letter to the "Star", and of his signed affidavit were later removed by the police during a routine search of the offices of Mr. Nelson Mandela, former President of the Transvaal A.N.C.

Swart's Amendment to the Suppression of Communism Act aims at

CLOSING THE LOOPHOLES

THE object of the Suppression of Communism Amendment Bill, according to Minister Swart and his little stooge, Waring, is to close "loopholes" in the original Act. From their speeches, one gets the impression that the whole Act has been nullified by the activities of "slick Communist lawyers" and dubious judges.

In fact, the "loopholes" afford almost negligible relief to the democratic movement. The Court's decision on prohibitions against attending meetings was not that every citizen has the full right to go to meetings, not that a conviction in a court of Law is required to deprive him of this right. All that the Court decided was that before banning a man, the Minister must give him an opportunity to state his case. There is no obligation on the Minister to pay any heed to the representations made to him. What a paltry safeguard. Yet even this insignificant trace of democracy must now be removed from the Act.

With regard to M.P.s, the Courts' decisions made no inroads on the right of the Nationalist caucus, acting through a

Select Committee, to expel a member from Parliament. The "loophole" amounted to this, that after a member had been expelled, it was difficult to prevent the voters from exercising a free choice in replacing him. This free choice is now to be abolished.

POLICE TACTICS

These amendments to the Suppression of Communism Act must be seen in conjunction with the new tactics employed by the police to intimidate people attending meetings of democratic organisations. At two recent meetings, one in Johannesburg and one at Durban, large numbers of police cordoned off the halls and took the names and addresses of everyone present. The Johannesburg meeting had been advertised in the press, and many of those who attended had no connection with any political organisation. It is difficult to conceive what use the police can have for all these names and addresses; the object seems to be simply to discourage members of the public from attending any meeting called by a democratic organisation.

All this adds up to a new and determined effort by the Government to crush the democratic movement. The fact that new methods and new laws should at this stage be found necessary by the Government is a tribute to the courage with which the movement has faced existing fascist laws.

GOVT. WEAKNESS

The liquidation of the militant vanguard of South African democracy was on the government's agenda for 1950. In 1951, the Government is so far from victory that it has to go through its legislation with a microscope in a frantic search for new refinements of tyranny. Having failed to intimidate the members of democratic organisations, the police are now driven to an attempt to frighten away their audiences. These are signs of weakness and failure on the part of the Government. While the new measures will undoubtedly face democrats with new difficulties, we can be confident that the weapon which has failed to defeat us for three years will not become invincible by reason of its new trimmings.

BACKGROUND TO THE EVENTS IN UGANDA.

The Kabaka is Kidnapped

WHAT lies behind the deposition of the Kabaka of Buganda (main province of Uganda) and his subsequent kidnapping and deportation to Britain?

The demands of the people of Buganda, expressed through the Great Lukiko (their Parliament) and their now deposed Kabaka, were simple.

They asked for an assurance that their country would not be bulldozed into an East African federation bossed inevitably by the white settlers of Kenya.

They demanded that responsibility for the affairs of their country be transferred from the Colonial Office to the Foreign Office, to which that responsibility originally belonged.

They wanted to know what all Africans want to know — some idea of the date on which they can reasonably expect to manage their own affairs.

Justification?

Pending satisfactory answers, the Kabaka, with the support of the Lukiko, refused to send three Buganda representatives to participate in the new Legislative Council to be set up for the whole of Uganda under the new Constitution to be introduced next year.

So the Kabaka was got rid of by Mr. Lyttelton, the Colonial Secretary.

Mr. Lyttelton, supported by the Attorney-General, Sir Lionel Heald, has cited Paragraph 6 of the Uganda "Agreement" of 1900 to justify his action.

This confers on the British Government the right to withdraw recognition from the Kabaka if he fails to co-operate loyally with the Government of Uganda. But it confers no right on Britain to depose the Kabaka, much less to deport him.

This fact had to be admitted in the House of Lords by Lord Munster, Colonial Under-Secretary, who, contradicting Mr. Lyttelton, said that action against the Kabaka had been taken under the Emergency Powers (Order in Council) Act of 1939.

The crisis in Uganda, where troops have been assembled to threaten the people with the fate of their Kenya neighbours, is the culmination of a struggle which has gone on for 50 years.

The so-called agreement was signed between the special commissioner appointed by the Foreign Office, Sir Harry Johnston, and Apollo Kagwa Chief Regent and Chief Minister of Buganda. Daudi Chwa, the father of the present Kabaka, Mutesa II, was Kabaka at the time. He was three years old.

Why a Colony?

In 1903, three years after the signing of the "Agreement", Buganda was transferred, without any previous consultation, from the superintendence of the

by
**DESMOND
BUCKLE**

Foreign Office to the Colonial Office. Thus a State which had allied itself to the British Empire began to be treated as a possession.

Why does the Government want Buganda as a colony?

In March 1952 the £5 million Uganda Development Corporation was formed to assist potential investors in Uganda.

Links with the Rio Tinto Company, Frobisher (a Canadian mining concern), and Monsanto Chemicals were established in a project for the exploitation of the Sukulu mineral deposits.

These include magnetite (a source of iron), apatite (a source of phosphate) and pyrochlore, which provides the metal niobium, used in jet aircraft engines.

Investment

A year before that, on April 21, 1951, the Government of Uganda announced that a company had been formed to build and operate a textile mill at Jinja, the site of the £22 million hydro-electric project, to manufacture cotton piece-goods from Uganda-grown cotton.

Much of the initial capital of this company, which will use the cheap labour of more than 6,000 Africans comes from Britain.

The Bleachers' Association of Manchester and the British Salico Printers' Association between them have invested £900,000. The rest of the £1,500,000 capital is being subscribed by the Protectorate Government.

Last month, the Government made another agreement with Frobisher for the completion of a copper mine in the Kilembe foothills of the Ruwenzori Mountains in Western Uganda.

Smelting works are being built at Jinja for treating this copper, and also that from the Macalder-Nyanza mine in Kenya.

The Jinja power plant will come into operation at the end of April next year.

Jinja is in the heart of the province of Buganda. It is easy to see why the Kabaka was sacked when he mentioned the word "independence".

Stood by his People

Mr. Lyttelton's annoyance is increased by the fact that he cannot blame Communism for the Kabaka's stand. Why, the Kabaka, he says, is a member of his own university and has a right to wear the tie of his regiment. And he is the friend of Mr. Lyttelton's own son.

However, Mr. Lyttelton forgets that the Kabaka is also an African. It is becoming very difficult for any African, however lofty his station or how much favour he might enjoy with imperialists, to ignore his own people.

(Continued from page 5)

The exerting of all forms of pressure on conservative unions in an attempt to ensure their participation.

A campaign of organisation and education among workers generally to ensure their participation regardless of the attitude of their official leaders.

An ever increasing orientation towards Non-Europeans, whose predominance in industry render them the key factor — if and when they are organised.

Greater attention and effort to be put into organisation of Africans.

The training of good material to provide replacements for the leaders who are picked off by the government, and to provide leadership for new unions.

“ . . . The isolation of the trade union leadership from the rank and file of the unions renders the task of opposition to Schoeman's Bill most difficult.”

TRADE UNIONS UNDER ATTACK

Schoeman's Bill.

During February, the first draft of Schoeman's bill to amend the Industrial Conciliation Act became available. The most cursory perusal revealed that "this was it" for the trade union movement.

Briefly the intended amendments would have the following effects:

- (1) to split the unions into fragments along racial lines— all fragments to be capable of registration and empowered to negotiate separately.
- (2) The Minister to have the powers of nullifying any agreement by the power to grant *retrospective* exemptions.
- (3) Greatly increased powers of interference and supervision by the Labour Department.
- (4) The virtual outlawing of strikes and the power to enforce compulsory arbitration.
- (5) The setting up of a permanent tribunal of ministerial appointees, from whose decisions there will be no appeal to the courts.

In the face of this attack the whole trade union movement is attempting to prepare some sort of opposition.

Under the chairmanship of a retired trade unionist, Mr. Caddy, a seven man committee of right-wingers have convened an "all-in conference". There is talk of industrial action, but there is every likelihood of Africans being excluded. This throws doubt upon the willingness and ability of these unions to carry out their threats.

New T.U. Council.

The whole movement is in a state of flux, with rumours of behind-the-scene manoeuvres for re-alignments. Only one thing emerges clearly: that any new body which will seek to incorporate the large white craft unions would involve a sacrifice of principle on the part of the Trades and Labour Council if the latter threw in its lot with such a new body.

The progressive unions are therefore faced with a twofold problem of reducing unity against Nationalist attacks to the maximum possible degree, while at the same time jealously guarding the rights of African unions to participate. As the struggle sharpens, as the right-wingers retreat, the task becomes more

and more difficult, until a point may be reached in the near future, where the two aspects become mutually exclusive. If that happens, what then?

The situation may result in the isolation of the progressive unions in the Trades and Labour Council. In that case these unions must obviously band together with the African trade unions in a new body which, even if it is initially weak, will at least be in a position to draw on the increasing strength of the largest racial group in industry.

Another problem facing the trade union movement is the present isolation of the leadership from the mass of workers. The present situation presents the anomaly of union leaderships which represent predominantly Non-European industries, and which yet pursue a reactionary colour policy on the Trades and Labour Council. An example of this is the Leather Workers' Union who are the sponsors of a motion on the agenda of T.L.C. conference, the effect of which would (if carried) be to dissolve the Trades and Labour Council in favour of a new body. The sole object of this move would be to exclude Africans from the new body. The Leather Workers' Union is at least 75% Coloured and it is inconceivable that the rank and file would approve of such a move.

The isolation of the leadership from the rank and file of the unions renders the task of opposition to Schoeman's Bill most difficult. The issues are clear cut, and require only correct explanations and interpretation to unite every worker in determined opposition. But the leaders of most of the important conservative unions are unlikely to face the issues squarely.

Mass agitation and mass action are the only tactics likely to succeed. There is a danger under present conditions that the maximum effort of the unions is likely to degenerate into a token agitation at the top, which never filters down to the rank and file.

The tasks of progressive unions may be summed up as follows:

The mounting of a campaign in their own unions, involving the entire rank and file, with the objective of industrial action against the Bill.

(Continued from page 4, Column 3)

THE trade union movement has suffered in common with other democratic institutions from the attacks of the government on South African democracy. The attack on the unions appeared to be a by-product of the effects of repressive legislation, although in reality it was part of a softening up process for the frontal attack which is now being launched.

The previous attacks were by name and stated intention to deal with Communists or Non-Europeans (and especially Africans). Many unions with European membership were largely embarrassed in their opposition to these measures and unwilling to put across to their members the *real* intention and the *real* consequences. This pincer movement at which the Nationalists excel, split the Trade Union movement from top to bottom.

Breakaway Council

The reactionaries in the Trades and Labour Council withdrew, ostensibly on the issue of the admission of African unions, and then, at the behest of Schoeman and under the leadership of McCormack and Downes, formed a new coordinating body called the S.A. Federation of Trade Unions. This body was immediately accorded warm government approval and recognition. It was supposed to represent unions whose colour attitudes were to all intents and purposes the same as the government.

The effect of the withdrawal of this element was of immediate benefit to the Trades and Labour Council, which entered for a time upon a period of useful activity and internal harmony.

During 1953 the bannings of trade union leaders reached a crescendo and the right-wing unions were overnight left in full and almost undisputed control of the T.L.C. The shift in policy followed almost at once. The T.L.C. launched a campaign of protest against the bannings of right-winger Piet Huyser "and others". A Conference followed, from which affiliated African unions were excluded, and the protests of unions such as the Food and Canning Workers, Laundry and Textile, were shelved. In this atmosphere effective action was out of the question, and the Action Committee collapsed.

White Politicians Discuss the Black Problem

By ALAN DOYLE.

MILES of Parliamentary rhetoric and gallons of printers ink are being spilt in high-sounding discussions of the "Native Problem".

Strauss started the thing off by saying the Nats weren't apartheidizing the Natives as they promised; they were integrating them. The Nats responded smartly by asking Strauss to tell them what his "Native policy" was: a very uncomfortable question. The Bekker-Waring group stuck out their tongue at the United Party and shouted "Yah, Kafferboeties!" with all the zeal and malice of newly-deserted renegades. Then Prof. Fourie and Dr. Friedman "raised the debate to a higher level" by revealing — as if it were a closely-guarded secret — that most of South Africa's industrial workers are Non-Europeans. They are, therefore, "integrated", and we shall have to reconcile ourselves with the unpleasant fact that they will have to be conceded certain political rights. This is the shattering and earth-shaking thesis of the U.P., which the English-language dailies have not ceased wondering at as a marvellous discovery, nor the Afrikaans-language dailies shuddering at as a diabolical heresy. The Transvaler has branded Fourie as a liberal, to his horror.

1652 ONWARDS

Of course there is nothing new about this debate. It is the stock South African argument. Jan van Riebeeck had a shot at apartheid when he put a stockade round the little settlement at the Cape and said the white folk should keep inside it. But soon the land-hungry settlers got outside the stockade and started integrating some more territory. Then the British kept trying to limit the area of European settlement in the Eastern Cape, because they found it too expensive "pacifying" the angry Xhosas whose land was being integrated. But they didn't succeed in apartheid either. The biggest integrators of the lot were, of course, the trekkers who integrated everything up to the Limpopo and would have got further except that Rhodes got in first.

As a matter of fact this fantastic discussion of "apartheid" vs. "integration" could only have a basis of reality if one of the European Parties were seriously

proposing that white employers should stop exploiting African labour, and hand over a substantial area of South Africa for Africans to settle and govern. Naturally, none of them contemplates for a moment such a wild idea. They are all agreed that present land-ownership relations should remain undisturbed and that Africans should continue in the employment of Europeans. The real argument revolves around the issue, what are the best methods of perpetuating this pleasant and profitable arrangement and keeping the Natives in their place? What is the correct proportion of force and of concessions?

DICTATOR VERWOERD

The Nationalist answer is: a maximum of force and terror, a minimum of concessions. Verwoerd fancies that his job as Minister of Native Affairs involves becoming sole dictator over the lives of ten million people. He is to say where they shall live and how; to control their movements through a vast ramification of the pass system; to run their schools and prescribe the curricula. The Nat. voters of Westdene don't like living next to Sophiatown and Newclare? Right: expropriate the Non-European property-owners and let them fend for themselves at Meadowlands. Farmers and mine-owners crying for more African labour? Right: Verwoerd will fix that: 20,000 "foreign natives" working in industry and domestic service to be given their marching orders to the mines and farms — or out of the country. That's the Verwoerd pattern. And if the Africans don't like it? Well,

"A location must be at least a quarter of a mile away from the main road so that there is space for tanks and other military equipment to be assembled without blocking the traffic, in case of trouble in the location."

That, according to *Advance* (January 11, 1953) is what a N.A.D. official told a deputation of Reef town councillors.

The Nationalist papers are making propaganda preparations for such military action by printing repeated scare stories about an imaginary "Chisa-Chisa" army which they say plans to burn down European-owned property.

Remember Kenya, and don't underestimate the mischief of such provocations.

Concessions? One has to look pretty hard to find anything of that sort in the Nationalist repertory. But after careful search I am able to report:

- (1) That Nat. politicians and newspapers have been told to stop talking about "Kaffers" and use the word "Bantu";
- (2) That, concentrating on removing the Coloured voters from the common roll, the Nats. have apparently put into cold storage their 1945 threat to eliminate Native Representatives from the Assembly.

UNITED PARTY MOUSE

After all the big talk about political concessions and integration you (if you are naive) might have expected Strauss to announce some radical alterations in United Party policy about the franchise. The mountain, as usual, produced a mouse. He said the U.P. would reinstate the Native Representative Council (which, it will be remembered, had gone into permanent adjournment as a protest against ineffectual representation when the Nats. dissolved it). And Strauss repeated Smuts' offer to extend slightly the powers of the Council — an offer which the N.R.C. rejected with contempt in 1917. Finally, he said, vaguely, that possibly the U.P. might decide on certain unspecified further concessions at its next national conference.

LABOUR AND LIBERAL

The Liberal and the Labour Parties are prepared to go much further in making concessions. Both acknowledge in principle the right of non-whites to participate in electing the legislature, though both Parties qualify this in a manner which suggests that most Africans are at present unfit to vote. (The Liberals say "civilised" people should vote; the Labourites "literate" people.) The Liberals propose that people who have passed Standard VI should vote on the common roll; the Labourites suggest that non-whites who have passed Standard V should be granted a communal franchise heavily weighted in favour of Europeans.

(Continued on page 7, Column 1)

THE UNITED PARTY PETERS OUT

THERE is no end to apartheid. It creates so many problems as it goes along that Parliament devotes increasing amounts of its time passing fresh legislation in a vain attempt to master the situation.

The Suppression of Communism Act was passed to suppress opposition to apartheid. The amendment to this Act, now before Parliament, is an endeavour to make this suppression more watertight.

GREED FOR LABOUR.

Two other bills at present before the House of Assembly are direct products of apartheid. One is the Native squatters measure, which gives the Minister authority to remove Native squatters from farms without providing them with alternative accommodation. There is no limit to the Government's efforts to satisfy the greed of farmers for cheap African labour. The other measure is the Native (Urban Areas) Amendment Bill, which gives Dr. Verwoerd further despotic powers to deal with urban Africans and reduces the authority of municipalities.

(Continued from previous page)

Those who share my love for that wonderful satire "Gulliver's Travels" will remember the debate in the Lilliputian Parliament about what should be done to deal with the menace of the "man-mountain" Gulliver (who had just won a war for them, single-handed). One Party thought he should be put to death by poisoning his food. The other Party held that he should merely have his eyes put out: this would render him harmless, while retaining his usefulness. Unfortunately, they reckoned without the man-mountain himself.

It is fantastic nonsense in this year 1954 to attempt to settle the political future of South Africa without the participation of the non-white people themselves, and in the first place of their universally accepted spokesmen, the African National Congress and its partners in struggle. It is Congress which will say the last word in this debate. We may be sure that it will accept nothing less than full and equal democratic rights and economic opportunities for the non-white people, and the unconditional implementation of human rights.

These three bills appeared on the Order Paper within the first week or so of the Parliamentary session. A number of other fascist measures have been promised for this year, particularly Mr. Schoeman's trade union bill.

Nationalism is reaching its legislative climax. In the circumstances, one would expect the Parliamentary Opposition to be more vigilant than ever before. But what is the position? The decay in the United Party continues.

OPPOSITION FALTERS

Admittedly, it rejected the bill to amend the Suppression of Communism Act outright. But it pulled its punches in the no confidence debate, and when Mr. Hepple introduced the Labour motion, charging the Government with destroying civil liberties, the chief United Party spokesman, Mr. Hamilton Russell, staid that the allegation was "extravagant."

It is the same old story. Each year the United Party gets weaker. Each year its pro-Nat. "rebel" elements become more daring and contemptuous of Mr. Strauss's authority. Yet the United Party refuses to learn its lesson.

The truth must be faced that the United Party is dying, miserably. It is not even going down fighting. Its ignominious end will match its ignominious career.

INSIDE THE U.P.

Ordinary people cannot understand why the United Party does not state simply that it is opposed to apartheid. But the United Party leadership is not composed of ordinary people. They are the leaders of commerce and industry, banking and finance, of mining and property concerns. When it comes to the test, how can they be expected to champion the rights of the non-white workers? They prefer submission to Nationalism rather than an alliance with the workers — which is what the opposition to apartheid must carry with it.

Just as there is no end to apartheid, so there is no limit to the humiliation in the United Party is prepared to undergo. Day after day, it is rebuffed by the Nationalists. Its tentative offers of compromise are rejected totally by the Nationalists. The price for a "deal" is — complete capitulation! Naturally, this uncompromising attitude within the

Nationalist ranks is setting up stresses and strains within the United Party, which may now be said to have grouped itself into three separate sections.

First, it is reputed that there is a small section which is prepared to oppose apartheid even if this means an indefinite period out of office. These are the so-called "liberals" and others in the party. Professor I. S. Fourie has gone so far as to say that economic integration of the non-Whites must lead to political integration, but that is the summit of "liberal" independence from the "party line" so far. It remains to be seen whether a "liberal" wing exists or whether it is a myth.

Second, there are the "rebels", who make no attempt to hide the fact that they want to come to terms with the Nationalists.

Third, there is the vast body of United Party M.P.'s in the middle. They are in the middle in more senses than one. They are praying desperately for an accident which will put the Nationalists out of office. Failing that, their tactics are to keep the United Party intact — liberals, rebels, etc. — and muddle along until the Divinity intercedes to tell them what to do next. No doubt, this will come in the form of an instruction to come to an agreement with the Government.

SAD DECLINE

It is all very pathetic. The United Party (excluding the alleged few who are rumoured to be prepared to oppose apartheid) is a disappearing phenomena. There is no longer any place for it in the South African scene. Its function as a "balancer" between the Nationalists and the anti-Nationalists is out-lived. The political struggle is crystallising — and the United Party is not destined to be one of the crystals.

That, then, is the situation that prevails as this Parliamentary session swings into its stride. The Nationalists are going ahead, ruthlessly and relentlessly. There is no turning back on apartheid. On the other side, the anti-Nationalist forces (outside Parliament, at least, if not inside) are hardening and preparing for the struggle.

But the United Party continues to try to find a place for itself which does not exist. It is trying to perform a non-existent function.



MORE MEN—MORE MALNUTRITION

EDWARD ROUX SAYS — "THE LAST WORD HAS NOT BEEN SAID AGAINST MALTHUS."

THE annual report on Kenya, issued by the British Colonial Office, says that average wages of African farm labourers in Kenya's "less disturbed areas" are between 20/- and 25/- per month. Domestic servants get from 35/- to 130/- per month, and bus drivers 80/-.

In the towns, the report says, minimum wages range from 49/- to 60/- per month. Of this, African workers pay poll tax amounting to 23/- per year in Nairobi, and 17/- per year in the country districts. By contrast, no poll tax is paid by Europeans, and a married white settler with three children pays no income tax unless he earns over £50 per month.

The report gives an official price list for Kenya, divided into a 'European' and an 'African list'. The African price list mentions few of the items on the European list, omitting white bread, butter, beef, mutton, eggs, bottled milk. The African list, which indicates the starvation standards of life for Africans, has only one mention of meat, "Beef, third grade."

QUESTION is the British Parliament: Mr. Anthony Greenwood (Labour): Does that mean that over 60,000 Kikuyu have been tried out of a total African population of five millions?

Mr. Lytton, Colonial Secretary (Conservative): Yes it does.

Mr. Lytton went on to reveal that up to December 5th, 1953, 153,390 people had been arrested by the "Security Forces", that is three in every hundred of the African population.

THE public investment of United States money in Africa now runs to more than a half-billion dollars, and the private investments may be as much or more. Imperialism would be a nasty word to describe our own expanding interest in Africa, but the list of American projects to develop the vast military resources of this continent suggests that the nineteenth-century imperialism of England, France, Belgium and Portugal is child's play by comparison.

The Chicago Daily News.

AT the end of the eighteenth century an English parson, Malthus, wrote an "Essay on the Population", in which he pointed out that human populations, like animal ones, tend always to multiply to the point where they outstrip their food supply. He regarded poverty and "vice" as an inevitable result of this tendency and suggested that the only solution was some form of deliberate restriction on human multiplication.

During the nineteenth century two developments seemed to give the lie to Malthus' prognostications regarding over-population. One was the mechanisation of agriculture, with the application of science to farming (the breeding of new varieties of plants, the manufacture and extended use of artificial fertilisers). The other was the opening up of vast, hitherto unspoiled areas in America, Australia and the tropics. Under the stimulus of these factors the population of Europe expanded rapidly as did also that of America, which for a time also absorbed the surplus from Europe.

It is considered to-day that the number of countries capable of producing a surplus of food for export is rapidly diminishing. This is due not merely to the rapid increase in population in what were formerly predominantly agrarian countries but also to a rising standard of living throughout the world. Rice, once considered the cheapest of all foods, was formerly exported in vast quantities from India, Burma and the East Indies. To-day it has become a relatively expensive luxury in neo-imperialist countries.

CROWDED COUNTRIES.

The countries most severely hit by the Malthusian problem to-day are India and Japan, where standards of nutrition are particularly low. In India valiant efforts are being made by the Nehru government, both to raise the productivity of agriculture and persuade the people to practise birth-control. On neither front has any outstanding success been reported. The maldistribution of land is being tackled, but apparently the government is not prepared to use drastic methods against the big landowners and financial interests which live parasitically upon the peasantry. As far as birth-control is concerned, religious prejudice, ignorance and conservatism offer serious obstacles.

In Western Europe Portugal continues to export population, as she has done for over a century. Holland is

definitely overcrowded and no longer able to subsist on tribute drawn from its former Indonesian empire. Italy still faces the problem of finding Lebensraum for its expanding population. There are but a few of many examples indicating that the last word has not been said against Malthus.

FOOD PRODUCTION

Socialists argue, and rightly, that social organisation and intelligent planning could bring about a vast increase in the volume of world food production, that even to-day there are large surpluses and even wastage of food in some countries. There are possibilities of utilizing

entirely new means of producing food: giant irrigation schemes, new factories using atomic energy for the production of nitrogenous fertilizer, the more intelligent use of city wastes in the recovery of plant foods such as phosphorus, hydroponics (tank farming), the direct utilization of marine plankton (the microscopic organisms of the sea which could be strained out), and so on. Science still has many cards up its sleeve. In actual fact the world remains underfed and populations continue to increase.

The spectacle of a world filling up with more and more people is not re-

quire a happy one, even if sufficient food could be found for all of them. Catholics believe that the multiplication of souls is a good thing in itself. Warmongering powers seek increased quantities of human cannon-fodder. We can imagine a world so over-populated that all natural vegetation has long ago disappeared and given place to cultivated fields, except where these in turn have been replaced by enormous blocks of sky-scraper factories and flats with hydroponic tanks upon their roofs. It is questionable whether man should seek to suit all plants and animals from the earth except those which serve his eco-

CECIL WILLIAMS REVIEWS A BOOK THAT SAYS

YOU CAN PLAN FOR PLENTY

"LET THERE BE BREAD", a book by Robert Britain just published in England, is a challenge and an answer to the neo-Malthusians who morbidly predict a world of starvation by the end of this century.

It is true, as Britain says, that it is easy to be swayed by the pessimists when one recalls that each day the world has to feed 55,000 more mouths, about 20 million extra every year.

The Malthusians point to the alarming shortage of food today, especially in Asia. It is reckoned that half the people in the world have never enjoyed a good square meal. The Malthusians maintain that only birth-control, death from starvation, disease, disaster and war can keep the world population in balance with the world's food resources. In this brilliantly written work Britain tears their arguments to shreds and shows how it will be possible before 2,000 A.D. for 3,500,000,000 human beings to live in a world of abundance.

Growing More Food

The author surveys the ways and means of increasing our food supplies. Herms beings are at present using less than a tenth of the world's land coverage for the production of food. Yet that small proportion represents all the land surface that can easily be cultivated. Huge areas are bare rock, precipitous mountains; a large proportion is buried under ice-caps, inaccessible to the skills of man. There are, however, vast tracts

which can conceivably be brought into productive cultivation — the deserts, the frigid zones of the Far North and the broad bands of steppes, hot country straddling the equator. Deserts cover almost a third of all the land on the entire planet: the frozen north covers one-fifth.

The author lucidly recounts projects that are already underway for the reclamation of deserts — the recovery and rehabilitation of ancient wells and man-made oases, the creation of wadis, the exploitation of dew, the desalting of soil and water and the drilling of artesian wells. The Soviet Union has already brought a million acres in the frigid zone into cultivation — by the heating of the soil, the work of geneticists in producing quick-growing, cold-resistant species, colouring of the soil, erection of wind-barriers, stubble-planting and so on, until in the "frozen north" the farmers are growing wheat, potatoes, sugarbeet, even tobacco, cherries, apples and pears.

In a section entitled 'The Habitable Tropics' Britain gives details of a vast scheme to bring Amazonia into full productivity. Under UNESCO sponsorship the International Institute of the Hyleas Amazon has been launched. It will be a long time, one supposes, before the productive wealth of the Amazon Valley will be fully exploited, but in the plan now being prepared we see the pattern and the promise.

Then there is the land that "nobody ploughs" — marshlands, land in danger of inundation by the sea, land destroyed by oil-gushers and strip-mining, land taken over by seemingly ineradicable weeds and land deficient in nutrition. Science can do wonders to wrest food for the people from these uncompromising areas.

There is unimaginable food-wealth waiting to be drawn from the sea itself. Britain is patient yet besettable detail shows us how we can feed millions of people by the exclusion of waste, by more careful use of our present resources, by river-control, hydro-electric power, eradication of plant diseases, control of the winds and so on.

The book is a mine of exciting new information on the vital subject of our food.

Future of Hope

It has a remarkable uplifting quality. Britain's vision is of a future where even human nature can change into something nobler under the impact of a changing environment. He sees the prospect of 'one world' in which international co-operation will be essential and richly rewarding. His book is a powerful argument in favour of peace and against war and it comes down heavily on the side of those who maintain that the co-existence of different economic systems is possible and imperative.

economic needs. A world in which that had happened would be a much less pleasant place to live in. As for numbers, quantity, they say produces quality; but there must be a limit to this. The world's present population of two and a half thousand million should be enough to provide all the variety of personality and talent which humanity requires, and it may be good to live in a world in which it is possible to escape at times from the clutches of civilisation.

Apart from such aesthetic considerations, there are good economic arguments against favouring the unrestricted increase of population. The favourite weapon of the capitalist is the exploitation of the cheap and beaming millions. A less rapid expansion of population would entail a greater premium on skilled work and a higher standard of living.

Above all, this work — almost unwittingly — bears out the view of Sophocles, when he wrote:

Wonders are many on earth and the greatest of these

Is man . . .

There is nothing beyond his power. His subtlety

Meets all chance, all danger conquers

all.

For every ill he hath found its remedy. Save only death.

This is a book to be excited about. I do not remember ever having read a piece of non-fiction that combines so perfectly the technical data of a scientific treatise, the exhilaration of a first-rate primer on democratic principle and practice, and the emotionalebb and flow of an outstanding novel. How rarely does one say of a scientific book, "I wish it could go on longer." That is what I felt about "Let there be Bread."

(There is one problem in connection with this book — it is not easily obtainable. It has not been released for public sale. I received my copy as a member of the book club, known as "People's Books" — a co-operative publishing society recently set up in England. For a payment of 16/6 (6 months subscription for 3 books) or £1 12s. (a year's subscription for 6 books) you can become a member and receive books that other people cannot get and at a remarkably low cost. If you wish to become a member — write to: People's Books News, 28 Southampton Street, Strand, London, W.C. 2, enclosing a postal order for a 6-month or 1-year subscription.)

5th MARCH IS THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF STALIN'S DEATH

STALIN—LEADER OF A NEW TYPE

March fifth, 1953. A man lies dead in the numb, wintry heart of Moscow city.

Even before the dread news has circled the earth, there are the vultures gathered to drool over opium-dreams of the return of one-sixth of the earth's surface to the toils of financier and stock-exchange manipulator. There are the paid scribes of millionaire robber barons, rejoicing over the corpse, vilifying it in the name of a "liberty" which they have never tasted or understood. There are the aged, desiccated philosophers and the venal, corrupted politicians proclaiming the dawning of a new era for men whose stomachs had been sickened by the old.

What was this new era of which they talked so glibly, while the body of Joseph Stalin lay surrounded by his stricken, mourning people? What this 'new chance for the people of Russia'? What this 'new chance' for the West?

They were the perverted dreams of a decaying society. They were the dreams that now, with Stalin dead and emblamed in the Kremlin, Russia's wealth would return from the hands of her own people to the joint stock companies and the private banks. It was the dream that one man's death prepared the way for the return of national oppression and cheap colonial labour. It was the dream that, with their leader dead, two hundred million people could be coerced or threatened back to the mortally sick world of poverty, unemployment and war from which he had guided them.

If they believed the possibility of their dreams, it was because they had first built for themselves a picture of Stalin as the dictator of the Russian people, "holding the people of Russia" as Churchill phrased it, "by the hair of their heads." This was the only understanding they could have of the man, for this was the archetype of the man of influence, authority and leadership in the world they ruled and understood.

How completely they distorted the truth of the man who was dead. For he was one - - the foremost one of his time - - who understood that "Heroes, outstanding individuals, may play an important part in the life of society, only in so far as they are capable of correctly understanding the conditions of development of society and the ways of chang-

ing them for the better." All his life had been given to that twin stream, to bettering his understanding of the conditions of change and development of society, and of using that understanding to change society for the better.

It was a grim corner of a grim world into which he had been born. Here in his native Georgia, this cobbler's son grew to consciousness in a community of wretched poverty, and degrading national oppression. All his life was lived in conflict - - in the bitter, unending conflict between the Georgian workers and the great foreign and native financial combines exploiting Georgia's working population and her natural wealth without care for the lives or happiness of the people; and in the equally bitter conflict with the imperialist oppressors, Russians, Americans, British and French, a place in the sun, where Georgians would live as men, and not as colonial serfs and less-than-human beings.

All his life, he sought to change society for the better. In his early years, he stumbled across Marxist teachings and philosophy. It was a light bursting out to illuminate the darkness of the world in which he lived. Here, for the first time he came to see the great conflicts of his time not as the brutish, blind passions of goaded men, but as the motive force of history, the driving wheel of social change by which men would emerge into a new and better life than any yet had known. Here was no man of common clay, but one endowed with outstanding talents, with a keen, decisive and precise mind, with a capacity for concentration and determination of a high order, with a flexibility and a selflessness which are the essentials of leadership in such a task as he now undertook.

All his outstanding talents he devoted, all his life, to the changing of society for the better, using the philosophy of Marxism as his guide to action. Marx and Lenin were his teachers. And they taught well. For throughout his life he worked and lived by the creed that understanding and action must walk hand in hand, by the knowledge that no man of his time could exert his influence on history save that he stride forward together with the industrial workers at the head of all toiling and suffering mankind.

As he believed, so he acted. Nothing deterred him from following his beliefs, no matter what sacrifice it entailed. So he lived through the persecution, beatings, exiles and imprisonment of Communist work in Tsarist Russia. So he fought and organised through the hungry, fearful years of revolution. So he worked, without rest and without flagging, through the turbulent and magnificent years of reconstruction, and of building the new society - - the society of socialism for the first time on this earth. And through it all humbly, learning everything there was to be learnt from great thinkers like Lenin, and from insignificant, unknown peasants and machinists and soldiers. And through it all, teaching what he had learnt to others, that they too might take part with all their vigour and power in changing life for the better within the limits of the development of society.

To such a life there is no real end. Society changes for the better, though its greatest figures grow old, weaken and die. For one year, Stalin has been dead. And yet the dreams of the Western vultures, in that short space of time, have burst to nothingness. Mussolini, as he hung by the heels, dead, in a piazza in Milan, was cursed by the people who passed. This was the type of leader the Western world made, understood: into this mould they tried to compress the giant figure of Stalin, that the people of the West would hate and revile him.

But Stalin was a leader of a new type. Though his death left a great and aching void, it left too a whole generation of a new type, schooled in the ideas and ideals of changing society for the better, raised in the understanding of how to make that change which Marxism gives, imbued with the selflessness and devotion to the people which they learnt from the leader who is dead. This is the generation which flings back the taunts, the invective and the slander of the Western vultures which marches forward, while the vultures dream of their return to the dark and bitter miseries of the life in which the young Stalin grew. This is a generation which sings of the man who lies dead:

*"Shall we shed our tears in a shower?
Stalin is now the most live of all
living.
Our weapon, our knowledge, our
power."*

African Culture Strides On

ONE has only to walk down the street and listen to the African messenger singing on his rounds, to the street corner musician banging away on his home-made percussion instrument, or to the gang of labourers rhythmically heaving a heavy load into position, to realise that cultural activity forms an integral part of the life of the urban African. Few peoples can be so gifted with a natural aptitude for artistic expression. Unfortunately the facilities for the development of this wonderful raw material are sadly lacking; which is typical of so many other aspects of the African's situation in South Africa.

Three significant types of cultural activity typify the urban African, particularly in Johannesburg. These may be broadly classed as the development of traditional cultural activities, the increasing swing towards American Negro cultural activities and the slowly developing integration with South African European cultural patterns.

Annual Festivals

The chief exponents of traditional Bantu culture are Church choirs, school groups and the groups run by the Association of Boys' and Girls' clubs. They concentrate mainly on songs and dances, and together with a number of independent groups hold two important annual Festivals, which are the culmination of their year's activities. The first takes the form of a concert given by the Boys' and Girls' clubs at the University, in which the participants are drawn from over a hundred clubs affiliated to the association. Undoubtedly the major event of the year, however, is the Bantu Music Festival. This has grown in scope and influence and is today the rallying point for the exponents of traditional culture. The tribal dances staged on the mines could play an important role, but unfortunately the corrupt use to which they are being put is draining them of their vitality and significance.

Enter Big Business

A most important development in recent years has been the emergence of the African entertainer into the realms of big business. The sales of Bantu recordings have assumed gigantic proportions and are constantly increasing. Already there are almost a dozen recording companies exploiting this lucra-

tive field — exploiting being the operative word. No royalties are paid to entertainers or composers, whilst recording fees are kept to the barest minimum.

In the field of popular entertainment, American Negro entertainers are taken as prototypes. This is evidenced by the development of endless numbers of jazz bands, crooners, blues singers and tap dancers. It is here that economic exploitation is rife. Although the recording companies are the prime offenders, there are also the cases of concert party organisers who have prospered by the questionable manner in which they have treated artists. Although comparatively few films have been made with African artists, the few that have been produced certainly have not been able to complain about their wage bill.

New Art Forms

Probably the least understood of the African's cultural aspirations are those of the rapidly growing groups who are engaged in what were previously regarded as European cultural activities. Several classical concerts were given by African musicians recently, and one or two Non-European musicians have raised enough money to proceed overseas for additional studies. One or two isolated art classes are operating and although they are doing yeoman work, it is impossible for them to cater for the large numbers of interested people. More and more Africans have shown their interest in theatrical activities; in a greater understanding of classical music and of art forms generally.

Last year two new groups started working with African artists. One, the Bareti Players, staged a production of Shakespeare's "Comedy of Errors", which had an amazingly enthusiastic reception all over the Reef; the other group organised a variety concert in aid of Father Huddleston's Orlando swimming bath appeal. Both of these groups decided that the time had come to form an organization devoted to the extension of organised cultural activities amongst Non-Europeans generally. After much deliberation, it became obvious, that, faced with the reality of a large group of professional and semi-professional entertainers and a mass of amateur enthusiasts, two separate organizations were required — one to protect the economic interests of the professional ar-

tist, the other to extend the scope of cultural activity available to all Non-Europeans.

Artists' Association

To start the ball rolling, the Southern African Artists' Association was recently formed. The majority of its members will be Africans, but the participation of all Non-European entertainers is being sought. The first tasks of the association will be to effect a royalty agreement with the recording companies, and to establish a minimum rate for entertainers and musicians. The association will also endeavour to see that more favourable terms are arranged with future film companies, and will generally endeavour to advise Non-European artists in all their business undertakings.

In order to provide the necessary finance, a non-profit making company called The New Bareti Players is at the moment being registered. The company will act as business managers for those members of the Southern African Artists' Association who wish to use its services. They will stage productions locally, organise touring concert parties and hope ultimately to send groups overseas.

Cultural Centre

One of the main endeavours will be to raise enough money to build a permanent centre with a theatre, rehearsal rooms and well-equipped studios. To this end two members of the Company, Johnny Bolon and Geoff Isaacson are going to Europe and America this month in the hope not only of raising money, but also of planning overseas tours.

The intention at the moment is to cater for amateurs by means of a loose federation centred around the Company. Thus, there will be a theatrical group, an orchestra, a musical appreciation group, art classes, a writers' circle and any other group which may be required.

All interested groups and individuals are asked to write to the New Bareti Players, P.O. Box 1355, Johannesburg, who will gratefully receive offers of help, both practical and financial.



TRAITOR'S PARADE

WHEN the B.E.S.L. starts "regretting the Government's attitude", you can bet your bottom dollar something really dirty is going on the Statute Book. This time it is a Bill designed to return civil rights to convicted wartime traitors. These men who in other countries would already be dusty replicas in the Chamber of Horrors are today being restored to full citizenship as though nothing had happened. Ah well, our Cabinet Ministers have to have such an Act, otherwise they would not be justifying their own attitudes and actions during the recent war.

In any case, the war's over and Rommel *was* a charming fellow. Achtung, you lovely Nazis, Watch the Iron Crosses next Remembrance Parade.

THE CONTROLLER

Mr. Ben Schoeman is really a much maligned man. Nobody ever believed him when he used to assert that he was never out to smash the trade unions in this country. Now we see that he was right all the time. He doesn't want to smash them—he only wants to control them. His Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill really has caused the "centre-of-the-road" unionists to swerve rather suddenly. At last they see the Minister's friendship in its correct perspective and the flap is on, albeit a little on the late side. For under the late our laws of the Nationalists, collective bargaining is virtually a thing of the past. Strike action is in practice forbidden, disrupters are encouraged and the industrial colour bar firmly cemented by full statutory authority. The Minister himself is going to become a Controller of Manpower the like of which we would never have tolerated even in wartime.

If ever there was need for unity between the trade union bodies it is now,

I Made Friends in Poland

says Paul Joseph

I HAD come from the shopping centre of Warsaw, under my arm a pile of books that had been given me by a Polish couple, with whom I had developed an unforgettable friendship. As I got off the train I saw a group of young and old people clearing away a heap of rubble. Helping them were children with their little spades and buckets. After nine years of peace there was still some war damage to be cleared away, so devastated had Warsaw been.

AS I stood watching these people and the little children I felt thrilled but also sad. This was my last day in Warsaw.

Everywhere I had been in Warsaw I had seen scaffolding for reconstruction, and new schools, homes, churches and hospitals. Everywhere I had been snatched away to people's homes to join them at supper, or to chat (with bits of Polish I had picked up) over a cup of coffee. Students had clustered round for autographs, eager to try out their English and proud to show me their new Palace of Culture and Science. With

And real unity—not the coming together round a table of a number of White craft union leaders. A national union of Black, White, Coloured and Asiatic workers—the only force capable of stopping Schoeman and his colleagues for ever.

REVOLTING

The term "rebel" usually has a somewhat courageous and valorous connotation. It is tragically misapplied in this country of misapplied terms, when it is given to that bunch of political rabble-

Waring, Bekker, Jonker and Co. There is nothing rebellious about them; on the contrary, they have capitulated in a big way. They have gone into the Nat. camp lock, stock and barrel, as witness Mr. Waring when he talks of "going a long way with the Minister" (of Justice). And he had the nerve to complain that he was kicked out of the Springbok Legion unfairly!

No, there is nothing rebellious about the Independent United Party—"revolting" is a better word.

KAROO SHEEP

It is rumoured in Parliamentary circles that Mr. Bekker of Cradock has something wrong with his navel—every time he gets a dig he shouts "Man Man."

housewives, workers and intellectuals. I had enjoyed the exciting opera "Halka" dealing with the lives of the peasants.

HERE in Poland I saw ordinary people taking their destiny into their own hands, providing work, food and homes for all. Every year their advancing society provides a fresh challenge to those of the old world who know full employment only in time of war and expanding armament industries. War had left many a mark on Poland, Warsaw had been crushed like a match box; scores of people had been branded on their arms by the nazis, had been tortured and had perished. Many are crippled, orphaned and widowed. They feel a compelling urgency for peace without which their new life cannot be ensured.

I WAS greatly surprised by the city of Warsaw. It is a city humming with building activity. Scores of beautiful churchbells ring pleasantly on Sunday mornings. It has a craze for culture and creative activity, and brims over with theatres, parks, museums and schools.

How can I forget WARSAW with its wonderful people? They were prepared to accept me without qualification, simply because I too love freedom and happiness—because I am human.

No, there I was not a "coolie" or a "Non-European". There, for once, I felt completely free from the blast of racial discrimination.

HOW can I forget Mina Stanislawski, who was in a concentration camp at the age of 13, and is now one of Poland's leading artists. I watched her work at a model of a starved mother and child she had seen in the camp. Or Eleonora Sokolowska, a student, whose parents were so thrilled at having me at their home, that her father took out a treasured bottle of Canadian whiskey to celebrate the occasion.

I don't drink, but I could not refuse that whiskey!

Or of Zoffia Wazna, whose old mother wanted to adopt me because she has no sons. Just the other day Zoffia wrote to me "We are missing you very much, especially Mamma. We are looking forward to see you again. Remember our home is your home. And you are as dear to us as our own brother and son."

THOSE are the people who inhabit Poland. People who are kind and happy, simple and charming. In Warsaw I saw why they value peace.

Puerto Rico — Sugar Island in Eisenhower's Empire

Puerto Rico is in the spotlight of the world's news following the incident in the United States Congress when three Puerto Ricans

fired into the debating chamber. This article gives something of the background to the Island's present position.

THE history of United States enslavement of Puerto Rico goes back 56 years to 1898 when Puerto Rico was taken by force from imperial Spain. Josue de Castro in his book "The Geography of Hunger" writes about that period: "When the United States took possession of Puerto Rico in 1898 following the victory over Spain, it found a population which, if not exactly swimming in wealth and abundance, was far from the misery and hunger that it suffers in our times."

The country's autonomous government was abolished by the U.S. authorities and a military government was imposed. To this date troops of occupation are quartered in Puerto Rico.

In 1900 the U.S. Congress passed the Foraker Act which instituted a civil government in place of military rule, under U.S. domination. The Act gave Washington control over commerce and the tariff and to the President the power to appoint all officers of the Puerto Rican government. With the institution of civil government the organised labour movement, which had just arisen, conducted strikes for the eight hour day. While the capitalist Federalist Party challenged the Foraker Act and the limitations imposed upon upon the Puerto Rican people by the new charter, it tried to use the oppressive laws formerly directed against it by Spain against the rising labour movement.

WALL STREET

During the first world war the Jones Act was enacted, giving U.S. citizenship to the people of Puerto Rico. This Act, motivated in part by the need for cannon fodder, amended the Foraker Act as the law governing relations between the States and Puerto Rico. This law, which granted certain limited reforms not only

did not end the colonial status of Puerto Rico, but riveted tighter the hold of Wall Street on the economic, social and political life of the country.

Puerto Rico has indeed suffered retrogression with the advent of so-called democracy from the United States. The economic aspects of this oppression are stark. Puerto Rico has been systematically reduced from a land with a potentially varied agriculture into one with a grinding and impoverishing monoculture — the sugar industry controlled by the U.S. trusts.

In 1949 Puerto Rico produced 1,277,482 tons of sugar. How much of this sugar was Puerto Rico permitted to refine? Fifteen per cent. of its total production! The other 85 per cent. was refined in the United States.

The Puerto Rican Monthly Statistical Report for January-February 1951 gives the labour force as 785,000 for January. Of the entire labour force 108,000 worked 30 hours or more that month. Those working less than 30 hours were 190,000. The number having jobs but not at work were 25,000. Of the total labour force 20 per cent. were unemployed. If one takes the last three categories: those unemployed, those working less than 30 hours and those with a job but not at work, we get altogether 48 per cent. of the total labour force fully or partially unemployed! These figures are taken from the month when unemployment is the greatest in the sugar industry and illustrates how sugar plays havoc with the people of Puerto Rico.

In 1949, 30,000 families were receiving public relief and 41,000 more had applied for relief. This approximates one in every six families on the Island.

LOW WAGES

The Irving Trust Company, in a re-

port "Conditions in Puerto Rico" says: "Wages are low and represent the main advantage the island has to offer for industrialists. Skilled workers average 43 cents per hour against 1 dollar 40 cents in the United States. Unskilled workers get 30 cents an hour." A frank admission that the greater the misery of the people of Puerto Rico, the more advantageous for American Big Business.

These miserable wage levels are far from "balanced off" with low price levels. The cost of living is actually more than 50 per cent. higher than in the United States.

Rice and beans are two of the most important staples in the diet of the Puerto Rican people and in one year the wholesale price index for beans rose 23 per cent and for rice 23 per cent.

An additional means of the super-exploitation of Puerto Rico is its exclusion from the world market. Puerto Rico could undoubtedly buy much cheaper in the world market than it is forced to pay to the United States. Ninety per cent of Puerto Rico's imports come from the States. In 1948 Puerto Rico bought from the United States 337 million dollars in goods and sold to the United States 199 million dollars worth of goods. Obviously such an unequal trade balance heavily favour the United States monopolists.

The Puerto Ricans are told they are citizens of the United States. At one time they had proportionately more young people fighting in Korea than any other country including the United States. They were enlisted, they were told, to fight for "democracy". On their starving island they have no democracy. Big Business interests hold the people of Puerto Rico in enslavement.



TRADE UNIONS IN TRAVAIL, by Alex Hepple, M.P. Published by Unity Publications (Pty.) Ltd. Price 3 6. Obtainable at all bookshops.

"The rapid industrialisation of Africa must be paralleled with equally rapid developments in the organisation of labour from which the Black man cannot be excluded . . . Working-class unity is needed now. Workers should no longer allow themselves to be duped by cunning appeals to racial prejudice and cries of 'Communism'. They should stand together and help to create trade union unity."

These are the all-important conclusions to which Alex Hepple, Parliamentary Leader of the Labour Party, comes in his book "Trade Unions in Travail", published in January to tell "the story of the Broederbond-Nationalist Plan to control South African trade unions."

This book has been primarily directed at the organised, but often conservative trade union movement, to show in the face of Mr. Schoeman's new Industrial Conciliation Bill, the unfolding of the Nationalist plan to create a servile movement, which they will be able to control politically.

For a proper understanding of what Mr. Schoeman's new I.C. Bill means, it is essential to analyse Nationalist intentions as pressed in policy declarations over the past two decades. It is no use stating, as certain conservative leaders are doing now, that the trade unions must wait for the final draft of Schoeman's Bill before a programme of action is launched. This self-evident truth is seen even by men like Mr. Ivan Walker, who has described much of the trade union leadership as "jellied".

Whatever changes the Minister might make to his draft Bill, he will not abandon his basic plan to shatter the movement into warring racial groups, curtail strike rights and set the stage for wholesale invasion by his stooges.

It is this development of Nationalist trade union policy and its steady application that Mr. Hepple analyses in his book. It tells how the Broederbond started its campaign in the early thirties.

CONTROLLED UNIONS

The truth of Schoeman's repeated protestations that he does not wish to "destroy" the trade union movement becomes clear. Far from wishing to destroy trade unions, the Nationalists have followed Hitler's argument, as set out in Mein Kampf, that the unions are of paramount importance and that effectively controlled, they would be a powerful means of "disciplining the people."

The "Afrikaner Front" (including representatives of the F.A.K., O.B., Reddingsdaadbond and Dutch Reformed Churches) set this as their target in a declaration thirteen years ago — one of the many interesting documents quoted by Mr. Hepple. They then went forward to "rescue the Afrikaner workers from the claws of unnational trade unionism." Die Blanke Werker-beskermingsbond was the direct instrument of political nationalism, campaigning under the useful banner of "Christian Nationalism" in union after union.

Schoeman's ravings of a decade ago against the principles of collective bargaining are recalled, as well as many other statements, clearly showing that under the "dynamic and progressing policy" of the new order, the class-struggle would be stopped, wages and working conditions regulated by the great white father of the workers, the "Christian National" State (neither Christian, nor National), and labour organisations rigidly controlled.

The sad story of the Mine Workers' Union, its use as a base from which to attack other unions, and the subsequent unsavoury happenings in the administration of that union is told.

Mr. Hepple recounts the onslaught on the Garment Workers' Union, from the first attacks in 1931 by gangs of hoodlums shouting "We are Nationalists", to the dreadful spectacle of baton-wielding police, under Nationalist rule in 1952, beating down women on the Johannesburg City Hall steps. There are also the stories of the Building and Leather Workers' Unions.

But the Nat. plan could not have reached the dangerous stage of today, had the Nationalists not succeeded to become the Government.

USING THE LAW

After 1948 follows the practical application of their dangerous policies by means of ever worsening repressive legislation. The cornerstone on which the Nats. built their post-1948 attack on the trade unions (their white-washing having, on the whole, failed miserably) was the Suppression of Communism Act, first introduced two years after they as-

sumed office. In terms of this Act they have removed almost the entire wing of trade union leaders which does not fall under Mr. Walker's definition of "jelly fish".

This was the preparatory step to the complete shackling of the unions — the Nat. argument probably being that it would be an easy walk-over once the militants were gone. The second attack now unfolds.

Mr. Hepple analyses the denial of the rights to African workers by means of the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, alterations to the Native Labour Regulation Act, the Native Building Workers' Act and the Mines and Works Act.

The long-standing desire of the Nationalists to carve up the mixed unions is demonstrated. Mr. Hepple warns trade union leaders who remain silent because they hope nothing really drastic will happen, that they are underestimating the Nationalists.

He deals with the Industrial Legislation Commission's report, and subsequent developments, which forms the basis for Mr. Schoeman's new industrial legislation to be introduced later this Session.

What is the answer to this threat? Mr. Hepple gives it as an immediate rallying of workers of all colours. "If the White workers persist in swallowing the propaganda that the non-European worker threatens their existence and as a result support reactionary policies, their unions will degenerate into artificial forms. On the other hand, despite discouragement and repressive laws non-European trade unions will rise and become powerful."

In South Africa trade union must be seen as part of the movement to educate and advance all the peoples to a better life, he says.

His stand is far more realistic than that of many contemporary trade union leaders. He deserves credit not only for collecting in lucid form a mass of many declarations and documents illustrative of Nationalist policy — which make of "Trade Unions in Travail" a useful handbook — but for putting squarely before trade unionists what is really at stake and for giving the only and only possible remedy — working-class unity, irrespective of race and colour.

DAWIE COLYAN.

The annual subscription to "FIGHTING TALK" is 5 -. Become a subscriber NOW. Send your 5 - to P.O. Box 1355, Johannesburg.



Dear Sir,

Apartheid is a policy that is not based on the realities of South African life. It attempts to reverse the tide of African progress. It will, as we see already, achieve its end only by ultimately resorting to violence. It works for the continuous dispersal of the forces of a united nationhood. It has convinced the majority of clear-thinking Africans that it spells their doom.

Through iniquitous legislation and the curtailment of rights and privileges it has been seen that apartheid has no positive content and as a result those sections which apartheid has hit hardest are looking for an alternative policy to save them from ruin apartheid has brought upon them. It is steadily forcing some into accepting the policy of Communism and the majority to stand four-square behind their national leaders.

When the White man first came to South Africa he tried to bring about total segregation or "apartheid", by a complete territorial division between non-Africans and Africans. But due to economic reasons -- and the desire for the Black man's cattle -- it proved impracticable. Since then these economic reasons exist even now -- with the difference that it is now the Black man's labour and no longer his cattle, the government has been forced, they refuse to admit it, to accept the co-existence of European and African communities. But it tries to entrench differences between the group in legislation and administration.

The Fagan Commission has already made it plain in its report that the European and Non-European are economically bound together, and that the movement to the towns is a natural phenomenon. The Bantu offer the labour upon which the economy of the country rests.

If apartheid could be carried to its logical conclusion it would be creating two states within one and if it were possible this would be an abnormal state of affairs.

If in a state of 'total' apartheid Europeans used the Bantu state as a reservoir of labour, the Reserves, which are already overfull, would not hold out; most of their

adult population would flow into the towns again for work; the reserves could not be developed with most of the manpower in the towns for the greater part of the year. The vicious circle would start again, with even more bitter racial strife.

Supposing the Bantu were trained in technical skills, and able to establish industries in their areas, from where would the capital come to establish and maintain these industries? As soon as the European was attracted to invest capital in these industries, friction would start again.

Apartheid protagonists have lost sight of the fact that they are paving the way to their inevitable downfall. They will be defeated by the hostility of those whose goodwill earlier enabled them to triumph. Now that matters have brought us to a stage that no man enjoys, our superiors have lost sight of the fact that when they jubilantly think they have achieved their goal of total separation -- if that is ever possible -- they will be astounded to see a new power rising, which they had formerly regarded as destined to play no important part in the history of this country. It will have come about through their own efforts -- the introduction of apartheid. It will come as a dark cloud over the skies.

First steps are needed to solve our problems. Not 'apartheid', but the rehabilitation of the existing reserves and the reduction of the stock to the varying capacity of the veld; the absorption of landless and surplus Africans into industry, and finally, parallel development and townships near the industrial centres, on the lines of the Fagan Report, so that the African can live with his family near his place of work.

The Africans want a society where colour is no criterion by which to assess the value of a man as a citizen.

Yours sincerely,

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