

FIGHTING TALK

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FROM HERE TO ETERNITY

THE decision to experiment with the H bomb at Bikini will stand as the most unparalleled act of madness in all human history. It was madness of a modern sort, starting not in the crazy aberrations of escapees from lunatic asylums, but in the policy conferences of the foremost military and political leaders of a great nation.

It was deliberate, cold, madness; cold war madness. Its echoes reverberate still around the world; the bodies of the burned fishermen are still lying in Pacific hospitals; radio-active fish and ships are still being quarantined and destroyed in Pacific ports; scientists are still questioning whether the marine food supplies of the Pacific peoples have not been damaged beyond repair.

And with the first horrible experiment barely over, the megalomaniacs announce another with the "danger zone" enlarged from six thousand to thirty thousand miles. And even that is only guess. None can foresee the results of the crazy act. None can state with certainty how far the radio-active dust clouds or the radio-active sea currents will carry, or the effect they will have on life anywhere on the globe. Such considerations carry no weight in the United States High Command and the Atomic Energy Commission. Men who plan war care little for human life. The more fearful the weapon, the more likely the victory. The more fearful the destruction, the more successful the experiment! So runs their reasoning.

To the horror of the whole civilised world, they offer the lamest, most unconvincing of excuses. The explosion, we are told from Washington, was of "unexpected" violence. Grim echo of the murderer's plea: "I didn't know it was

loaded!" But now they know it is loaded! And still they try it out again.

The old story of "defence" has a worse-than-hollow ring. Here is preparation for deliberate mass murder, for aggression newly defined by President Eisenhower as "massive retaliation." Here is Chicago terrorism on a monumental scale, planned by madmen to cow an entire world which fails to bow before dollar penetration and its Coca Cola civilisation. Here is the greatest, super-colossal demonstration of the superiority of the American way of life. "Look on my works, ye mighty, and despair!"

There are ways that men have found for dealing with their murderers. Never were those actions more desperately needed than now.

We deprive potential murderers of firearms. There is need, and desperate need now for outright prohibition of the manufacture and use of all atomic weapons.

We remove potential murderers from society. There is need, and desperate need now, for branding the experimenters of atomic weapons as war criminals, and driving them from their places of influence in every land.

We regard as equally guilty those who assist murderers in their crimes. There is need, and desperate need now, to brand as guilty those governments and bodies that help to prepare atomic murder, by claiming that it is done "for a good cause", the cause of anti-Socialism.

Governments, thus far, have failed to stop the madmen in the White House. It is now for the people who value life to make their angry voices heard, before they blast us all from here to eternity.

... "The Urban Areas Amendment Bill lays the foundation for the next steps towards total apartheid ..."

Verwoerd Tries to Force Apartheid on the Country

by
Cllr. R. N. HARVEY.

THE Native Urban Areas Amendment Bill incorporates the recommendations of the Mentz Committee, and at the same time brings the Act up to date in regard to the so-called "locations in the sky" problem as it affects Johannesburg.

Briefly, the Bill takes out of the hands of the local Authority any discretion that it may wish to exercise regarding the housing of its African population. It does not deal with Sophiatown, Martindale, Newclare or Pageview which are covered by the Native Re-Settlement Bill, but it envisages the removal of all so-called "black spots" in and around Johannesburg and the transference of the people involved to an area which is an extension of the present African residential area of Orlando, Meadowlands and Moroka.

It is intended to remove completely Pimville, Nancefield and Racecourse Township; to treat the Johannesburg-Potchefstroom Railway line as the Southern border of the native area. Western Native Township will be removed; the four males and one female single Hostels and Kensington "B" will be eliminated; Alexandra Township will be reduced in size to approximately one-third or less of its present population, and the only people living there will be those who are working in the Northern suburbs. The squatters of Albertynsville will have to be taken into the Johannesburg area insofar as concerns Africans living there who presently work within the borders of Johannesburg.

The maximum number of Africans allowed in any block of flats will be five, thus reducing the African flat population of 20,000 to some 6,500.

When these removals are completed there will be about 60,000 Africans within the Johannesburg area who do not live in the South West, and approximately 456,000 who do.

THE families dispossessed of their homes in this way no longer have the right to expect a house to be built for them. They will be given a piece of land and told that they can erect there just what they wish. They will be in an area of some 11,000 acres extending from Orlando to Zuurbekom, North and West of the Johannesburg/Potchefstroom railway line. No prior consultation will take place with the people concerned; there will be no compensation for lost property rights.

The African will not be able to choose where he wishes to live. For example an African today living in his own home in Alexandra Township but not working in the Northern suburbs will be forcibly removed to the South Western area.

The removal envisaged under this scheme will affect approximately 160,000 people, from which can be seen the

extent of the upheaval in our present pattern of life that faces us.

The already chaotic transport conditions existing in the Orlando/Moroka area will be magnified by the need to cope with about double the present population, and it is impossible to estimate the time it will take for the railways to deal with that problem.

The provision of serviced land without a house will result in the development of a huge slum area under conditions that defeat the imagination. Moroka will be a haven of contentment in relation to the new district that will spring up.

FROM the financial angle no consideration is given to the problems envisaged. Presumably the Council's fief hostels will be emptied and remain empty without compensation to the City for the redemption charges current on these buildings. The costs of the removal will be for the account of the City.

The dislocation of flat life will presumably result in this type of living becoming exceedingly unpopular, for it is difficult to see how with the best will in the world the African employed in flats is going to get to his work in time to be of any value: to say nothing of the increased wages that he will have to be paid to cover his transport and cost of living away from the flat.

It is impossible to assess the dislocation to commerce and industry. Instead of a moderately settled labour population industry will have to be satisfied with what is virtually migrant labour. As it is, the labour turnover in industry in Johannesburg is enormously high, representing 100% over twenty months. How under these conditions it is going to be possible for industry really to train the African in any one job and hope to keep him for any period of time is beyond the wit of man.

The same Bill incorporates the provision that foreign and Protectorate natives are to be expelled from the City. The extent to which this will reduce our labour supply is unknown, but is certainly very considerable.

AN interesting factor developing from the application of the Native Urban Areas Act itself is now beginning to show its effects. I touch on this as a matter of interest, though in point of fact it is not covered by the new Bill. I refer to the provision that defines a work seeker. Broadly speaking any African who was not born in Johannesburg, or has not worked with the same employer for ten years, or has worked in the city for less than fifteen years, is liable if he is out of employment for more than 72 hours, to be ejected from the city and transferred to some other local or rural authority who needs his labour.

This provision is being strictly enforced, and though under present conditions such labour can be absorbed in the rural areas it is interesting to speculate on what their position would be in the event of a country-wide slump. Suppose such an individual should lose his job by virtue of a decline in our economic activity, and suppose that his services are not required by any other local authority, or even a rural Authority. What then happens to him? Quite honestly nobody knows, and the answer remains a mystery. Presumably, ejected from Johannesburg and acceptable in no other place, he must remain suspended mid heaven and earth for the duration of the slump.

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 THIS unadulterated picture of disturbance, misery, poverty, with its consequent disease and desperation, is offered to us as the implementation of the ideal of apartheid. One cannot plead that in doing this the authorities are not perfectly aware of the results. It all has a deliberate intention. That intention is to do everything conceivable to dispossess the African of any roots, of any stability he may presently have in the city. Deliberately the situation is created where only the relatively few

Africans born here will have any measure of urbanisation or stabilisation.

It is probably not intended at this stage to take the next step. What is intended is to establish a position where it will make it easy for a future generation to continue along the line of eventual total separation. If and when that time comes, and it is considered desirable to move further quantities of Africans to our mythical Bantustan, that can be done because there will be no commitments.

If it is true to say that these proposals do not immediately restrict our labour supply it is nevertheless a fact that they do freeze it at approximately its present figure.

The future course is then obvious. With a restricted labour supply industry will find it difficult to continue developing in and around Johannesburg, and the only place where they will be able to find sufficient labour will be around the perimeter of the Native Reserves. In this way the Minister hopes that industry will then be diverted to those places. This proposal and its implications are another story. Suffice it to say that as presently conceived the Urban Areas Amendment Bill lays the foundation for the next steps towards

total apartheid, if and when South Africa considers it desirable that they should be taken.

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 THIS cold assessment of the situation does not take account of the human element; it does not dwell on the distress and hardship that is going to develop in the course of this upheaval. That picture can be left to a better pen than mine. Suffice it to say that these movements will have an effect on the pattern of living of every man, woman and child in the city, regardless of colour.

And it is all done in direct opposition to the wishes of the people most concerned — the residents of Johannesburg. This is the "scruff of the neck" policy threatened by Councillor P. Z. J. van Vuuren, the leader of the Nationalist Party in the City Council. Unsuccessful as they have been in Johannesburg in the propagation of their fantastic ideals they have now turned for help to the Minister, who readily uses the power he possesses to come to their assistance.

It is the example par excellence of the use of power in defiance of the wishes of the majority and represents a serious inroad into democratic rights.

Women are going to Prison for Pass Offences, says J. B. Marks.

HOUNDING THE AFRICANS FOR PASSES

THE rapid implementation of the "Abolition of Passes and Consolidation of Documents Act" has unleashed a reign of terror, hitherto unknown in the annals of pass raids in South Africa. The Africans are being hunted in the streets, in locations, in their houses and on railway station platforms. Police demand passes at bus stops in the early morning (many get to work late as a result and even lose their jobs); and again in the evening as workers go home. Recently a police raid for passes took place inside an African restaurant and members of the raiding party went from table to table demanding documents from the people. You are not safe even at home in bed. Police knock up the houses in the early hours of the morning and demand passes from the people they have roused from sleep.

All these raids are an essential part of Verwoerd's Gestapo-like control of the African people. His "Abolition of Passes Act" (was there ever such a misnomer?) is casting a fine net through which no African will be able to slip, unregistered, uncontrolled, undirected to the labour area where the N.A.D. decrees he must go.

It is not difficult to get the new pass book. On payment of 3/6 and the production of a current tax receipt any African is issued with it. But to possess the book does not mean the end of trouble. Far from it. This only marks the beginning of trouble. The applicant has to supply information to officials at the pass office about his status, including his birthplace and the name and address of former employers. From this will be determined whether he can remain in the urban area and work there. If it is decided

that a man may not be registered in the town, he is referred to Room 53 at the Johannesburg Pass Office where, without being told why or given a chance to state his case, he is endorsed out of the area, ordered to go to a rural area and given a brief period to comply with the order. Such victims, who are summarily uprooted from their families and friends, have no provision made for them to start life afresh somewhere else. Work on a farm or on a mine is to be their lot. Not to leave the urban area means sooner or later to be picked up in one of the constant pass raids, to serve a term of fourteen days' imprisonment, and then to be sent out of the city or back to prison again.

And now African women are being made to carry passes and are being sent to jail for being found without them. The Native Laws Amendment Act of the 1952 session amended the Urban Areas Act so that today, under Section 10, no African (women included) may remain in an urban area or proclaimed area for longer than 72 hours without the authorisation of the local authority. Previously the Governor-General had to proclaim specific areas closed to entry and it had not been the practice to include women in this prohibition.

In Krugersdorp women are daily being picked up by police vans and charged in court with pass offences. This is one municipality that has started enforcing this prohibition against women, there are probably others.

As tragic an existence as the pass laws have always inflicted on the African people, it seems that the future is to be even blacker.

THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

In, this, the first of a series of views on the Congress of the People, the writer asks: WILL THE EUROPEANS BE THERE?



"United by the aim of achieving full citizenship rights for all South Africans, and by a common desire to make the democratic aspirations of our people heard powerfully throughout South Africa and the world, a Congress of the People is to be convened at a date to be announced.

"The Congress of the People will consist of democratically elected representatives of people of all races from all parts of the country, and will be the most widely representative gathering of South Africans ever known in the Union's history.

"The Congress will frame and adopt a Freedom Charter expressing the will of the people of all races, based on the decisions of meetings and assemblies at which delegates are to be elected.

"A Joint Planning Committee of the four bodies has been established to carry out the campaign and bring the Congress of the People to fruition."

Resolution taken in Natal in March, 1954 by the African National Congress, The South African Indian Congress, The South African Congress of Democrats, and The South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation.



ALREADY, before the ink has had time to dry on the call to the Congress of the People which was issued last month by the four bodies that make up the Congress movement, its purposes are being distorted.

"Non-Europeans plan Congress". This is how the Rand Daily Mail headlined its story. Yet it is clear from the very nature of the four bodies who are sponsoring the Congress of the People, that this is to be a gathering for all the racial groups. It is equally clear from the press statement released after the joint meeting of the sponsors. There is no room for doubt that the Congress

will bring together white and non-white in a common enquiry as to the meaning of 'Freedom' which is to be written into the Freedom Charter at the Congress.

Doubting Thomases have begun to question, even before work to call the Congress has really started, whether there is any prospect of participation of Europeans in such a meeting. "Is it feasible" they ask, "to expect the Liberal, Labour and United Parties to come and air their views? Is it possible that European Church groups or the Race Relations Institute can be encouraged to take part?"

I believe it is both possible and likely. It is, of course, apparent from the press statement of the sponsors, that those participating in the Congress of the People will do so as democratically elected representatives of people in constituencies, and not as representatives of organisations. But I believe it is not only possible to get these European bodies to participate in the contest for election to the Congress, but it can be made impossible for them to stay out.

THE TEST

The test will be how completely representative of all the Non-European people the Congress can be made. It is more than likely that the Congress of the People, and the Freedom Charter around which it will revolve, will capture the imagination of the overwhelming majority of the non-white peoples of South Africa. Everywhere, if the work is done well and with energy, ordinary people who have never before been consulted about what type of country they would like to make the land of their birth, will be drawn into discussion, debate and argument about what they want when they speak of "Freedom", and about what kind of society will guarantee that "freedom" to them.

If such debate and argument goes on throughout the length and breadth of the country, can any European group which claims to uphold liberty stand aside? Will it be possible for those who claim "trusteeship" of the Native people not to enter into the debate, and not to seek to influence their 'wards' along the path to freedom which they themselves seek to lead? Will it be possible for those who repeatedly advise the non-European people to be "restrained", and who criticise the Congress movement for its rash impetuosity to allow election contests in European areas to go by default to the only European body thus

far politically committed to support the Congress of the People, the S.A. Congress of Democrats?

I believe not.

There is an idea abroad amongst many progressive-minded people that Europeans generally are mummified in their attitudes of prejudice and racial isolation, and that nothing will ever change them. "We, of course" progressive, democratic Europeans argue, "are different". But "we" are not different. Like all our fellow South Africans we have been born and reared in an atmosphere of exclusiveness and prejudice. But somewhere along the line, our outlooks have been influenced away from the rushing stream of blind race prejudice, perhaps by the ideas of great thinkers; perhaps by the currents of democratic ideas which flourish strongly in lands abroad; and perhaps by the realisation, driven home on us by the democratic movement of the non-European peoples, that there is a better way of life for us in South Africa, than that which the Malan Government prepares for us.

BREAK WITH THE OLD

Every new democratic forward-movement of the non-white people, contrasting so sharply with every new Government inroad on our peace and liberties, brings more European South Africans to the point of breaking with the traditions of race discrimination and oppression. The Defiance Campaign did so, leaving in its wake the Congress of Democrats, the Liberal Party and a more thoroughly democratic Labour Party.

The campaign to build the Congress of the People, the campaign to get people everywhere to write the Freedom Charter, can do it again, on a wider scale. The way is open for a great advance of progressive, democratic thinking amongst European South Africans. It remains for those who see the possibilities of advance, to enter into every aspect of the campaign for the Congress of the People, encouraging every European group and organisation to enter into the election contest, urging every European citizen to say his piece on the contents of the Freedom Charter.

I believe it can be done, successfully. And in the doing of it, there will be built not only a successful, multi-racial Congress. There will be laid the foundation for a successful, united advance of all the peoples of the country to the winning of the freedom whose meaning will be in the Charter.

LIONEL FORMAN writes on

Ray Alexander's Winning Election

"It is a stock practice of Communists to keep on seeking election. They like to stultify the workings of parliament and the democratic system by obliging the government repeatedly to prevent their nominees from coming to the house." (The Minister of Justice Swart, 9th March, 1954).

THIS thoroughly undemocratic Communist habit of keeping on getting an overwhelming majority of votes in a free election is infuriating the Nats and delighting the people. Nothing is more sure than that Ray Alexander, the candidate described by Swart as a Communist, will win the Cape Western By-Election.

Interest is lively and all the signs—even long before the election—showed that the electors will support Ray as solidly as they did Kahn, Bunting and Carneson. Meetings are large and enthusiastic—reports that this or that meeting has been the largest election meeting in the history of a place have come in so often as to be monotonous—but the important thing is that the reports are not election hyperbole—they are fact.

Other criteria—the spontaneous letters of support coming in, the fizzle that dogs every step of the opponents—everything points to it being possible to make it the safest political prediction that Ray will top the poll.

The target electors are setting themselves is not mere victory but that Ray's figures should rival those gained by Brian Bunting (4,123) and her opponents' total should not exceed that of Bunting's opponents' (940).

FACTORS FOR VICTORY

A big advantage Ray has over her opponents is her simple uncomplicated programme—summed up as "Full immediate equality, with Africans in Parliament."

Also of great assistance to Ray's campaign are the records of her two predecessors, Sam Kahn and Brian Bunting.

There is no doubt that the electorate is completely satisfied with the way these two members of Parliament (who were expelled because they were Communists) carried out their election pro-

mises. Ray stands on the same platform as they did and has their whole-hearted support.

Third important factor is the anger of the people at the contemptuous attempt of Swart to force an unpopular candidate onto them. This put any candidate who has not been named as a Communist under a heavy disadvantage in the election.

And fourth point is that Ray is such a strong candidate. She has been well known among the voters for donkey's years and almost everywhere she goes, workers young and old get up spontaneously and tell their fellows of the struggles they have fought in the past, side by side with Ray.

"Full, immediate equality." There isn't a single voter who doesn't want that. This makes it awfully difficult for the rival candidates, who, of course, are standing for election precisely because their clothing becomes moist at the thought of immediate equality for Africans.

Let's look at them.

WHO ARE RAY'S OPPONENTS?

Both of Ray's opponents suffer under what must be a great handicap for an election candidate—they have no popular support.

Mrs. Jonker-Fiske can be dismissed as a bad joke. She calls herself Christian Coalition and wears a blanket. Her candidature defies political analysis, invites psycho-analysis.

What opposition there is comes from Advocate Gibson, the Liberal Party candidate. He hopes for votes on the plea that a vote for Ray is "wasted" because she cannot sit in Parliament. As subsidiary election material the Liberals use such things as the fact that Gibson is a lawyer and can give "legal advice", and also very delicately handled anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda. Faced with the overwhelming support for Ray's programme, Gibson has found it best to say nothing of the Liberal policy of limited franchise in the sky when you die.

While Gibson himself cannot take a very big part in the campaign for the very reason that he can't very well disavow his party's franchise policy, his election agents take this line: of course we really support Ray Alexander's poli-

cy, but she can't get into Parliament, so better than nothing let's have Gibson.

THE MOOD OF THE ELECTORATE

Cape Western has again and again shown itself to be the most advanced and politically aware constituency in South Africa. The voting figures have been consistent and completely unaffected by the changes in the tactics of the opponents of the policies of the candidates Swart describes as Communist.

The electorate has always been quick to see through every government manoeuvre against these candidates, as well as every action whose effect would be to assist the government.

No candidate who opposes the policy of complete, immediate equality will be returned in the Cape Western constituency in its present climate.

LIBERALS SHOW THEMSELVES UP

Before Sam Kahn was returned to Parliament the speeches of Liberal leader Mrs. Ballinger seemed brave and brimful of battle compared with the rancid racialism of the reactionaries.

But now the people have experienced the kind of stand made by the representatives who were expelled as Communists. And the people will be satisfied with nothing less.

The speeches of the other "Native Representatives" are pale mush compared with those of the expelled members. And the people would rather see empty seats in Parliament than seats full of pale mush.

The Liberal Party makes little pretence that it has entered the election to fight anyone other than "the Communists". Certainly it is not fighting apartheid.

A startling example is embodied in the second issue of "Liberal News" (Gibson's election leaflet). It contains 72 inches of election matter and 71 of them are devoted to an attack on Advance, and the Liberal idea of "Communism"; one inch takes a side-swipe at fascism—but only by linking it with "Communism".

WHAT OF BOYCOTT?

The boycott slogan had absolutely no success in the previous elections. It is even less realistic, has even less attraction, this time.

(Continued on page 13)

BEHIND THE OVERSEAS NEWS

EXIT THE NEUTRALS

By BEN GILES.

FIVE years ago, the Congress Party was India; and Nehru was the Congress Party. How rapidly India's millions have moved was revealed by last month's dramatic news. In Travancore-Cochin state elections, the Congress ministries were swept from office, despite the desperate efforts of Nehru himself. An absolute majority of the seats, 53 out of 117, went to the United Front of the Left, composed of Communists, Revolutionary Socialists, and local Praja Socialists acting in defiance of the wishes of their national leaders. The first people's Government has been born on India's soil.

There had been forerunners. Almost two years before, in the first national elections, the Communist Party of India had emerged as a serious rival to the Congress Party, despite tremendous legal difficulties placed in their way. There had been United Front victories on a smaller scale in Telengana, where the peasant revolt had led to the seizure and redistribution of land from Congress Party supporters amongst the semi-feudal landlords.

IN KASHMIR

And there had been Kashmir. Here, in this little state, hemmed in between India and Pakistan, there had come to a head all the conflicts which have torn India since her dismemberment into the separate states. There was the struggle between India and Pakistan, leading in 1948 to armed war; there was the British-inspired Pakistan invasion, repelled by the people of Kashmir with aid from India; there was the election of a Congress-Party type Government, followed by the entrenchment of feudal landlordism, of speculation, graft and intrigue with British and American imperialism. There had been the mass people's struggles for agrarian reform and the abolition of the royal dynasty, and the tremendous united democratic advance of a starving, exploited people, which ended in the overthrow of the Abdullah government, and in the accession to power of a popular government of democratic reform.

But, above all in Kashmir, there had been American penetration. With Abdullah in office, there had been intrigue and influence brought to bear, to turn Kashmir into a nominally independent state, guaranteed by the U.S.A. and like South Korea, thus subject. To the American plans, the new Government of Ghulam Mohammed gave a sharp rebuff. The American observers were sharply warned not to interfere in Kashmir's internal affairs; the police were bluntly ordered to arrest them if they were found in places where they had no business to be.

"What we have, we hold" has become, like so many other one-time British possessions, the unspoken watchword of American imperialism. Their schemes to hold Kashmir have not easily been abandoned. There are reasons—good reasons for the planners of anti-Soviet war—why Kashmir is important, almost vital. Only a narrow strip of territory to the north separates this very suitable air base from the U.S.S.R. On the east, for three hundred miles, it is bordered by the People's Republic of China. And all around to the South, threatened by air power from bases in the fertile Kashmir valley, lies the territory of 'neutral' India, 'unreliable' India, possibly even hostile India in the event of imperialist war against China. A valuable prize for American war strategists, and one not readily abandoned.

NEXT PAKISTAN

But the democratic upsurge in Kashmir has made its development as a Yankee base difficult, unlikely. The UNO 'observers' are still there, trying. But the main emphasis has shifted to the next best thing, to Pakistan. It is a longer flight from here to the U.S.S.R. or China, true. But its government is more willing.

Rebuffed in Kashmir, meeting at best benevolent neutrality from Nehru's India, American imperialism has turned its heat on Pakistan. As always, military 'aid' opens the way for full domination. For some weeks, Washington has been insisting on Pakistan's need for military 'aid', ramming it down Pa-

kistani throats. Last week the deal was finally done. Pakistan's tame Muslim League Government signed the deal for 'aid' which her people never wanted. In exchange, as always, bases, special privileges for economic and military enterprises, special rights for American forces of occupation have been freely granted.

Oil and politics, imperial politics, are always closely woven. Before the ink could dry on the Pakistan-American agreement, Washington was announcing its new "Defence Pact"; Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq. A military pact for aggression certainly; but equally part of the 'big squeeze' of American big business, circling Iran, dominating Saudi-Arabia, ruling Iraq, the tremendous money-making hearts of the Middle East oil reservoirs. While the American generals moved in on Iran to seal the ring, American oil-men moved in on Iraq amidst the pale beats of outraged British feelings. In the best Chicago gangster tradition, the ring of trigger-men stood around, fingering their guns, lest the squeezed-out rival decide to make a stand for it. And also in the best Chicago tradition, no one paused to give a thought for the ordinary undistinguished working people whose fate was being settled by the big shots.

WAR PLANS MISFIRE

In this profound contempt for people the new international gangsters find their best-laid grabs misfire. From India's government, threatened itself by American bases in Pakistan, and facing eclipse at the hands of the rising united front of anti-imperialist struggle, came strong and sharp objection to the Pakistan 'aid' pact. The benevolent neutral of the Korean putsch, is driven to become the hostile opponent of the Pakistan adventure. The balance of power shifts against the American world-conquerors.

And into the scales enter the people of Pakistan. From Bengal, Pakistan's eastern province centred on the strategic port of Calcutta comes the electrifying news of the formation of a United Front against the Muslim League Government. Into this united front have entered every section of the Bengali people, from extreme left to right-of-centre, dedicated to the ousting of the government which bartered the country to American imperialism.

The United Front movement grows like wildfire. Close behind the news from Travancore comes news of United front successes in Alwar City, in Pepsu. If India moves, can Pakistan be far behind?

**This article shows how Schoeman's Legislation Threatens the Standards
of all Workers, the Europeans Included**

Schoeman Plans Control of the Workers

SOUTH African trade unions have always called for "equal pay for equal work", a sound principle based on the idea that the value to an employer of a man's work depends on the nature of the work, and not on the colour or race of the man.

This policy was correct for other reasons too. It aimed at equal opportunity for all workers irrespective of colour, on a basis which precluded any one group from undercutting any other. Employers buy their labour as cheaply as possible. Our society is organised in such a way that Non-Europeans cannot find advancement in many occupations because of the colour bar and other restrictions. Consequently they are obliged to work for a wage which is often much lower than for European workers, thus providing the employers with extra profits.

The answer is not to exclude Non-Europeans from such jobs, but to see that they are paid the same wage as Europeans doing the same job, or else the more highly paid Europeans will disappear from industry.

EQUALITY OF LOW PAY

The position is that employers are tired of paying higher wages to Europeans simply because they have white skins. And Schoeman who is heart and soul on their side, is helping them to bring about equality in the wages of all workers — including Europeans, *not at the top rates, but at the lowest*. This policy is clearly reactionary.

We want equality of opportunity and of wages at the highest level — Schoeman and the industrialists want it at the lowest. If they have their way workers of all races will get equal pay for equal work, but as near as possible to the present starvation level of the lowest paid.

GRABBING THE UNIONS

But Schoeman has other plans too, which at present suit the employers down to the ground. He wants to have complete control of the workers, and since this can only be achieved through the unions, he aims to grab what unions he can, and smash those he can't. The fact that the workers whose unions are smashed will be defenceless in the face of wage cuts and worsened conditions enforced by the employers is all to the good. Even industrialists who might

hate Schoeman politically, will be quick to seize on the weaknesses of the workers to reduce their standards.

The Nationalists have a rotten record as trade unionists. In progressive unions they have always formed undisciplined and dissident groups, noisy and disloyal, and because of their noisiness often swaying policy much more than their numbers justified. In the few Unions which they captured or formed they have an unbroken record of subservience to the bosses. There is no record of a single redeeming action, not one spark of militance.

USING THE LAW

Schoeman realises after years of organised white-anting, that his stooges are far from capturing the unions from within, so he is at this moment preparing changes to the Industrial Conciliation Act which are meant to smash the unions and permit the Nats to grab control of the pieces.

Till now, only one union could be registered (that is, officially recognised) in each industry in any area. Under the new law *as many as four* unions can be registered. The Industrial Conciliation Act Amendment Bill provides that unions can split in the following ways:

Each racial group, i.e. Europeans, Coloured and Indians can form a separate union.

Not less than one-third of any racial group can split off and form separate unions.

This means that Nat. minorities are given the opportunity to split unions wide open — object number one of Schoeman's master plan. It means also that instead of workers in an industry speaking with one united voice, three or four different groups — each with different standards of living, each with different ideas on what wages they are prepared to work for — will in future negotiate with employers who are united in a common determination to pay the lowest possible wages. Workers will have the greatest difficulty trying to reach agreement on this basis, or of taking united action to protect present standards, let alone improve them. At one blow Schoeman plans to get control of the unions and to break the workers' power to struggle.

A proof that Schoeman lumps all

workers together is the fact that the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act passed last year to smash African unions and reduce African workers to semi-slavery, can be applied in all its important aspects to all workers including Europeans whenever the Governor-General (which means the Nat. Government) proclaims it.

A government does not take power which it does not mean to use.

It is no accident that Schoeman and Swart work hand in glove to take away the people's rights to go to the courts for protection against arbitrary action on the part of the government. What with these two labour laws, and the Suppression of Communism Act, the Criminal Laws Amendment Act, the Riotous Assemblies Act (with amendments now being introduced) and the Public Safety Act, it becomes almost impossible to do anything and remain within the law. All these acts have one thing in common — the arbitrary powers granted to the Ministers — powers which cannot be curbed by the Courts.

The Suppression of Communism Act has now been used to weaken the trade union movement to an incalculable degree by the removal of some of the most able union officials.

The fascist pattern is now complete, even to the seizure of control over finances of the unions by means of provisions requiring periodic submission to the registrar of statements and accounts and in addition, their production at any time the registrar demands.

Schoeman has introduced a Board all of whose members are appointed by himself, which will be the final arbiter in vital matters, and from whose dictates no appeal will lie.

Non-Europeans will not be allowed to serve on the executives of mixed unions, and no more mixed unions will be registered after the passing of the Bill.

The Minister is not blind to the economic consequences of this apartheid in the unions, and as a sop he takes the absolutely unworkable — but still dangerous — powers to declare any occupation reserved for persons of any race. If this power were ever invoked, only chaos could result.

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ART, as I understand it, is the expression of the discontent in man's spirit; it crystallises his anger at the waywardness of nature, his dissatisfaction with life in general, the frustration of his love-life and so on.

There is no art without a community to give rise to it. Conversely, the richest art is found in those societies where all men are genuinely free to express their dissatisfaction and to take steps to remove the causes of their discontent.

In South Africa we have on the one hand an abundance of the conditions which give rise to the production of art; and, on the other, an absence of the real freedom which permits the growth of art forms.

The system of preserving 'white supremacy' in South Africa has throughout the years stunted the growth of a healthy, helpful, indigenous art-culture. Today the intensified repressions of apartheid are going far to kill the plant altogether. Fortunately, just as the oppressed and impoverished white and black men cannot and will not endure for ever a policy which robs them of a decent way of living, so the spirit of the people will cast away the carls and snaffles on their aspirations in the sphere of culture.

Paying the Price

In the meantime, however, in our cultural life we are paying the price for

apartheid, just as we are in economics, politics, health and security.

Everyone knows that Jake Tuli went overseas to scale the heights in the boxing world and that white South African boxing fans could not see the champion in action during his recent visit. Not so many people are aware of the numbers of South Africans who, because of the colour bar, have gone overseas to develop and exhibit their artistic talents. Jobaar Mosaal, a Cape Town Malay, is a leading dancer with the Sadlers Wells Theatre Ballet. How ironical — and how stupid — that he will not be dancing for his fellow South Africans when the company tours the country during the next three months.

Peter Abrahams has proved his talent as a novelist. How sad that he must forsake his homeland to write in the more congenial, less humiliating atmosphere of London and Paris. Soon he will no longer write of us and our problems and you and I will be deprived of the emotional relief that his books — about us has given.

Phyllis Alston found she had to leave

our poisonous atmosphere before she could clear her perspective and write her powerful warning, *The Law of the Vultures*. Ignatius Temba, the Zulu tenor from Durban, has gone to London. Gerald Skato points in Paris. Lionel Ngakane, who played Abaelon in the film *'Cry, the Beloved Country'*, is in London. Milton Oseren, the Coloured pianist, is overseas. We see the losers.

Curtain Over Culture

But apartheid works against us in other ways. It keeps artists out of the country. Shall we ever have a recital from Paul Robeson or see — as in London, New York and Moscow have seen — his *'Othello'*? Will Marian Anderson ever sing for us in person? Shall we see Ethel Waters or Lena Horne? Not for years a black company in *'Porgy and Bess'*.

Worse still is the Government's denial of passports to potential artists who want to go overseas, not to remain there, but to study. James Phillips, a Coloured bass-singer of exceptional quality, has been refused a passport. The talented, popular revue artists, the

Manhattan Brothers, have been refused passports: the Coena Carnival company was prevented from going abroad and I don't know yet whether Lukas Scott, the haritone, who has been accepted in Milan, has got over his red-tape difficulties. And so the tale goes.

But never mind overseas, what goes on here at home? Our cultural activity is cruelly limited by the operation of apartheid and the doctrine of 'white supremacy'. Is it any wonder? Out of a population of twelve and a half millions, we allow only one-fifth to participate in play productions, opera seasons, ballet and orchestral concerts. More foolishly, we allow only one-fifth of the population to enter our music halls and theatres. With what results?

Municipal and theatre orchestras are disbanded: only Durban and Cape Town maintain professional repertory companies; nowhere else in the Union — including Johannesburg — is there a professional repertory company. There is nowhere in South Africa a permanent professional ballet company. With the exception of the *'Windmill'* in Johan-

nesburg, there is no professional musical company... because we deny four out of every five people the freedom to enter the theatre.

Strangling Costs

The production of a straight play, even on an amateur basis, today costs several hundred pounds. The mere costs of production, leaving aside the thought of a profit, cannot be recovered under a two-to-three week run. But, with our custom of restricting admission to the theatres, the small amateur companies cannot be certain of finding sufficient support for their ventures. Consequently they have to abandon their more ambitious projects; they tend to reject the plays which are not sure-fire box-office successes; they are compelled to economise on settings and costumes and on dress-rehearsal time in the theatre. Under these circumstances how can we reach the standard which both actors and audiences desire and demand? Audiences are dissatisfied and next time go to a film instead. We lose all the way round in this miserable circle.

But, if we were to increase our au-

dience potential five-fold, plays and ballet performances could run three or four times as long, thereby removing a great number of the present obstacles to higher achievement. (I do not think that we would immediately have full houses and long-runs by the removal of the colour-bar. An interest in the theatrical arts would have to be fostered in the Non-European people. Times, place, transport, cost of admission, type of plays and ballets would all have to be reconsidered. Ultimately, however, the benefits would be enormous.)

It is maddening to realise how thoroughly the ramifications of apartheid have infiltrated into the world of the theatre — almost without our knowing it. In order not to jeopardise a government grant the board of the Lubia Theatre in Cape Town introduced a colour bar. The theatre for a long time was severely boycotted by democratic Europeans, with consequent loss of revenue and artistic standards. Municipal regulations in Johannesburg forbid the entry of Non-Europeans into the Liberty Theatre — even on the basis of a segregated audience.

Playgoers Are the Losers

In my own limited experience I have come up against the barrier of apartheid with the result that already in this year alone two planned play productions have been dropped and we are the losers.

In the first instance, I had started rehearsing for the Witwatersrand University Players a Restoration comedy, Congreve's *'The Way of the World'*, a classical piece of theatre, rarely performed. It would have provided a gay, unusual, interesting, enjoyable evening in the theatre. But it is not to be produced. Why? ... because of apartheid. The University authorities are insisting on segregation in the Great Hall — the University's theatre. The students, rather than acquiesce in this retrograde ruling, decided to boycott the Great Hall. So — no play!

Mrs. F. L. Friedman has effectively translated Alan Paton's novel, *'Cry, the Beloved Country'*. She asked me to produce it. At the moment it looks as if it cannot be done. I cannot find in the whole of Johannesburg a theatre (or even a workable substitute for a real theatre) where a cast of whites and black can perform. (And could you imagine *'Cry, the Beloved Country'* with an all-white, or an all-black cast?)

So you see, I believe we are the losers all the time. Apartheid is no good for democracy, for politics, for economics and apartheid is no good for art.

APARTHEID IS BAD FOR ART

BY CECIL WILLIAMS

CHARLES FEINSTEIN INVITES YOU TO THE

TRANSVAAL YOUTH FESTIVAL

THE great desire of young people for peace and friendship was clearly demonstrated by the response to the first Youth Festival and by the enthusiasm with which participants at the Festival carried the Festival message to all parts of the Transvaal. Their eagerness, and the success of the first Festival is the foundation upon which the next Festival is being built. The Second Youth Festival will be held at Festival Farm from the 30th April to 2nd May and in every respect it will be bigger and better.

Meetings have been held at African, Indian, European and Coloured High Schools and hundreds of school children

are already talking excitedly about their festival. Area meetings have elected local festival committees. From Vereeniging to Ermelo, from Newclare and Sophiatown to Pankoen and Hillbrow, from Orlando to Marshall Square, people are eagerly reading and hearing about the festival and are preparing for participation. For participation is the key-note — one does not come to "see the Festival," one comes to "be the Festival"; every person can participate in every activity and in so doing one meets those with whom one shares common interests, sporting, cultural and intellectual, and makes friends regardless of race or colour.

PROGRAMMES FOR EVERYBODY

entries of short stories, plays, poems, and essays. All winning entries will be published in a special Festival Magazine. For musicians there are choir competitions and we also invite musical scores and songs. Then there is the Festival Art Gallery in which gassy of the entries will be exhibited. All art forms are wanted, including painting, sculpture, pottery, weaving, photography, basketwork and beadwork. Book prizes will be awarded to the winning entries

in all competitions.

Folk Culture

The wealth of South African culture will be seen from the programme arranged for the "Evening of Folk Culture". There will be Indian folk songs by the Tagore Choir and Indian music played by the Indian National Orchestra. Sesotho songs will be sung by a Sesotho choir from Alexandra Township and a Zulu group will perform tradition-

al African dances. The Fairbairn Quintet will sing selections from the folk music of the national groups of Europe, Jewish dances will perform the "Hora", and other groups will demonstrate traditional English dances such as the Morris dances. There will also be the Volkspietjies of the Afrikaans-speaking people. A Coloured people's group from Vrededorp will sing the songs of their people, and will present dances typical of Coloured tradition, as well as an accomplished ballet performance.

An evening of plays will feature "X O" by John Drinkwater, specially produced for the Festival by Cecil Williams. Roy Coenias is producing "Alfred and the V.I.P." by a young South African playwright Joe Padbury, with a European and African cast; and a play by an Indian author will be produced by Colin Rossouw with a cast from the Islamic Studios Group.

From Pageant to Jam Session

Other aspects of the wide cultural programmes include informal discussions led by passionate artists in the fields of music, theatre and the fine arts; a pageant, with which the festival will

open, depicting by mime and narration the central theme of the Festival — "Peace, Friendship and Racial Harmony"; and an afternoon of jazz culminating in a "jam session" of bands composed of all national groups.

The sporting events offer the opportunity for multi-racial competition and for healthy rivalry. There will be both competitions and exhibitions, and entries have already been received from hockey, basketball and football teams, from weightlifting and Barbell clubs, and from boxers and wrestlers.

All these programmes will take place at a camp on a most attractive farm with trees and a river. Food is provided for all participants and every spare moment can be occupied in community singing and dancing. Admission price for participants is 15/- for adults and 7/6 for schoolchildren, and any further information about the Festival can be obtained from Box 2948, Johannesburg.

The Festival offers something unique in South Africa and it is open to every young person to participate and so to contribute to the growth of culture and of sport, of lasting peace and racial harmony. See you at the Festival!

Battling on for Emmanuel Bloch

THE ROSENBERG CHILDREN HAVE YET TO BE SAVED

In his final letter from the death cell, before he and his wife were executed, Julius Rosenberg wrote to one he called his 'dearest friend and devoted brother'. To this man he dedicated the care of his two young sons, Michael and Robert.

'Our children are the apple of our eye, our pride and most precious fortune. Love them with all your heart and always protect them in order that they grow up to be normal healthy people. That you will do this I am sure . . .'

The man to whom he wrote had been a stranger to the Rosenbergs up to three years before, when Julius came to him for legal advice. In those three years, lawyer Emmanuel H. Bloch had become a true friend and brother that he was the one person to whom the doomed parents could entrust their precious fortune with utter confidence.

Emmanuel Bloch was born in New York, the same year (1901) when his father began to practice law there. In 1924 he entered his father's law office, and the successful father-and-son practice did a lot of trial work as well as representing various business clients.

During the depression Bloch fell under the influence of the New Deal, and gradually accepted more and more civil liberties cases. He gave up practice with his father to concentrate on labour and civil rights cases.

UNSEATED BILBO

He became special counsel for the federal Fair Employment Practices Commission set up by President Roosevelt. He tried cases in several parts of the country against employers who discriminated against Negroes and other minorities. But in 1946, when F.D.R.'s New Deal gave way to Truman's cold war, he resigned from federal service.

Back in New York in private practice, civil rights cases preoccupied him. In Mississippi he undertook for the Civil Rights Congress a dangerous and difficult assignment. Senator Bilbo was campaigning for re-election; it was reported that Negroes were being kept away from the polls by terror. Bloch went into the state to collect evidence of intimidation. To get it, he had to hide during the day, move about at night. Bilbo was re-elected but when Bloch's evidence was offered he was refused his seat in the Senate. To confirm the evidence, a Sen-

ate Elections and Privileges subcommittee held a hearing in Mississippi for firsthand reports. Whites in the state were convinced that no Negro would risk his life by daring to appear in public against Bilbo. But hundreds came from all over to testify. Bilbo never sat in the Senate again.

ENTER THE ROSENBERGS

On a night in the middle of June, 1951, Julius Rosenberg called on Manny Bloch. That day his brother-in-law, David Greenglass had been arraigned as an atom-bomb spy, and Julius had been questioned by the F.B.I. A month later, Rosenberg was indicted for "atomic espionage", and Bloch entered the harshest and meanest battle of his career.

The Rosenbergs were all but penniless, and stood isolated with none to come to their aid. For Manny, too, it

By
HILDA WATTS

was soon to mean isolation. He was maligned and abused for taking the case; gradually he found himself shunned both by acquaintances and by other lawyers. But he was totally convinced of his clients' innocence.

There were endless sleepless nights, for the day-to-day work of the trial that should have been done by a large staff was performed single-handed. There were no funds; the Rosenbergs had to file a pauper's oath so the government would provide a daily copy of the trial record. Eventually a colleague, who worked anonymously, came to help with research and preparation of motions and papers, but the task was still overwhelming.

"There was never a friendly face in the courtroom," said Bloch, "nothing but an air of hostility so thick it was all but smothering." Bound by the ethics of his profession, he could make no public appeals, use no channels of public information.

BATTLE FOR LIFE

When the verdict was in and the sentence passed, the work load on Bloch increased instead of diminishing. To exhaust every possible legal effort to

save his clients would take years — and did. It meant abandoning his routine practice for an indeterminate time. The continued fight meant a tremendous financial loss. A lesser man could have quit after a formal appeal with no blot on his professional reputation. But Bloch said: "I vowed to do all in my power to right this miscarriage of justice".

In addition to this endless work, Bloch had long since undertaken the burden of responsibility for the Rosenberg children. Most of the expenses were paid out of his own pocket.

Then came the first break in the isolation in which Bloch had lived and worked so long.

THE WORLD JOINS IN

In August, 1951, the *Guardian* newspaper began publication of a series of articles on the Rosenberg case asking: "Is This the Dreyfus Case of Cold War America?"

To hundreds, later thousands, eventually millions, it was. The articles led to formation of the National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, which in turn led to the phenomenal world-wide campaign to save the couple. Lawyers in America and abroad who became familiar with the case began to pay tribute to Bloch as a man and attorney.

Legal assistance, so long withheld, was now forthcoming. A prominent and wealthy attorney, John Finerty, associated himself with the defence after the American Civil Liberties Union declined to intervene. In Chicago a prominent professor of law, Dr. Malcolm Sharp, read the record and became convinced of the Rosenberg's innocence. He too gave valuable assistance to Bloch.

Scorned and reviled through most of the case, his dogged persistence won tributes from judges in all courts to whom he carried the appeal: On that last incredible day when the Supreme Court in a precedent-breaking special session decreed that death must be done, Justice Robert Jackson, in an unusual gesture, leaned over the bench to say to Bloch:

"These people were fortunate to have a counsel of your courage and persistence. I'm all for you."

(Continued on next page)

LONDON LETTER from SIMON ZUKAS

Not Enough Outcry About Kenya

WONDER how much more gruesome the news from Kenya will have to become before there is a really vigorous outcry from the British Labour movement, but there are encouraging signs that at long last the movement is waking up. The Kenya Committee, a representative body of which Monica Whately is Vice-Chairman, is receiving a flood of letters in support of its pro-

(Continued from previous page)

HOUNDING TWO CHILDREN

Emmanuel Bloch, legal guardian of the two boys Michael, aged 10 and Robert, aged 6, went on fighting to raise money for a Trust Fund for the boys, whose parents died penniless. He raised the balance of the target for the Fund (150,000 dollars) just before he died of heart failure, seven months after the Rosenbergs had been executed. There can be no doubt that his tireless, unceasing battle, his bitter and exhausting struggle, hastened his death.

The Rosenberg children were placed with foster-parents; but the foster-parents were victimised, and the children thrown out of the school they had been attending. They then went to live with a New York musician and his wife, where they were very happy. Before he died, Bloch repeatedly expressed his delight that the boys had found such a happy home. "There is real gaiety in that house," he said. The happiness did not last long. Once more the Rosenberg children were hounded, removed from their new foster-parents by court action on the grounds that they had been "exploited for fund-raising purposes", although the Trust Fund had been closed.

What tribute can one pay to a man like Bloch? Only by carrying on his battle — by upholding his cause. The Rosenbergs dedicated their sons to Bloch's care. Now Bloch is dead, the task falls upon ordinary people all over the world to fight for and protect the two boys. To do this will justify the courage, integrity and purpose of Emmanuel Bloch, whose devotion to justice sent him on a long, hard journey, that has ended now at death's door.

tests; the Committee's "Kenya Report", exposing settler and Colonial Office misrule in Kenya, has already sold some 2,000 copies and is now in its third edition; the committee's postcard protest reached the quarter million mark after only three weeks and is still receiving wide support; it is to be presented to the Colonial Secretary on Empire Day!

Reynold News, the Co-operative Party's weekly newspaper recently said in an editorial that on no other issue had the British people been so united in their protests as on Kenya. Yet the number of protest meetings are still few and far between. Of the daily papers the Communist *Daily Worker* is alone in constantly demanding an end to the war in Kenya, the freeing of the imprisoned African leaders and the granting of votes for all.

IRELAND FOR FREEDOM

In Ireland, where the news from Kenya brings back memories of the Black and Tans, sympathy for the oppressed people was strong right from the declaration of the so-called Emergency there. Recently the Republican Forum obtained the Mansion House in Dublin for a protest meeting — they think this is significant of public feeling in Ireland for on no other issue had they been able to obtain this hall — and packed it out; in fact they had to hold several overflow meetings.

KENYA PEACE TALKS

Then there was nothing but approval in the British press for the negotiations through General China. When Peter Wright, the Kenya school teacher (and war-time Intelligence Colonel) arrived here after his deportation in 1952 he told British audiences that the declaration of the so-called emergency in Kenya was engineered by the leaders of the all-white Kenya Electors' Union in an attempt to achieve by force of arms what they could not achieve by legislation — the subjugation of the *spirit* of the Kikuyu people.

This is now confirmed by this Union's condemnation of the negotiations through General China as "a demonstration of the Government's failure to subdue the rebellion by *force of arms*." (my emphasis). What they are after is

the instillation of a sense of conquest, a sense of defeat in the Kikuyu and this fact still needs to be hammered home here.

In Parliament twelve Labour backbenchers were quick to welcome the approach through General China in a resolution which also urged that "every constructive effort should be exerted to restore peace in Kenya so that a beginning may be made with the establishment of a democratic multi-racial society based on equality of all peoples." The approach was also welcomed by the Communist Party and by the Kenya Committee in press statements. The slightly liberal *Sunday Observer* urged "the provision of new constitutional machinery that will make it possible for an intensive political struggle to take place by legitimate non-violent means."

That the Colonial Office paid little attention to public opinion on this matter became evident when Lyttelton gave out his diktat for Kenya's new constitution. Fleet Street made every effort to present Lyttelton as a fair-to-all-sides Minister but his constitution found no support in the Labour and Liberal press. *Reynold's News* and even the *Daily Mirror* condemned it. The B.B.C. excelled itself by announcing that Lyttelton's proposals had been accepted "by all the racial groups — with the exception of the Africans and Arabs". What an ingenious way of saying that the proposals were accepted by 2 per cent. and rejected by 98 per cent. of Kenya's population!

NEW BODY AGAINST IMPERIALISM

A new anti-imperialist body is to be set up in Britain. There is need for such a body to keep the Labour Party from going completely imperialist. Speaking in Parliament on Germany, Mr. Attlee recently advocated that she should be granted facilities for using her resources to develop underdeveloped territories — as if the colonies have not had enough of imperialist "development". The new body, to be known as the Congress for Colonial Freedom, seems to be little more than the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism under a new name. Its objects include support for the rights of colonial peoples to independence but by no means all of its individual sponsors are fully anti-imperialist. I would say their attitude is rather "we must not go on like this or we shall lose Africa". Still, if it can rally the British public in support of concessions to the people and to the colonies (not to the settlers there) it will be doing a useful job of work.

APARTHEID MEANS GHETTOS FOR THE INDIANS

By Y. A. CACHALIA

Dr. Malan has called the Group Areas Act "the essence of apartheid" and since the passing of the Act in 1950 the Department of the Interior has been hard at work perfecting machinery to enforce this measure.

The caste system has been elaborated and the Non-Europeans divided into Coloured, Malay, Chinese, Indian and African groups for the purpose of removing them from their present homes and segregating them in ghettos, locations and camps reserved for their group alone.

SETTING UP GROUP AREAS

The Land Tenure Board, a quasi-judicial body set up under the Act, has made a thorough survey of ownership and occupation of land by members of the different groups that inhabit South Africa. The Board has held public inquiries in various places to consider the desirability or otherwise of setting up group areas and the Minister of the Interior has created a Reference and Planning Committee to assist the Board in segregating the people.

Evidence submitted to the Board disclosed the true aims of apartheid. All plans for segregation, particularly those affecting the Indians, showed a callous desire on the part of the upholders of apartheid to rob the Indians of their property rights and other economic interests. In all cases the plans involved uprooting of the settled population and the destruction of their means of livelihood.

Although the Group Areas Act introduces rule by proclamation it has not succeeded in making any speedy headway. The opposition of the Non-Europeans, particularly of the Congresses, has bogged down the work of the Board. Legal defence has shown that the Nationalist dictatorship can not yet have its unchallenged say in the present set-up of South Africa which, to some extent, still gives the people the protection of the rule of law. In 1952 an effort was made to remedy the deficiencies found in the "smooth running" of the Act by introducing amendments, but these proved to be unsatisfactory and, therefore, further amendments are being considered by the Minister of the Interior.

The Government is impatient with the slow progress that is being made in effecting segregation and is, therefore, applying more ruthless methods. The Minister of Native Affairs has devised a new and vicious plan to deport thousands of people from the Western Areas of Johannesburg because the machinery of the Group Areas Act is too slow. The Native Resettlement Bill, in its present form, gives absolute dictatorial powers to Dr. Verwoerd over the lives of hundreds of thousands of people; it provides for the expropriation of rights and forcible sale of properties; its provisions will enable him to throw the people out on open veld, there to live in misery at the mercy of the authorities.

USING THE RENT BOARD

When the efforts of the municipality and the Reference and Planning Committee failed to bring about the quick establishment of group areas at Lydenburg, the Government arbitrarily abolished the Rent Board there, thus withdrawing protection given to the persons concerned. Consequently, about seventy-five Indians, or half of the Indian population of the town, who occupy and trade on premises owned by European business interests face immediate ejection. They will be thrown out on the streets, lose their means of livelihood, and lose much of their assets which include large sums of money owed them by European farmers and others. The Land Tenure Board will now only have to deal with the fate of half the Indian population of Lydenburg, as the fate of the other half has already been sealed by the mean and underhand act of the Minister of Health.

LENZ FOR INDIANS

In comparison with what has happened to the Indians of Lydenburg something even more drastic is taking place in Johannesburg, which contains 50% of the entire Indian population of the Transvaal. The City Council has succumbed to Nationalist propaganda of apartheid and is prepared to assist the Government in uprooting and removing the Indian people from the city. It has already recommended Lenz as a group area for Indians. It is to be

called Lenasia — is situated about 20 miles from the city, has more than 2,600 stands and can accommodate about 25,000 persons or, in other words, the entire Indian population of Johannesburg.

Plans are already under way to eject and displace 10,000 Indians now living in the city. About 5,000 will be thrown out from Sophiatown, Martindale and Newclare under the removal scheme of Dr. Verwoerd. Another 5,000 now living in Vrededorp face a similar fate. This is made clear by the application of Section 14 of the Group Areas Act there. Its application means that the Minister of the Interior is desirous of changing the racial character of Vrededorp, and, therefore, in terms of the Section, no new buildings may be occupied by Indians without the authority of a permit. These Indians, together with all others who live and trade in different parts of Johannesburg will, in time to come, be forced out of the city. It is obvious that they will be forced into the ghettos of Lenz.

The Minister of the Interior has issued an open permit to the owners of Lenasia to sell land to Indians there. By doing so he has departed from the usual practice of having an inquiry into the desirability of establishing a group area in terms of the Act, and has thus obviated any opposition from the people who are vitally concerned. In effect he has established group areas for the Indians of Johannesburg through the back door. It is schemed to present the Indian population with a *fait accompli* in an effort to drive them into the wilderness of Lenz, there to be segregated and isolated.

REPATRIATION OR RUIN

According to the policy of apartheid South Africans of Indian origin are considered to be "foreign and outlandish" and the expulsion of as many as possible from the country is the declared intention of the Government. It cannot forcibly throw them out, but segregation has long been used as an instrument of economic exploitation and those Indians who refuse repatriation are to be faced with ruin in their isolated and closed ghettos.



THE LYING DAYS, by Nadine Gordimer. (Gollancz).

South African literature has been growing up fast in recent years. The whole period before the last war can be regarded as the period of infancy. There was an occasional precocious flash of genius, but on the whole South Africa produced few and bad books. Social and political questions were evaded, or treated with the tame conventionality. The mass of the South African people were ignored or introduced as part of the colourful local scenery.

"Cry the Beloved Country" marked the beginning of adolescence. During the post-war years the real problems and tasks of the South African writer have been recognised. With varying degrees of success, several authors have tried to depict the realities of present-day South Africa.

Where they have tried, Nadine Gordimer has succeeded. With *The Lying Days*, South African literature has come of age.

Nadine Gordimer has been known through her short stories as a writer with brilliant powers of description and great feeling for atmosphere. *The Lying Days* has these virtues and a great deal more. With ruthless insight, Miss Gordimer has demonstrated the anatomy of urban middle-class White society in South Africa. She has shown, on the one hand, the moribund "British" community, inhibited, bigoted and ignorant, existing in a vegetable unawareness of the living Africa. With them are contrasted the young intellectuals, rootless, lost and afraid, wanting desperately to make a better South Africa but not knowing how to set about it. No Non-European characters feature prominently in the book, but there is no compromise with the myth of "White South Africa." The Whites are firmly placed in their context as a part of many-coloured South Africa.

Miss Gordimer has succeeded in conveying all this without sermonising, without sociological digressions, through a vividly realised personal story. The characters are not, perhaps, all equally well drawn, but at least three emerge

solid and memorable at the end of the book — the heroine, Helen Shaw, her mother and her friend Joel Aaron.

Read this book; it is a memorable experience and it is the yardstick by which future South African novels will be judged. A.O.D.

BUILD OUR CIRCULATION

IN the battle for culture and progressive thought in South Africa, "Fighting Talk" is one of the last available platforms.

Two main tasks face us: (i) to improve our magazine; (ii) to enlarge its circulation. These two jobs are interdependent. Ours is the responsibility of ensuring the constant deepening and enrichment of the content of "Fighting Talk". You, our readers, hold the key to ensuring that we are able to survive the trying months that face us.

All our old subscribers and supporters are urgently asked to take out subscriptions and to help enrol subscribers. We appeal to you to do your share in getting "Fighting Talk" to its rightful audience. This you can do by undertaking to sell as many copies as you can, and by helping to organise groups of sellers.

Advertising support can greatly assist us in our task and we ask you to let us know whether you can help us.

In the long run, however, new subscribers are the answer to most of our problems. Subscription books (five forms in the book) are available at the Fighting Talk offices. Readers Norman and Leon have written to us to say "We want to help in any way we can. We each undertake to sell a book of subscriptions every month for the rest of this year." What a wonderful lead this is! If every reader would give us the same undertaking, our problems would be solved. And with subscriptions at only 5/- there is no reason why every supporter of Fighting Talk should not give us the same undertaking.

RAY ALEXANDER—(Continued from page 5)

Boycotters have argued that the government want a white "representative" so that Africans can be bluffed that they have some democracy. But the frantic ass the government has been forced to make of itself to keep Ray out makes the argument that they want her in Parliament look very silly indeed.

For this reason the boycotters are weaker than ever. The freedom of action which has been allowed to African National Congressmen to decide for themselves has led to a situation where a large number of influential Congressmen — not only in the constituency but throughout the country — have come out for Ray. In fact the boycott is now pretty well limited to the highly dis-

credited Unity Movement. And even they content themselves mainly with attacks on Fiske and Gibson, for attacks on Ray's meetings, they have found, can be dangerous.

THE PEOPLE SAY

Let anyone who doubts how the people feel about this election look at some of the letters which have been coming in since Ray's candidacy was announced. They are written with all the beauty so often found when deeply-felt sentiments are expressed in a language not one's own.

"The news came to my heart and I was mad with joy," wrote a woman.

"We know that what is honey to us is a bitter pill to the government," said another.

"We congratulate her for her beauty — it is her deeds which are beautiful." was one line of a verse to Ray.

The words of one African farmer: "Her name is found among those wrongfully restricted from sowing seeds of love," are unconsciously complemented by another, "We should send Ray Alexander to Parliament because it is a plot which does not yield good crops."

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Voorwaarts Verkeerdevlei!

By ELWOOD C. CHOLMONDELY.

IF all these smart-alecs on the daily papers knew the facts about Verkeerdevlei as I know them, then perhaps they'd be grinning on the other side of their faces.

It was one of those evenings in the Royal Hotel pub. The whole town was there as usual, all fourteen of us having a regmaker after a hard day cashing in our agterskots. And as usual it was that big mouth, Piet Kakel, who had to start laying down the law on this and that. Always taking airs to himself, he used to be, just because he had a cousin on his wife's side who studies at the Johannesburg Tech.

That night, it seemed, he'd heard from his cousin about this here evolution stuff. So just when everyone's quiet for a minute, knocking it back, he ups and says, cool as a cucumber: "Seems these here scientific fellows has just proved men was monkeys before they was men" he says. Now we've got used to Kakel's line of bull over the years at the Royal; but that one was a bit thick, even for him. Especially as he was looking straight at Apie Jonker as he said it; and Apie's no answer to a maiden's prayer, not by a long chalk he isn't. "Yer been drinking too much" Apie managed to grunt. "Monkeys!" he said, spitting over the rail. "Monkeys" he said. "Well, where's our blurry tails, hey?"

That silenced Kakel for a minute. But not much more than a minute. "Facts is facts!" he said. "Can't go against science!" he said. "Look at aspirins," he said, "see what I mean? Can't go against science!" he said.

Apie considered it for a minute; he's no quick thinker, is Apie; but when he says something, it's usually worth listening to. "Bull!" he said at last. "Just bull!" "What'll you bet?" Kakel asked. Now that was the day that Kakel got his agterskot; and on top of that, he seemed to think his grandfather was somehow at stake. "Fifty quid," he said slowly, "Fifty quid!" We all thought Kakel would drop it at that stage; but he's a great believer in science, he is; and on top of that he'd also got his agterskot. "Done!" he said. "I'll prove it to you. Facts is facts!" he said.

The next morning, the whole town turned out to help Kakel catch his monkeys; none of your fancy Durban peanut-eaters mind you;

but real, honest-to-god, Vrystater baboons; we reckon that if men are bred anywhere, well by God they're bred in the Free State!

And with us all there to see what went on, there was no crook stuff on the side. Fair's fair. We took a male and female back to Kakel's farm, and put them in a cage. "Now we'll see if facts aren't facts", Kakel said, satisfied.

And we did. Every day, year in and year out, we went down to Kakel's place to see that Apie didn't try any sabotage. Hard work it was; but you know us farmers boy? Gluttons for work. Sometimes it was just plain hard grind. But I tell you, when an addition to the baboon family was expected, well the excitement was terrific. Wilkens opened a book, and took bets on whether the next brood would be man or monkey. The odds started at seven to one on monkeys — that was the first year, when he had only two. At the end of five years, well the odds had lengthened to seventy-five to one, and even then there weren't many takers.

But the feeding problem became terrific. In the second year, twelve baboons got through some pumpkins, believe me! But when it got to seventeen hundred and sixty-five, that was last year — well perhaps now you understand why the price of vegetables was so high in these parts. All the local boys kicked in with their agterskots, and the Ko-operasie cornered the whole Eastern Free State crop for us.

But even then, Kakel was stubborn enough to keep it going another year. And would have, too, if it hadn't been for Blackie Swart. Now he came down from Parliament one day to see how things were going. As you know, he's a thoughtful sort of chap, though you might not think so to look at him; and he just stood there there by the cage — four morgen it covered by that time — and he just looked. And thought. And thought.

Well, it is not often that we get a Cabinet Minister down our way; so we just stood around and waited. Finally Blackie turned round. Pale and worried sick he was. He took Apie with one hand and Kakel with the other. "Look here fellows," he said solemnly, "You've got to call this thing off." You could have knocked Apie down with a feather. It took him a full five minutes to get

his breath back, what with the fifty quid at seventy-five to one being good as in his pocket. "Call it off!" he shouted at last. "You're blurry crazy!" he shouted. "You stick to your poisoned waterwells!" he screamed, "And leave science to chaps as knows about it!"

It took Blackie quite a time to quiet him down. But when he had, he said solemnly: "Look fellows. Think of this. What the bliksem would happen if next time you do get a man, hey?"

Well, I can tell you that shook us all rigid. In the excitement, we'd overlooked all that. Makes you think, doesn't it. Before anyone else could say a word, Blackie dropped his voice to an awful whisper. "Suppose it was a WHITE man!" he croaked. "What would the kaffirs think about us then, hey?"

Well, put like that, well, dammit, what would you do? We were all quite sick with worry for a moment. Kakel was first to speak — and who had better reasons? "Dammit! You're right!" he said. "We'll call it off!" Apie protested; who wouldn't in his position. But you must hand it to these politicians; smooth, boy! Smooth. He smoothed Apie over in no time. "Okay, fellows!" he said. "Bet's off. No bet, no hard feelings. After all, we're white men!" Well that did it.

The excitement was almost over. There were a few loose ends. We got rid of the baboons, alright, and we managed to sell the pumpkins we had laid in for the next week's feed. Got twenty-five quid for them too, which is not bad, considering. Of course there was a set-to between Apie and Kakel about whose money it was. But fair's fair. After all, we'd all stuck in for feed. So we were all due a share.

So that's how the Verkeerdevlei Farmers' Association came by the twenty-five quid. I could see the fellows getting ready to tear each other apart over it. So quick as a flash, I ups and suggests that we give it to the Bloemfontein University, to abolish the theory of evolution. Well, it was a master move, though I says it myself; and it went through unanimous.

So as I say, those newspaper fellows can sneer and jeer. But believe me, five hundred of those baboons were pregnant at the end; and the future of the white man hung by a thread. It makes me feel cold even now to think of it. But one day the nation will understand the debt that it owes to Verkeerdevlei and the Nationalist Party, for keeping South Africa a white man's land.

Film Review:**JULIUS CAESAR ON THE SCREEN****"Rare Treat" — Our Critic.**

"JULIUS CAESAR" is in many respects the ideal Shakespearian play for the screen. It does not require the adapting, the treatment that, for example, Olivier gave to "Henry V". This present intelligent production of Shakespeare's 'political thriller' closely adheres not only to the original text but to the stage directions.

The film is made in black-and-white with straightforward sets that bring ancient Rome vividly to life, significantly contrasting official splendour with squalid slums.

From the magnificent opening scene which ends in the arrest of Flavius and Marcellus, the film is vibrantly alive, carrying us swiftly from one superb scene to the next. The dramatic climaxes are so expertly controlled as to lead us emotionally and intellectually upwards — until the end of the oration scene in the forum.

I feel that the film's only real defect is that of the play — a slight sense of anti-climax arising from the superiority of the first half of the play over the second. Fascinating as the latter scenes

may be, I find that in them the characters, notably Brutus, Cassius and Antony, do not develop.

They are so wonderfully created in the earlier scenes that their later behaviour is all too predictable. And I have a fancy that Shakespeare tries to make Brutus into another Macbeth — treacherous, tormented, guilty. It doesn't quite come off, because the playwright, faithful to history, has created a character who just wasn't like that, who just wasn't a Macbeth. Brutus was a muddler and an ass but he *was* courageous and true to his own convictions.

Dark-faced James Mason has hardly the appearance for the part and at first his soft, fluffy voice seemed all wrong, but his performance was surprisingly moving and convincing, gaining in persuasion from his consistent portrayal of the gentle, decent Brutus. (Some local criticisms of his performance reached fresh heights of absurdity.)

Gielgud's Cassius was, of course, on a level of its own. He has a technique so complete as to be almost undetectable. And what a voice!

"An Object Lesson" — A Reader.

It sounds absurd, but it almost seemed to me that Shakespeare wrote 'Julius Caesar' as an object lesson to South Africans, confronted with complex political problems in the mid-twentieth century.

In the first place the drama is concerned with the struggle for power and the wielding of power, the age-old yet up-to-date struggle between tyranny and democracy. Cassius' passionate hatred of dictatorship is expressed in firegold words that should be every democrat's daily reading. It does not vitally matter that his political faith is shot through with personal feelings of jealousy and inferiority . . . he *hated* tyranny . . . and was prepared to act to overthrow the tyrant. How much we lack that determination in South Africa today.

Brutus, too, hated the dictatorship, but like so many liberal-minded people today he was bound by outmoded, inappropriate bourgeois concepts. His inner fear of radical change, of revolution, tempted him to temporise and to compromise, so that, putting aside Cassius' farseeing tactics, he, Brutus, ulti-

mately betrayed the attempt to overthrow the dictatorship. How often have we seen that in the past four years—honest motives, sincere democratic convictions, illumined analyses — all rendered negative by a fear to grasp boldly the appropriate tactics. We, too, have found, as Cassius did, that the 'respectable' leaders throw away the fight and betray the cause.

Politically, of course, the most important moral is to be found, I think, in the part the crowd plays in Shakespeare's drama. Not one of the political leaders recognised that the only sure foundation for a genuine democracy is the people themselves. In the play the people were manipulated by one side and then the other. No one . . . not even the people themselves . . . realised that the people ARE the political power. Another lesson for us. In our own country when the people, most of them black, have realised their strength, their wisdom and the inevitable rightness of their cause, then and only then will South Africa be saved from tyranny and made fast for a genuine democracy. R.J.R.

Edmund O'Brien's Casca was a delight and I particularly liked George MacReady's Marcellus, which got the film off to such an exciting start. Louis Calhern made Caesar a flesh-and-blood character that Shakespeare's sketch hardly deserves.

Marlon Brando gave final proof of his really great acting talent. That he could so clearly bring out both Antony's ambition and his genuine feeling for Caesar is almost beyond belief. His speech in the forum was masterly.

Altogether a rare film treat.

SCHOEMAN'S PLAN — Continued from p. 7.

If the Bill is passed, the unions will be faced with a position of subservience and impotence, or alternatively with the drastic decision to cast aside the fascist machinery of negotiation, and start again from the beginning to build on the basis of the workers' strength.

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