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TALK

AUGUST, 1957

The Multi-Racial Conference

by OLIVER TAMBO

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AFRIKANER NATIONALISM IN BIG BUSINESS

by ALAN DOYLE

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PASS LAWS MEAN FORCED LABOUR



"Shanghai-ed" by Hilda Watts. Page 3.

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FROM THE SIDELINES

This month's writer:
JOE MATTHEWS

The alchemists of Bantu Education are producing strange elements in their eternal search for pure apartheid gold.

CRAZY COUNTING The latest discovery is that the system of counting in African languages is cumbersome and takes too long to say. Thus, for instance, the Xhosa expression for "eleven" is "ishumi'elinanye", and that for "twenty" is "amashumi amabini". In the interests of word economy it has been proposed that the Xhosa equivalents should be "shunye" and "mashubini" respectively. Whilst these monstrosities might recommend themselves to crazy language scientists in the Pretoria headquarters of the Bantu Education Section of the Native Affairs Department, they are utterly unacceptable to any person who considers the full implications of the idea. After all, language is a living thing — developed by the people as a part of their culture; it is not something that can be produced synthetically in a lab by self-appointed "experts". In any case, why this indecent haste? Whence this passion for language reform?

As a counter, African teachers have cautiously suggested that as the change would be as difficult for the African child to learn as a foreign language, it might be an idea to teach the child to count in English! Needless to say Africans cannot be heard to contradict, so an immediate start is being made in a giant re-education programme to teach African children and their parents how to count correctly in their own languages!

SOME HAVE SUCH LUCK! All these remarkable suggestions emerge from committees in which Africans (if any) sit in a purely advisory capacity. One of these committees is now working on suitable scientific terms in the various African languages. You will be conversing with one of these 'experts' when he will suddenly pull out pencil and paper and proclaim excitedly that he has just thought of an excellent Sotho word for "chemical." Incidentally, these feverish experiments necessitate the writing of new text-books. It is noticeable that the authors almost invariably have these published by one or other Afrikaner publishing house. And, of course, the books are duly prescribed for use in African schools. This is pure coincidence, of course, but is a by-product of Bantu Education that brings good solid business for some people who are just naturally lucky!

STRANGE SET-UP Whilst we are on this topic of Bantu Education I might mention that the Bantu Education Section of the N.A.D. is housed in a huge building in Pretoria opposite the house in which Paul Kruger used to live. This has no significance at all! This building, that is the headquarters of an educational system that Dr. Verwoerd has so kindly taken away from missionaries and handed "to the Natives themselves" is occupied by hundreds of European officials and a handful of frustrated and very bewildered Africans. That is what is really meant when Nationalist politicians speak of allowing "Natives to serve their own people and develop along their own lines." It also explains the strange goings-on in African education these days.

must go further than that. The Churches are busy printing and selling tons of treasonable and seditious literature in all languages to the African people. These Bibles contain ideas that offend against the sacred doctrines of baasskap and apartheid and therefore ought to be banned. Perhaps that is going too far, though. What South Africa really needs is an expurgated version of the Bible suitable for South African conditions. That can be done by means of a hardy annual — the Native Laws Amendment Bill. What about it for the next session, Doctor?

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BAN THE BIBLE? With weary patience Dr. Verwoerd and his cohorts have explained that the reason for the now notorious Church clause in the Native Laws Amendment Act was to prevent Africans committing a nuisance by attending Church services in certain areas. This is the ostensible reason thought up to pacify doubts in church circles. Actually of course the high priests of apartheid could not and will not tolerate any doctrine or practice that admits of the equality of and brotherhood of humanity. But the Minister of Native Affairs, who is adept at closing loopholes,

Thousands of Africans are rounded up, night and day, in the ever-lasting raids, stopped by the 'Ghost Squad', seized in so-called sweeps against crime, pulled from their beds. From this great human crop the harvest is reaped: under-paid, under-fed labour for the farms.

Press gangs operate in the year 1957. Forced labour exists in South Africa on a Vast Scale.

In olden days, sailing ships could not obtain sufficient men to work on them during their hard, long voyages that lasted for months, sometimes years. Because of this chronic shortage of manpower for a job that few wanted, gangs of men would go around "pubs" and bars in English coastal towns, and slip drugs into drinks; then drag the unconscious men on board ship. In the morning, when the victims recovered, the ship was already at sea and it might be years before they returned to their homes again.

Wives? Families? Nobody cared about them. All they knew was that their man had simply disappeared, and whether he was alive or dead they did not know and were not told.

The men who did the drugging were called "press gangs", and their victims were said to be "shanghai-ed". Press gangs used to search the drink and opium dens of the city of Shanghai for many victims. That was the origin of the term.

But that was long ago, and press gangs and shanghai-ing belong to less civilised times, when life was cheap and laws did not protect working men and poor people.

What would you say if I told you press gangs still operate in this year, 1957, still waylay victims and shanghai them away for badly-paid, rotten jobs that no one wants?

Press Gangs of 1957

Take a case like this: A man has a job as a cleaner for a town council. On his way home from work one afternoon he is stopped by some men in ordinary clothes who say they are police. He shows his work badge, but they tell him they are going to give him work to do. He is hustled onto a lorry and taken away — far away from the town where he worked; his family know nothing of what has happened to him.

Or this: A lad of fourteen goes on a trip on a lorry with a friend. The driver pulls into a town to see someone, leaving the two boys on the lorry for ten minutes. When he returns, they have disappeared. They have been "shanghai-ed", and the boy is already on his way to serve a term of forced labour.

Our Cover Picture:

Arrested in pass raids, these men are taken to the Native Commissioner's Court where they are pressed to sign on for farm work.

SHANGHAI-ED!

by HILDA WATTS

These are typical cases. Often the victims are deprived of their clothes when the destination is reached, ill-treated, beaten, half-starved. Sometimes they return to their homes months later, often emaciated, suffering from sores and the marks of whippings, always penniless. Some never return.

How do you think the British public, for instance, would react, if news of such cases trickled into the newspapers through an isolated court case here or there?

Can you imagine the type of editorial that might appear in a newspaper such as the "Times"? They would write: "Strange things are happening . . . they call for serious attention from the authorities and the public in the interests of humanity and England's good name". They would quote a particular case: Under affidavit a man working as a tradesman stated he had been arrested through some technical error in his papers. He had gone to the local employment bureau to register a youth as his assistant, and the two were seized against their will and sent to work on a farm "without any attempt being made to inquire into his circumstances or to inform his family of his whereabouts . . . This is not necessarily a typical example but no matter how rare or how frequent such cases may be they should be investigated and firmly dealt with if the English conscience is to be clear."

Yes, it is absolutely true. Press gangs operate in the year 1957. Men are shanghai-ed. They vanish, as they did two hundred years ago. Only it happens now not in England, but in South Africa. The newspaper editorial quoted above is from the Johannesburg Star of July 8th, 1957, except that I have changed 'South Africa' to 'England.'

SLAVERY EXISTS IN SOUTH AFRICA TODAY ON A VAST SCALE. The difference between our modern press gangs and those of the old days in England is that *our* press gangs are actually the police and government authorities. No bland denials can conceal the facts. There is a slave market, to provide labour for the rotten, under-paid farm jobs that no one wants. Men, boys — yes, children as well — are shanghai-ed every day, torn from homes and families. White South Africans who are occasionally stirred to uneasiness by a case they encounter directly, or read about if it comes to the courts, are completely unaware of the huge organised scale on which this takes place.

Official Version

Of course, officials deny there is any coercion. Their story is that these are pass law offenders who are given the option of farm work or gaol, and many

FARM WORK . . . OR POLICE PROSECUTION

A Government circular handed into court during the case of Nelson Langa, who alleged he had been arrested under the pass laws and then coerced to work on a Bethal farm, created a sensation earlier this month.

The document is headed "Scheme for the Employment of Petty Offenders in Non-Prescribed Areas."

It is addressed to all Native Affairs Department officials and magistrates, was issued on June 14, 1954, and approved by the Secretary for Justice and the Commissioner of the South Africa Police, as well as the Department of Native Affairs.

This circular says:

"It is common knowledge that large numbers of Natives are daily being arrested and prosecuted for contraventions of a purely technical nature.

"These arrests cost the state large sums of money and serve no useful purpose.

"The Department of Justice, the South African police and this Department (the N.A.D.) have therefore held consultations on the problem and have evolved a scheme, the object of which is to induce unemployed natives now roaming the streets in the various urban areas to accept employment outside such urban areas.

"The scheme has now been in operation in the larger areas for some time, and with certain exceptions necessitated by local conditions, the procedure described below is followed in dealing with Natives arrested for offences under the Natives Taxation and Development Act, the Urban Areas Act, and Labour Bureau Regulation (the relevant sections are detailed).

(a) Natives arrested between 2 p.m. on Sunday and 2 p.m. on Fridays are not charged immediately after arrest, but merely detained by the police.

(b) Natives so detained are removed under escort to the district labour bureau and handed over to the Employment Officer . . .

(f) The Natives must be offered such employment as is available in non-prescribed (rural) areas. Priority should be given to farm labour in this connection.

(g) Natives who on account of their declining to accept employment are not released are returned to the South African Police for prosecution."

choose farm work in preference to a term of imprisonment.

I quote here from official statements. The system, they say, serves to prevent them becoming habitual offenders, or hardened criminals in prison. Every morning "Natives are brought to court from the various police areas in which they have been arrested . . . on arrival each is interrogated by a European police constable aided by a Native interpreter." Some are in legitimate employment and have merely forgotten to take their passes with them. Once this is established, the official statements continue, the police contact the employers and the prisoners are discharged with nothing more than a caution.

"Natives not employed, obvious loiterers or vagabonds", have the law fully explained to them by a welfare officer, and they are asked if they will accept farm labour as an alternative to facing the charges against them. No coercion or persuasion is exercised at any time. "The Natives who elect to go to the farms may also choose the farming districts in which they would like to serve."

What bare-faced, shocking lies! The picture of benign welfare officials carefully explaining to the Africans the choice that lies before them is completely untrue. The methods used by police and government, through their pass officials, to shanghai Africans to the farms put ancient press-gangers completely in the shade.

The things that happen are NOT isolated cases of a harsh or over-zealous civil servant. Not only must the authorities be fully aware of what is going on, not only must the officials of courts and pass offices be aware of it, but more — it is obviously official policy. They must have orders to do these terrible things.

Never-ending Raids

A few years ago they were a little more particular as to how their victims were selected. Long years of increasingly harsh apartheid and fascist laws have made them careless and arrogant. The victims may be unemployed; they may have permits to seek work; they may be in employment; they may be (as in a recent case of a Coloured youth arrested for being without a pass) wrongfully arrested; they may be men, or youths, or even children as young as ten years, seized while walking along country roads, or snatched out of schools.

Thousands of Africans are rounded up continuously, night and day, in the ever-lasting raids, stopped by the "ghost squad", dragged from their homes at night, scooped up in the streets, pulled out in hundreds in raids on hostels, seized in so-called "sweeps against crime", abducted when visiting wives or friends in flats and backyards, even arrested between the back-door of their own home and their lavatory. From this great human crop the harvest is reaped: under-paid, under-fed, maltreated labour for the farms.

They are taken to the police stations, and from there to one of the Labour Bureaux. Many have committed some minor pass offence. But many have nothing at all wrong with their passes, may be in good employment. Some have passes to seek work; some have contravened the pass laws through ignorance, as in the case of a Rhodesian I knew in employment in Johannesburg who was arrested in Alexandra for "entering an urban area"!

They are told, "We will give you work." Many in the past were told they were to be sent to factories in Germiston or Springs. They bother less and less these days with this type of deception. They are put in a queue, and their thumbs are pressed onto a document — their "labour contract" — which may or may not have been read to them in a language they understand. They are loaded onto troop carriers, or picked up outside by farmers with wire-meshed trucks. They may not communicate with employers, family, friends, lawyers. In some cases relatives have come to the jails where they have been confined with money to pay their fines, only to be told the man they are seeking is not there. Families who attempt to trace the vanished men come up against a blank wall. Police stations can't trace them; officials deny any knowledge, have no record.

They Seek Justification

The Star editorial quoted at the beginning of this article piously covers its rash demand for an investigation with these hypocritical words:

"Let us say at once that there is a strong argument for

Fish Kietsing: Robin Hood of Newclare

My attitude towards the story of Robin Hood of Sherwood Forest had hardened into that of a disillusioned grown up. Imagine my surprise when only the other day two policemen stepped into the witness box at the Drill Hall where the Treason trial has been in session for the last eight months and gave evidence about the "Robin Hood of Newclare."

This was their evidence: On November 24, 1956, these two policemen had taken part in one of those pre-dawn pass and permit raids in the Western Areas, in which the police behave like an army of occupation. Between them these policemen had accounted for some twenty-eight to thirty victims whom they huddled together in a street corner, while they waited for a "Kwela-Kwela" to pick them up. Fish Keitsing, Accused No. 15 arrived on the scene and calmly ordered the policemen to release their victims. When they had got over their surprise, the policemen carried out their instructions, and the last thing they allege they saw as they retreated in the direction of the nearest telephone booth, was Fish Keitsing, reading out the names of the jubilant victims as he handed back their pass books.

IN THE FORT

Apparently unmoved by the romantic features of this evidence, the Defence Counsel attacked its

admissibility; whereupon the Prosecutor (probably he, too, had in mind the patriotic exploits of the celebrated Robin Hood, who knows?, solemnly explained that the campaign against passes was one of those carried out by the liberatory movement in furtherance of the Treason plot, and that he would lead more evidence to throw light on the state of mind of the accused, Fish Keitsing.

Fish Keitsing was convicted for "rescuing" prisoners from the custody of the police and is serving his sentence of twelve months at the Johannesburg Gaol. Every morning he is led to the Drill Hall to face the further charge of High Treason. One of these bitterly cold mornings, I asked him about his life at the Fort. He smiled, and replied: "Life is hard at the Fort. But I have experience of a similar life. I used to work in the mines, you know, and the beastly life of the Fort is not so new to me."

MINER UNDERGROUND

Fish was born in the heart of Bechuanaland, in the village of Khane, in 1919, the eldest son in a family of six children. His father was a peasant. When he was a young man of 23, he tired of the monotonous life of the village, and yearned for the adventurous life of the Rand. He enlisted with the Native Recruiting Organisation, and worked successively at Durban

Deep Mine near Roodepoort, at Crown Mines, at Geduld, and East Champ D'Or. Fish and his miner comrades went down the mine at 2 a.m. and emerged at 4 p.m., working continuously without a break for rest or food. They worked for six days in the week, and earned 1s.8d. a day. It was during his days as a miner that Fish was drawn into the liberatory movement, when J. B. Marks spoke to them about the wealth they dug, and the poverty that was their lot. When he left the mines, he went to live in Newclare in 1949, where he joined the African National Congress.

When the Defiance Campaign opened in 1952, Fish defied the unjust laws and served 35 days at Leeuwkop Farm gaol. When he came back, he threw himself into his Branch work and was soon made volunteer-in-chief.

Today, wiry, tough and genial Fish Keitsing sits fifteenth amongst the 156. His warrant of arrest was served on him whilst he was awaiting trial in the Newlands Gaol for having freed those victims of the pass laws. One day when the millions of South Africa are freed from the chains of the pass laws, someone will tell the story of the Robin Hood of Newclare and the young children will marvel at him, whilst the grown-ups remain incredulous.

H. G. MAKGOthI.

the policy of draining away from the towns as many as possible of the unemployed, unemployable and generally unwanted and undesirable Natives who infest the slums and provide a large part of the criminal element. No sympathy need be wasted on these persons . . . who could be turned to some productive use on the land."

The Government says the same thing. In their statement to the United Nations Committee that was investigating forced labour they had this comment to make on the section of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act under which most of this labour is obtained:

"The intention behind the Section is the removal of the unprincipled, vagabond type of Native who exists by preying upon or exploiting the fellow members of his community, often in such a way that he does not expose himself to criminal action, to some place where he will no longer be able to batten upon such community and will be under some form of discipline, preferably where habits of industry can be instilled into him . . . the Native may not be ordered to enter employment unless he voluntarily agrees to do so . . . there is no element of compulsion."

So thousands are forced into slave labour to protect Africans themselves, or to rehabilitate a possible handful of "unwanted and undesirable Natives." No, this will not stand the light of truth.

Banish the Pass Laws

The truth is these terrible crimes are made possible only by the oppressive pass laws. Only because of the pass laws can men (soon women too?) be stopped anywhere, any time of day or night, by a man in uniform or not, and ordered to produce papers. Only through pass laws can two thousand be arrested in one week-end in one town. Only through pass laws can this great mass of humanity be forced through the courts and Labour Bureaux and out again — criminals, to jails, to farms. Only through the pass laws can this incredible stream of arrests be perpetuated.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights says (Article 4): "No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms." And (Article 23): that every person has the right to "free choice of employment" and to "just and favourable conditions of work."

It is time steps were taken to implement these sections in South Africa; it is time U.N.O. investigated these things of which I have written — not a deputation shown around by officials, but one which can really learn the truth from the victims of the system. And it is more than time that South Africans combined to banish pass laws, on which forced labour stands, from our land.

Afrikaner Nationalism in Big Business

In 1938 when the Rev. J. D. Kestell started the Reddingsdaad movement it was far from his mind that it would become the instrument for the racialist schemers of the Broederbond to crash into the world of big business. The movement was originally conceived as a charitable scheme to relieve distress among and to rehabilitate the poor whites. A £500,000 fund was launched in conjunction with the Voortrekker centenary celebrations, and in 1939 the Volks Ekonomiese Kongres was called at Bloemfontein to decide how the proceeds should be spent. That was where the Nationalist politicians and ideologists took over.

The conference was dominated by men like the Doctors Dönges, van Rhijn and Verwoerd—all subsequently of course to become Nationalist Cabinet Ministers — Dr. M. S. Louw (who in time became a director of SANLAM, SANTAM, Saambou, SASOL, the S.A. Marine Corporation, the Industrial Development Corporation and the National Finance Corporation), Mr. I. M. Lombard, secretary of the Broederbond and Chairman of the F.A.K., and Dr. N. Diederichs, now a Nationalist M.P., who became the official organiser of the Reddingsdaadbond.

Such men had little faith in the idealistic and humanitarian ideas which had launched the Reddingsdaad fund. Instead of reaching out a friendly hand to the struggling bywoners and ruined farmers who, at that time, were flocking to the cities for jobs and often not finding them, they envisaged the development of a powerful financial and commercial Nationalist elite, who would become a power in the land.

"We must use the technique of capitalism as it is applied in the most important industry in this country — the gold mining industry. We must establish something like the big finance houses of Johannesburg."

Thus Dr. Louw, addressing the congress, which by a substantial majority adopted his point of view.

Suiwer Afrikaans

This conference marked an important turn in the development of Afrikaner nationalism, which had hitherto been dominated almost ex-

clusively by the wealthy farmers. From then on the rising financial, industrial and commercial bourgeoisie played a steadily more

by

ALAN DOYLE

weighty role in the Nationalist Party and its associated economic, cultural and other organisations. Unlike the conservative farmers, the new men were open to, and keen on, new ideas — especially those of the Hitler type.

The Reddingsdaadbond went all out, in the classic and familiar style of capitalist nationalism, to inflame a spirit of racial exclusiveness among the Afrikaner people. They must not, they were told, patronise "foreign" English or Jewish firms, banks, building societies, insurance companies, burial societies, etc. New "suiwer Afrikaans" institutions were established or given new impetus — SANLAM (insurance), Volkskas (bank), Federale Volksbeleggings (investment) and many other finance institutions along the lines suggested by Dr. Louw. They were extraordinarily successful: today they dispose of assets of tens of millions of pounds; they control important and developing interests in many fields, including liquor, tobacco, textiles, clothing manufacture, printing and publishing, tea and coffee, and coal mining. (So far their efforts to gatecrash the jealously-guarded preserve of gold mining, however, have not succeeded.)

The Boycott Spirit

The key to the rapid advance of these ventures was the Nationalists' sedulous cultivation of the propaganda of racial exclusiveness and the boycott spirit. "Buy Afrikaans — invest Afrikaans — patronise Afrikaners": these slogans carried with them the obvious implication: "Boycott the non-Afrikaner." The savage boycott of Indian shops in the Transvaal of some years back was initiated in many cases by their Nationalist business competitors. At a time when the Union was engaged with

her allies in the mortal struggle against the Axis, the leaders of Afrikaner nationalism were concentrating upon embittering race relations and inflaming the racial spirit. Hundreds of English-speaking and especially Jewish country storekeepers in the Free State and the Transvaal were ruined and driven out of business.

Money to Capture Unions

Nationalist theoreticians were naturally hostile to organisations in which Afrikaners mingled with people of other races. Dual-medium schools, societies like the Masons, and above all multi-racial trade unions were the object of their particular hatred, for they negated and neutralised the spirit of chauvinism and exclusiveness upon which they based their plans for the political and economic domination of the country.

A special organisation was set up as a subsidiary of the Reddingsdaadbond — the Blankewerkersbescermingsbond — with the especial object of winning Nationalist control over trade unions with a large Afrikaans membership and splitting them off from the organised trade union movement. Financed by the Bond, and by a £10,000 legacy from a wealthy widow, the "B.B.B." succeeded in capturing the biggest union of all, the Mineworkers. It is notable that two Ministers of Labour in Nationalist Cabinets were prominently associated with this subversive organisation. Schoeman was an executive member, and the present incumbent, de Klerk was its secretary.

One Hand Washes the Other

One cannot disentangle the Nationalist Party from its partner the Reddingsdaadbond, and its protégé firms. They are closely interwoven both in personnel and in aims. The one hand washed the other. The Nationalist politicians and party officials spread the chauvinistic propaganda which brought the money rattling into the cash registers of the Bond's financial, industrial and commercial ventures. The new-rich Nationalist bourgeoisie—made richer

(Continued on page 9)

The Civil Liberties Battle in the U.S.A.

by LIONEL FORMAN

Ever since cold-war hysteria gripped the United States over ten years ago, judges all over that country have been sentencing leading Communists to long terms of imprisonment for "conspiring to the violent overthrow of the government." Political experts have been called by the government to give evidence that Lenin wrote that the workers could only seize power by a violent overthrow of the capitalist class, and it has therefore been contended by American prosecutors — successfully until now — that, as Communists actively propagate Leninist ideas, the mere fact that a person is a Communist is enough to show that he commits the crime of conspiring to overthrow the government.

In the prosecutor's opening address in our own "treason" trial a somewhat similar line of argument is adopted. The Crown bases its case partly on the argument, firstly that the liberatory movement is Communist, secondly that Communists teach the inevitability of the violent overthrow of the government, thirdly that the violent overthrow of the government is treason; therefore it follows that the liberatory movement commits treason.

Far-reaching Decision

Last month the United States Supreme Court — the highest in the land — gave a decision which knocked away the whole foundation of this sort of conviction in America. Their ruling has been hailed by progressives and liberals as one of the most important decisions in defence of liberty, in the history of U.S. law. The court held that it was not an offence for a person to advocate the theoretical need or desirability of a forcible overthrow of the government, but that this was part of the citizen's right to free speech. The offence was only committed if the person actually incited people to go out and put that teaching into effect by performing acts aimed at the violent overthrow of the government.

The American witch-hunters and the right-wing press made a great outcry that they could not see the distinction and that the judges had indulged in legal hair-splitting. But to the ordinary citizen the difference is by no means obscure.

It is legal to tell a man: "Socialism

will only be achieved by the forcible overthrow of the government."

It is illegal to tell him: "Let us go to Washington, storm the Pentagon and overthrow the government."

Needless to say, this United States Supreme Court decision has no bearing at all on the legal position in South Africa. Our law of treason has different roots altogether, and nothing said here should be construed as affecting the *South African trial*, although some of the factual parallels will of course give the U.S. decision added interest to South African readers.

Changed Climate

Everyone in the United States is well aware that the sudden reversal of the attitude of the Supreme Court — the same court which earlier consistently rejected appeals on points involving identical questions of law — is not based on any new legal arguments suddenly produced to convince the judges. It is due solely to the whole changed climate of American public opinion, the revulsion against the viciousness and barbarity of the witch-hunt which has for the last five years poisoned American thought and terrorised its intellectuals, exalting cowardly police informers into heroes and reviling as traitors men of the calibre of Einstein, Howard Fast, Arthur Miller, Oppenheim and a host of other outstanding men.

A few years ago the public was so cowed and misled that the Supreme Court would have faced impeachment if it had decided the way it has done in recent cases. Today, while the majority of the newspapers, and former all-powerful figures like secret police chief Hoover — of whom our own *Prinsloo* is a pale imitation — are expressing their horror and indignation at the court's decision, the ordinary people have welcomed it wholeheartedly. There is, of course talk of sacking the judges — "Congress should impeach one or more of the learned justices" said a New York Daily News editorial — but everyone knows that this is so much hot air.

The Work of a Week

In one single week the nine judges — generally by an eight to one majority:—

- ★ Allowed the appeal of five Californian Communist leaders against their conviction.
- ★ ordered a new trial, for nine other convicted leaders.
- ★ ordered the State Department to re-employ a former diplomat, John Stuart Service, who had been sacked in 1951 as a "security risk", — and to pay him six years back-pay.
- ★ allowed the appeal of a trade union leader, John Watkins, against his conviction for contempt-of-Congress when he refused to inform against Communists and took similar action in the case of world-renowned economist Paul Sweezy. This was almost exactly the same charge as that for which playwright Arthur Miller was convicted last week, evidence that the Congressional Committee does not intend giving in without causing all the trouble in its power.

(In 1947 an appeal by Dr. Edward Barsky on identical grounds had been rejected outright by the same court).

Quite a week's work. And it was a follow-up to what may prove to have been the most important decision of all.

The Jencks Appeal

Clinton Jencks, a trade union leader, had appealed against a five year prison sentence for perjury, the judge in a state court having held that he signed an affidavit that he was not a member of the Communist Party when in fact he was. The evidence which convinced the judge was that of two paid police informers, one of whom was Harvey Matusow (who is now in jail for writing a book telling how the F.B.I. fake their evidence).

The defence got the informers to admit that they had made reports to the police years before, but what was in these reports was not disclosed. — Nor did the defence lawyers even think it worth while asking for them, the sanctity of the F.B.I. secret files being so taken for granted.

Although the point was not even taken on appeal, the judges of the Supreme Court held that there may have been material in these police statements which would have assisted the accused to show that the informers were lying — and, they said, the defence had a right to see these police reports.

(Continued on page 12)

"SOME SET THE SIGHTS TOO HIGH;
OTHERS VENTURE TOO LITTLE . . ."

Nowhere else in this wide world would the simple prospect of an inter-race conference of citizens be anything for the history books to record. But here the prospect glows like a beacon, marking a decisive turn in the country's long climb upwards from servitude towards its liberty.

The climb has been difficult and desperate. First the long haul to batter down historically fostered feuds and hatreds of tribalism, ending in the triumphant emergence of African nationhood and unity under the banner of the African National Congress. Next the struggle against ingrained racial enmity and exclusiveness, victoriously culminating in the now unshakeable fraternal alliance of the African and Indian Congresses which mirrors the united aims and aspirations of all the Non-White peoples. Then the painful leading of the people into mass political struggles, first as a desperate defense against reactionary attack but paving the way for the recent mass offensives against the ramparts of reaction.

The Cracks in the Fortress

A long and desperate climb, and still far from its end. But the effort begins to reap its rewards. The grim, fortress-wall of European colour and master-race prejudice has begun to crack under pressure. And with every day that passes, and with every new mass assault on the Nationalist fortress of reaction, the cracks begin to widen into a breach allowing first a trickle, later a flood of new democratic thinking to surge through. For the first time we approach the summit of the climb. For the first time, the overwhelming mass of South Africans, men with black skins and brown, have forced their way upwards to stand face to face with the traditional white aristocracy demanding their foothold on the summit.

Astride the Summit Together

That demand cannot now be turned back. For the white bestriders of the summit there now opens up a fearful choice. Either a last-ditch stand, in which they will inevitably be trampled into dust; or a treaty with the new-

"The time has come when opposition to apartheid must find expression in more than handsome declarations" . . . says OLIVER TAMBO, General Secretary of the African National Congress.

The release of the Tomlinson Report at the beginning of last year touched off a series of conferences to consider the implications of the Report and to examine the commission's recommendations.

One of the most important of these conferences was the All-in African Conference held at Bloemfontein in October 1956, under the auspices of the Inter-denominational African Ministers' Federation, and attended by African leaders drawn from all parts of South Africa.

After a thorough analysis of the Report, the conference rejected it in toto, declaring "This conference does not subscribe to the view that the choice before South Africa consists only of two cast-iron alternatives — namely, 'ultimate complete integration' or 'ultimate complete separation between Europeans and Bantu.' Conference maintains that a proper reading of the South African situation calls for co-

The Basis

operation to allow all to straddle the summit together, peacefully, each respecting the others' rights as fully as his own. Already the turmoil and ferment of decision is widespread in the ranks of White South Africans; and already, many are tentatively and painfully shedding the age-old skin of domination, and emerging in new, variously patterned groups of liberalism, fraternity and equality. For the first time in our history, the prospects of a real South African national unity, of nationhood across the colour barriers begins to emerge.

Of that historic prospect, the multi-racial conference which will meet in Johannesburg in November is the herald.

The Sights Can Be Set Too High

Some expect too much, and some too little of this conference. Some expect — or do they merely day-dream? — that from such a conference can come an agreement, binding all those who do not choose the road of Nationalist reaction, to struggle, as the Congress alliance struggles, for the abolition of all South African race and colour discrimination and for the winning of the full and thoroughgoing equality for which the Congress movement aims. They set their sights too high. Such times will come, no doubt. But they are not yet. Such aims are still almost the exclusive property of the Congress alliance; they are not yet the aims of even the entire Non-White population; and they are the aims only of an infinitesimally small section of the White population. With such aims, the Conference can only become, at this moment of history, the exclusive stamping-ground of the Congresses and their supporters, on which the prospects of founding a real and wide South African alliance will be frittered away.

Too Little Ventured . . .

Others venture too little. Timorously they retreat before the difficulties of pioneering a new national unity. From the conference they hope for no more than a pious and well-meaning declaration couched in general terms of morality,

The Multi-Ra

operation and interdependence between the various races comprising the South African nation, and denies that this arrangement would constitute a threat to the survival of the White man in South Africa."

A United Front Against Apartheid

Conference recognised that the people of South Africa as a whole, and not a particular section of them, must bear the burden of seeking and finding a modus vivendi whereby they can live together not as "Blankes en Nie-Blankes", but as South Africans, sharing a common society based on common interests and a common fatherland; it therefore concluded its declaration with an appeal in the following terms:

"This conference is convinced that the present policy of apartheid constitutes a serious threat to race relations in the country. Therefore, in the interests of all the peo-

for Unity

truth and justice, behind which every brand of South African reaction will be able to shelter its uneasy conscience; or at best, a denunciation of Nationalism while providing no alternative policy to it.

The Basis for Unity

Somewhere between these two lies the real, achievable prospect for the Conference. While we believe that the time will come when the majority of South Africans of all colours will accept the Congress policy as the way forward, that time has still to be prepared by the extension of Congress-led mass campaigns against discrimination and the resulting widening of the breach in the wall of reaction. But right here and now, the ground already exists for uniting White and Non-White South Africans around a policy of real sweeping and radical democratic advance, even though that advance stops short of the full equality for which the Congresses campaign. Concretely, there is a basis for unity such as has never been seen before, around the concrete demands for freedom of movement — the repeal of pass laws, of Group Areas Acts and passport restrictions; for freedom of speech — the repeal of the Suppression of Communism Act bans, book and press censorship legislation; for freedom of organisation and assembly — the repeal of anti-trade union legislation, of the 'Church' clause, of Nursing Acts and Separate Universities Acts, and the curbing of the Security Police. The list can be extended. A complete and thorough-going programme of democracy as we understand it, as it is contained in the Freedom Charter or as the Congress movement understands it, it is not. But such a concrete declaration — a declaration of war on Nationalism, a declaration of radical democratic advance to which all in their own ways are committed, could, we believe, transform the South African scene. It could carry us past the decisive turn, past the beacon, and out on the open road to real South African nationhood founded in democracy.

The "Fighting Talk" Editorial Board.

ial Conference

ple and the future of our country, this conference calls upon all national organisations to mobilise all people, irrespective of race, colour or creed, to form a united front against apartheid.

"This conference welcomes the initiative of IDAMF in bringing together African leaders to consider the Tomlinson Report and its implications for South Africa and appeals to the Christian Churches in South Africa to take a clear and unequivocal stand in the defence of Christian and human values now being trampled underfoot in the name of apartheid.

"Conference appeals to that strong and powerful body for which the Dutch Reformed Church speaks with recognised authority, to re-examine its approach to the race question. Conference calls upon all South Africans who realise the dangers and effects of apartheid to take positive steps to break down the colour bar in group relations. We urge them furthermore to ensure that democratic and

"Can the multi-racial conference bridge the differences and divisions which exist between the varying types of opposition?"

Christian opinion expresses itself on discriminatory legislation in ways most likely to impress on the minds of the people of South Africa the urgent need for a positive alternative to apartheid or separate development."

"We Must Live and Work Together"

In response to this appeal several organisations issued press statements urging the need for a multi-racial conference. It has now been announced that such a conference will be held in November of this year.

What remains to be seen is the extent to which it will be supported by the people of South Africa, and the nature of the conclusions and decisions which will follow its deliberations.

The problem of government, embracing the distribution of political power, the regulation of economic interests and the adjustment of social relations, is one which affects directly every member of the South African population, whatever his race, colour or creed, and is not capable of solution except along lines which are the product of mutual exchanges between South Africans of all races, conducted on a basis of equality, in an atmosphere which permits of an honest and frank analysis of the South African situation.

Whether the people of South Africa will take the opportunity offered them by the proposed multi-racial conference in November depends on the extent to which they have become alive to the dangerous policies that threaten the future of their country. A people that has had the gruelling experience of nine years of rule by hardened fanatics cannot afford to miss the opportunity of introducing at least a ray of sanity into the handling of the affairs of their country. And if any group or party believes that it can, independently of other groups, achieve results favourable to all the people of this country, let it be pointed out that the Nationalists, acting unilaterally, and blasphemously claiming divine authority for their iniquitous practices, have tried to force apartheid on the people of South Africa as a means of preserving White civilisation and ensuring the perpetual domination of White people over Black. In the process, they have succeeded only in creating a situation which is now a complex as it is explosive, and which places the whole future of the country in serious jeopardy. In the words of Professor Keet "there remains nothing but an acceptance of the fact that we must live together and work together."

Apartheid Has Failed

The time has come when all peoples, of all races and creeds, who are at all capable of permitting themselves some measure of honest thinking, should together register their acknowledgement of the fact that apartheid, whilst it can be shown to be a most efficacious and practicable policy in relation to the separation of Afrikaners from Frieslands, is a complete failure when set against the historical forces that have shaped the destinies and directed the progress of mankind throughout the ages.

(Continued on following page)

THE MULTI-RACIAL CONFERENCE

(Continued from page 9)

The now world-famous "church clause" in the Native Laws Amendment Act, the Nursing Apartheid Act and the Separate Universities Bill are all measures characteristic of this government's apartheid legislation and which reflect a deep-seated and increasing contempt for fundamental human values and democratic concepts.

Bring the Forces of Opposition Together!

The multi-racial conference could not be called for a more appropriate time. Nationalist attacks on the basic rights and liberties of our people have reached an unprecedented peak; but so, too, has the hatred of, and opposition to, these policies, coming from a great range of organisations and individuals and sectors of public opinion. *Can the multi-racial conference succeed in bridging the differences and divisions which exist between their varying types of opposition?*

The 1956 Bloemfontein conference bridged the gap between African bodies; it rejected apartheid and in its place upheld the concept of the development of a multi-racial society providing full opportunities for the unfettered development in mutual co-operation of all sections of the people. November's multi-racial conference should proceed in the spirit of the Bloemfontein conference; and demonstrate in practice that a basis already exists in our apartheid-ridden country for inter-racial co-operation.

But more than that. The multi-racial conference should aim to devise measures to foster co-operation *now*, to find new spheres and opportunities for inter-racial co-operation.

We Need More than Declarations

The Bloemfontein declaration is an inspiring charter. But the time has come when opposition to apartheid must find expression in more than handsome declarations. The multi-racial conference must take a stand for the protection of civil liberties, for freedom to

worship, against state control of education and thought, for equal opportunities for all races. But these principles will take on their most impressive meaning when related to those life and death struggles which the peoples of our country are waging against the pass system and its extension to women, against the "Church" clause of the Native Administration Act; against forcible racial zonings and forced removals of populations; against increased taxation of Africans and for substantial wage increases.

Into Battle Against Apartheid

It is on these immediate issues that the battle with apartheid must be joined, out of which battle a great new alliance for a multi-racial society can be forged. This is the grand prospect which the November conference opens up, if it does not rest satisfied with only a high-sounding set of resolutions to show for its deliberations.

The general election is now approaching and the Nationalists have already begun to whip up racialism and conflict, stomping the country with the cry of "apartheid." Those who make the hall of the multi-racial conference ring with their conviction that apartheid is doomed, could well carry that conviction to all corners of the country, rousing a public wave of feeling which, in turn, can compel candidates to pledge themselves to the basic civil liberties adopted by the Bloemfontein conference and the November proceedings, and to the repeal of specified measures that violate these liberties.

New fields for extended, inter-racial contacts lie before us. New proof can be given every day that the best interests of the people of our country cut across the colour barrier. New directions stretch out before us, away from the antagonisms and hatreds and bitter conflicts of the apartheid system and towards racial co-operation for the common good. The multi-racial conference in November can take giant steps in these directions.

AFRIKANER NATIONALISM IN BIG BUSINESS

(Continued from page 6)

still by big wartime profits for farmers and businessmen alike — provided the campaign funds which laid the basis for the Party's election victory in 1948. And, once in office, of course, the Party chiefs saw to it (and still do) that their business friends were well looked after.

But, now that they have climbed up to the heights of big business through the shrewd exploitation of Afrikaans national sentiment, some of the new capitalists are looking much further afield. They are seeking the wider market provided by the general public, European and Non-European alike. Their products are given ostentatiously non-Afrikaans names: American, British, even Jewish. They pretend not to be Nationalists, deny they are Nationalists.

It is unfortunate for them that their past is fairly well-known and a matter of public record. Their close association with the best-hated government in the world will not endear them or their products to the masses of the consuming public in this country — or overseas. For today, with affiliated and subsidiary companies in a number of countries abroad, the new Nationalist capitalists aspire to an economic empire undreamed of by the theoreticians of the 1939 congress. They have ambitions far beyond the relatively limited consuming power of the Nationalist section of the Afrikaners in this small country of ours.

Every act of oppression and discrimination by their friends in the Government is another nail in the coffin of those ambitions.

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A Clock for the 'Bantu'

NORMAN LEVY
on
BANTU EDUCATION

The orders that Dr. Bernard Rust, former Nazi Minister of Education, gave to his teachers were dispensed in brutal, dogmatic terms, tainted with the Nazi ideal that "Nordic Nazi Might Makes Universal Right." A teacher was not spoken of as a teacher (Lehrer) but as an Erzieher, an iron disciplinarian who does not instruct but commands.

Dr. Werner Eiselen, Secretary for Native Affairs, drew richly on the researches of Dr. Rust when he revised the curriculum for African education. Of the two innovators, he is the more imaginative, immeasurably more subtle in his methods and an arch-master of metaphor.

Making New Clocks

In a radio talk to listeners of the S.A.B.C. in 1955 Dr. Eiselen spoke of a new deal in education. "There is singularly little substance in the statement that Bantu Education will be used to turn back the clock of Bantu Development," he said, "for there is no genuine clock!"

He found this metaphor useful. "There are two types of clocks. The one is used in the lower classes of the primary school to teach the little ones to tell the time. Without the teacher's hand it cannot move of its own accord . . . It is just a make-believe clock and can never become a real one . . . On the other hand this is the new deal, that we are going to build the other type of clock . . . We are going to build in Bantu Works, Bantu Wheels and a Bantu Spring."

April 1, 1955 was the date on which the new deal was to be launched and Dr. Eiselen prophesied that it would long be remembered as the day which marked the beginning of a new and dynamic approach to Bantu Education. He had seen a vision of a new type of learning and he envisaged it as a didactic device with a luminous dial pointing the way through the darkness into the light.

That clock has already begun to tick, its works are well oiled but its hands are moving steadily backwards.

The school syllabuses published in 1955 and again in 1956 state the tenets on which the new deal is to build its Bantu Clock.

Physically, the child must have a "right" appreciation of the value of practical work; he must acquire "some" skill of hand and eye and develop a

healthy body. Spiritually, he must acquire "by example, training and precept" the qualities of truth, honesty, obedience, loyalty and reverence. In his social requirements, he should cultivate "sound" standards of individual conduct, an understanding of the community and of his PLACE in it.

The Wide World

Intellectually, he should have "some" knowledge of the world beyond his immediate surroundings . . . "The starting point is the pupil's own home, school, village and community from which he progresses in ever-widening circles until the history of other tribes and of the White races in South Africa are included."

The world of Werner Eiselen is wide and wonderful and ceases where it starts!

The Nazis, in their time, introduced a new type of class, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft, a form of army community group in the school, for pupils who showed the greatest aptitude for party duties and who were thoroughly drenched in Nazi ideology. These pupils would go out and enlighten those who were not aware of their duties as Nazis. Like the Nazis the Nats' education policies are directed towards ends other than education. Eiselen has introduced a new ideal in African education: environment studies.

Mastery of the mother tongue; the official languages and a knowledge of simple calculation are intended to prepare the child to earn a living; but environment studies are intended to implant in him an understanding of his community and a knowledge of his place in it. This innovation is the raison d'être of Bantu Education.

Environment study begins as soon as the child has left the sub-standards, increasing in intensity from Standard two to Standard six, by which time the pupil has had a thorough grounding in the system of Native Administration and a smattering of other school subjects. The study centres on the "contributions made by the chief and his councillors; the minister of religion, the office of the native Trust and the policeman." It includes an observational study of the residential area, special visits to the office of the Native Commissioner, the police station and the agricultural officer.

Jacob and Esau

The two systems of European and Bantu education are so designed that

while the African child is making an observational tour of the Native Trust office, the European child is acquiring a cultural background which will help him to obtain an understanding of the world whose heritage is to be denied to those across the colour line. The one is the hand of Jacob, the other the hairy hand of Esau. This in essence is Bantu Education.

Whatever its content, education has, as a rule, a class bias. Educational principles follow the political and philosophical needs of the ruling class. This is blatant and systematic in the Bantu Education Act, now in its third year of operation.

. . . The pupil must be prepared to earn a living . . . for this he will need not only a sound knowledge of his mother tongue but also the ability to speak and understand both official languages to calculate, to understand and practice the rules of health and behave in accordance with the principles of Christian teaching."

There is no place for the sciences, the arts or subjects of higher learning in this ideal. Its emphasis is on the acquisition of a simple understanding. "Work ennobles!"

The Technique

The concept of social studies is a modern trend in education, integrating into a single whole the studies of history, geography, civics and nature study, hitherto locked in watertight compartments. It makes of it an understandable unity, a sensible combination of the universe the child is trying to comprehend. But in the hands of an obstinate apartheid government whose rule is founded on racialism, the system is dangerous in the extreme.

Of interest is the story told of Nazi methods applied in a school in Western Berlin. The boys tramped in march-step out of the school into a small fenced-off garden. They broke rank and stationed themselves behind tomato plants a few inches high. To an observer it appeared that it was a class in applied science, a project. The teacher was apparently using modern methods by taking his class into the garden, letting them see and experience at first hand how osmosis and photosynthesis worked. Instead the Nazi teacher gave a fiery dissertation on the holiness of German soil. He pointed to the ground and explained in clamorous tones that Germany had lost much holy soil and

(Continued on page 12)

U.S.A. Civil Liberties

(Continued from page 7)

The Supreme Court ordered a retrial for Jencks, and with one of the star witnesses against him in jail as an admitted perjurer, willing to give evidence for the defence about how he was induced to lie, Jencks's prospects of freedom seem good.

What a blow to Hoover this decision is can readily be imagined. Judge Clark, the one-man minority, "appointed by Truman in 1949, with backing for the job by Chief Justice Vinson because, said the wags, Vinson wanted somebody on the Court who knew less law than he did" — ("Time," July 1) declared angrily in his dissenting judgment, "The F.B.I. might as well close up shop." Hoover, naturally, huffed and puffed his scorn and contempt and alarm at the judges' decision, up and down the country.

No Surrender to the Witch-hunt

There is now little likelihood that the 27 Communists still awaiting trial will be convicted, and almost complete certainty that if convicted their appeals will be allowed. And although Congress will go on convicting people of contempt until it tires of doing so, it is certain that witnesses, knowing that they cannot fail on appeal, will be less afraid to stand up like men and refuse to turn informer.

When eleven members of the Communist Party's Central Committee were sentenced to ten years each in the first Communist trial in 1949, two of them, instructed to do so by the Central Committee, jumped their bail and went underground. Ironically enough, this proved extremely lucky for them. Judging that the time was ripe to do so, they gave themselves up last year, and although sentenced to an extra three years, they are now in line for a successful appeal against their original sentence. The appeal of the other nine, in 1949, was rejected by the Supreme Court and they served their sentences!

Credit for the change in the atmosphere in the United States must certainly go in large part to those valiant men and women who refused to knuckle under to the witch-hunters, who stood up and proclaimed their right to freedom, knowing full well that this would mean jail. In time to come the United States will acknowledge its debt to them.

A Clock for the 'Bantu'

that only one man could recover it—and that man was Adolph Hitler!

It is in its application that the subject 'social studies' in Bantu Education schools assumes the character not of education but indoctrination; "that (the child) is a member of a particular community and that he is bound by this to particular groups of people as they are represented in his home, his school, his church, his village and his tribe, that he must realise the value of work and be convinced that he must work; that he should realise that laws are necessary for the people (and that they should) do naturally and therefore willingly, what Society has prescribed as correct, good and commendable . . ."

It is in this context that the pupil in Standard five must receive instruction and guidance in the use of the reference book, the labour bureaux and how they work, the control measures in Urban Areas and the curfew regulations.

The source of reference for the teacher?

An edited account of the Native Laws Amendment Act, legislation which is supposedly correct, good and commendable and, in the light of Bantu Education, necessary!

Whilst the child in Standard Three of a European Government School acquires a knowledge of the art of the Renaissance, the invention of the compass, gunpowder and printing; the travels of Marco Polo and the Portuguese pioneers, the African child must learn Bantu praise songs, the names of the chiefs; outstanding events in the history of each tribe; the national suicide of the Amaxhosas; physical appearance of the various peoples; the mode of life, the manufacture of clothing, housing, clay pots, mats, implements, weapons and musical instruments; animal husbandry and notable customs such as the Feast of the First Fruits

The Teachers

It may be asked whether any African teacher would teach African pupils to believe in their own inferiority.

But the methods are subtle, using fraudulent ideologies to control the teacher and force him to submit. The school board, the school committee, the inspectors, the sub-inspectors and the supervisors draw a tight control net round the teacher. Assisting the inspectors, sub-inspectors and supervisors are the school boards and school committees. Every Bantu Community School is by law compelled to have a School Committee.

[Continued from page 11]

In the urban areas the school committee has at least ten members, two of them appointed by the Native Commissioner, four by the Secretary for Native Affairs, and four members elected from among the parents. Any member of the committee has the right of access to any school or class under its supervision, to order any teacher under its control to attend its meetings, to supply any information it needs. The school committee has power to recommend the teacher's immediate suspension if a written complaint has been received against him. He has very little latitude if he falls foul of the Department, or if he endeavours to undermine Bantu Education from within the school itself. Inspections are frequent and since any member of the school committee has the right to enter the classroom at any time the risk involved is too dangerous to contemplate.

The teacher's conditions of service prevent his asserting his independence within or outside the school. The discipline over him is strict, and unyielding. If he disobeys an order given to him by a person of authority, he displays insubordination. If he is charged with encouraging resistance to the laws of the state, he may be dismissed. If he actively participates in political affairs or in a political party, he is guilty of misconduct.

The Price of Literacy

It is a fallacy to believe that Bantu Education is not being implemented or that School Boards or School Committees are simply not working.

Nothing could be further from the truth!

Every year an increasing number of children are being indoctrinated; taught that the reference book, the curfew regulations, the Urban Areas Act and all the other outrageous acts of the Nationalist Government are "correct and necessary."

For the parents (except for those who have taken the forward step of withdrawing their children from school and supporting the Cultural Clubs) the price of the literacy of their children has been indoctrination.

It is not yet too late for parents who have seen through the dishonest Nationalist propaganda to resign from School Boards and School Committees, whose policies are dictated and controlled by officials of the Native Affairs Department.

Nor is it too late for teachers to unite in defence of their profession and oppose a principle which destroys and distorts the very idea of education.

FREEDOM SONGS

by THEMBEKILE KA TSHUNUNGWA

Wherever Africans assemble there is music — road workers wielding their picks and shovels, miners, the men who till the land, prisoners in the cells, in the churches and in the grave yards. Even under adverse conditions the people sing and the musical hum brushes away the sorrow.

There is great variety in the music and the rhythm of each song characterises the occasion. The road-digger singing as he takes his place in the line, pick poised above head, and then brought down in unison with the row, makes music, shall I say, without pulse or beat, but each singer keeps perfectly to the tempo with remarkable beauty of harmony. The number of parts in such music is not fixed, as each man comes in with his own contribution, yet, with striking strangeness the part fits in with exquisite harmony. On the land in springtime, during the ploughing season, the very air is filled with music as each young man, whip over one shoulder, sings out praises to his father's span that draws the deep-sinking plough.

Most African songs have developed from specific occasions, and the national Freedom Songs are no exception. Rhythm, gesture, movement, mime, all play their part in the characterisation of a particular song. The songs vary from area to area, but everywhere the words are simple and everywhere the singing is in harmony — as with all folk songs.

The year 1952, when the African National Congress embarked on the historic Defiance Campaign, brought with it innumerable songs of freedom that sprang up like mushrooms after rain. Some of these songs were composed in prison and the defiers sang them as they came out to rejoin their comrades after serving their sentences.

Among these was the volunteer recruiting song:

"Joyinani madodana
Ixesha lifikile.
Balani madodana
Ithesaba lethu nini."

"Join ye youths,
The time has come,
Write down your names
Our hope lies on thee."

When this song was sung at a meeting, hundreds of young Africans would come forward to volunteer for action.

There are many other songs which were the first introduction to Congress for many thousands of Africans who warmed to their spirit and answered their call.

Here are a few examples:

"Thina sizwe esimnyama,
Sikhalela izwe lethu
Elathathwa ngabamhlophe
Ma bazeke umhlaba wethu."

"We the black nation
Cry for our country
That was taken by the white men.
They must let our country go."

Ho! Malan vul'itilongo
Ho! Malan vul'itilongo
Thina sizongena s'ngama Volun-
tiya
Thina sizongena s'ngama Volun-
tiya."

"Hey! Malan, open the jail doors
We are to enter, we volunteers."

Organisers travelling from one centre to another and conferences held from time to time, have helped to spread the songs throughout the country. The tunes of the songs are nearly all original, the composers unfortunately unknown in most cases. But this confirms the fact that the Africans are a musical people with hundreds and hundreds of composers, albeit at the moment living in obscurity.

Many songs derive their music from Church hymns. All that the Congress people have done is to substitute new words for the original ones, e.g.

"Sophiatown likhaya lam
(Repeat four times).

Sophiatown is my home
(Four times).

Other words are added from time to time for the sake of variety. This song gave a magnificent impetus to the Western Areas Removal Scheme protests. When sung with feeling this song charged the very atmosphere with the opposition of the people to the removals.

Another song that is a Church tune was sung soon after Dr. Da-

doo, J. B. Marks and others were arrested. As each national leader was arrested his name was fitted into the song.

As the struggle in the liberation movement entered each new phase, new songs sprang up. Each campaign developed its own songs. During the boycott of Verwoerd's Bantu Schools, many songs emerged, e.g.

"Abazali bam banqand uVelevutha
ayek' Imfundo.

Xelelan' uVelevutha
Aseyifun 'Apartheid."

This is a Cradock "special" composed by a prominent leader of that town who has composed many other songs, many of which have still to be written down and circulated.

This song says:
"Our parents! Stop Verwoerd
To interfere not with education.
Tell Verwoerd that we do not
Want Apartheid."

In 1952, in Peddie, Cape, a woman volunteer was shot dead by the police. The Cape A.N.C. organised all its branches to erect a tombstone at her grave. The Minister of Justice banned the gathering planned to pay tribute to a renowned fighter for freedom. A song which tells the whole story movingly was composed.

And there are other songs — songs which tell of the Bandung Afro-Asian Conference; Seretse Khama; the Battle of Blood River and others. These songs are perhaps not yet written down. Some are known only in restricted areas, yet through them the history of the whole Congress movement is depicted.

The collection of this music in book form would be no mean contribution to the recording of the history of the liberation movement in South Africa. The composer who puts his music to paper is making a similar contribution. For the young generation throughout the country yearns and thirsts for our national freedom songs. They are the people who sing these songs on the streets and thereby popularise them and the Congress movement. Our leaders may be banned from addressing gatherings, but let us sing to the world as did the children of the Israelites when they sat down on the banks of the river of Babylon and sang in sorrow when they thought of Zion. Let the people sing!

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL PLEA TO END H-BOMB TESTS

by GORDON SCHAFFER

Our aircraft swooped down on Colombo airport. The tropical sun was shining after a fierce monsoon storm. The scent of the earth and the trees, the beauty of the palms and the flowering shrubs set against the dazzling blue of sky and sea were perfect. A Ceylon girl came with garlands of jasmine to welcome us. "This is paradise," I said. "Many people and a number of religions say Ceylon was the original Garden of Eden," she replied and added: "We think it is a very good place to start building peace."

The customs officials waved us through all the formalities. "Welcome to our country," said one, "and long live peace."

So we came to the first country of the Commonwealth to agree to the holding of a meeting of the World Peace Council. But as far as the Ceylon government and the leaders of opinion in the country are concerned, it is more than just granting permission for the conference. Ceylon's Minister of Justice is chairman of the committee of Ceylon citizens who prepared the conference. The Mayor of Colombo made a welcoming speech and Prime Minister Bandaranaike sent a message of greeting and invited all the delegates to an official reception. In every country, West and East alike, the diplomatic representatives of Ceylon were instructed to give visas to any member or guest of the World Peace Council. Representatives of 75 nations came.

Remember Sheffield

As the Mayor, resplendent in red and gold, took his seat to the beating of drums, my mind went back seven years to the last time a world peace conference was called in a British Commonwealth country. We stood then on the steps of Sheffield Town Hall and had to tell the people with shame and sorrow that famous men and women from all over the world had been turned back, in some cases insulted, because they came to us in the name of peace. Then Giles, one of our famous cartoonists, summed it all up with a picture of a little boy writing "PEECE" on the wall, and his sister shouting, "Ma, Cyril's wrote a wicked word."

The memory served to emphasise how far we had come. A message from Prime Minister Bandaranaike was being read: "We are living between two

worlds, a world that is dying and a world that is struggling to be born. We are living in a period of transition from one civilisation to another. Ideologies and isms are made for man and not man for them. We must think in terms of mankind. If we can ensure peace for 25 years, I feel confident the danger time will have passed. Every effort for peace deserves the sympathy and support of us all."

A message from Joliot-Curie, president of the Council and one of the world's greatest atomic experts, called on the delegates to rally all the immense forces who have joined in protest against the tests.

Gandhi's Wish

Joliot-Curie called for a truce on tests and said that once a truce is agreed upon, it will be very difficult for any power to start again: "It is no longer possible to settle international disputes by war. Public opinion is against it. Already we have seen public opinion stopping wars when the armies were still able to fight."

Inevitably, in a conference set in Ceylon, the theme of colonialism came up again and again. Dr. S. Kitchlew, one of India's best loved leaders, appealed to the "great and cultured people of France" to cease waging a hopeless war in Algeria and to abandon the relics of a period that has passed. "Britain and India", he said, "are well fitted to work together for peace. That was the wish of Gandhi. But Britain must learn that the peoples of Asia, Latin America and Africa are no longer content to remain poor and hungry and the hunting ground for foreign powers."

Dr. Kitchlew put forward proposals which command support not only in India's peace movement but among most of her leaders and her people. "We must put a stop to the lust for domination by certain powers. Countries are being subjected to pressure in the Middle East and West Asia to prevent them from exercising their sovereignty. We welcome the decision of Britain and other nations to extend trade with China and we say China must no longer be excluded from U.N. and from the councils of the world. East and West Germany must be kept out of military blocs and foreign soldiers must be withdrawn."

Peace and Plenty

Prof. K. Yasui of Japan spoke about the dangers to his country and I wondered how long other peoples who are in similar peril would remain unresponsive. "We are a small island," he said, "studded with U.S. bases. We are an outpost for atomic war. We are making the utmost efforts to liberate our country from this disastrous position. This struggle is life or death for the Japanese country."

This conference, like the meeting of governments at Bandung, has helped to crystallize the massive forces of peace here in Asia. We who came from the West realised with new force that we are a small minority of the human race. But we also understand how great has been the achievement of the peace movement in welding us into an unbroken front of friendship and common struggle.

One other truth forced itself on our consciousness: Asia is poor. In this island "paradise" many men, women and children are near starvation. Since our leaders exploited them for so long, we in the West have a duty not only to join with them in the struggle for peace, but to share our wealth and our industrial and scientific techniques. Peace in our modern world must not be mere freedom from war, but abundant life for all mankind.

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The Cabinet Meeting

Mr. Strijdom called the cabinet to order. The next elections were in the minds of all, and Strijdom's eye had a greater glint of confidence than usual. Handling the cabinet on state matters wasn't exactly his meat, but when it came to organising the party for an election campaign — well, then he was baas.

"Promises, gentlemen! Promises!" he said rubbing his hands. Promises win elections. Who's first?"

"Well, now . . ." began Verwoerd, but Strijdom stopped him quickly. "Let's go round in order," he said firmly. He'd had experience. Once let Hendrik start talking and you'd never get him to stop. Good fellow this Hendrik, but . . . ah well.

Dr. Donges was sitting at the prime minister's right. His eyes lit up and he cleared his throat. Strijdom looked at him sourly. "Anti-clockwise," he said firmly. That gave the floor to Blackie Swart, the prime minister's right-hand man.

"First," said Mr. Swart, "comes the platteland. They're grumbling that we're still not providing enough labour.

"I've got a bill which will fill the farm jails and allow for the establishment of lots more."

Eric Louw shifted uneasily in his seat. "We can't make that an election slogan," he said.

"What will the Ghana ambassador say?" chuckled Le Roux, who wasn't going to be in the next cabinet anyway and had nothing to lose.

Swart ignored him. "Of course that wasn't going to be the election slogan," he snapped. "We'll undertake to wipe out native crime. We'll do away with short and useless sentences and make the minimum sentence one month in jail so that these criminals can rehabilitate themselves with labour . . . Even Rheinallt Jones says that's good penal reform," he chuckled.

Strijdom sighed. "Arrest more of them for passes and you'll have trouble from the agitators."

"Let them just open their mouths and my boys'll close them fast enough . . . What I mean is, we will take strong action against foreign communist ideologies among the natives," said Swart.

"You're not thinking of any more treason trials?" asked Louw nervously.

"You leave the treason trial alone," snapped Swart touchily. "Have you been drinking tea with natives again?"

"Order," said Mr. Strijdom.

"That's my programme," said Swart. "We'll fight Communism."

Erasmus nodded his head vigorously. "Mine too — We are the West's most reliable ally in the fight to save Africa for democracy."

"For what?" asked Verwoerd.

"Sorry," said Erasmus automatically. "For white Western Christian civilisation."

"What are you going to promise, Ebenezer?" asked Strijdom.

Dr. Donges opened his mouth but before he could say anything, Le Roux chipped in. "He's going to amend the Group Areas Act of course."

Donges was caught off his stride. "Well, as a matter of fact that is just what I was going to say."

"And you're going to keep foreign agitators from entering the country, and you're going to get the identification cards finalised," Mr. Le Roux continued.

"Well, yes," said Dr. Donges scratching his head.

"De Klerk?"

"No," said De Klerk smugly. "Labour's all tied up. I've fulfilled my promises. No trouble there."

"Yeah?" said Swart. "Wait till I show you some of the Special Branch files."

"Sauer next," said Strijdom. "Wake Paul up, will you Jannie. Oh never mind. He won't have any ideas. — Education next."

"Well," said Viljoen sulkily, "my programme is to get my department back, Verwoerd's taken over my universities and he's after my native schools. Nothing really left for me to promise . . ."

"Yes, yes," said Strijdom quickly. "Next."

"My trains run on time now," said Schoeman proudly. "More or less, anyway. I'm all right with the public."

"You're using too many native workers," complained Verwoerd. "You take on more every year."

"Mind if I go on using black coal?" asked Schoeman with heavy sarcasm.

"Anyway," growled Verwoerd, "the trains don't run on time."

"Serfie and I," said Naude, "have got a joint proposal from the secretary of the Gehakte Lebberfontein branch of the party that we should issue separate money and separate stamps for people of different . . ."

"Look here," said Verwoerd, no longer able to restrain himself. "I want to make an important announcement. I've decided to reconsider this whole question of giving up Native affairs . . ."

"No, no, no, no," said Strijdom.

"No," said Swart. And Louw. And Donges. And Viljoen.

Even Sauer woke up. "No," he said.

Dr. Verwoerd looked a little hurt. "No?" he said in a small voice.

"Hendrik," the prime minister explained as gently as he could. "We've decided you've sacrificed enough. We've got to make changes."

Verwoerd paled. "You're not leaving me out of the cabinet?"

"Good heavens, no, Hendrik. Why do you think Le Roux's leaving us?"

"You're going to bury me in the Ministry of Lands!" Verwoerd gasped in disbelief. "That's worse!"

"But it's so important, Hendrik. Think of the farmers."

"—— the farmers!"

"Hendrik!"

"What will I do in Lands? That's a job for a nobody."

"There's the problem of black cows giving white milk," said Le Roux maliciously. "And black hens laying white eggs. And black boys herding white sheep — female sheep. And then think of your success in the dairy trouble in Jo'burg — everyone is saying how sensible your idea is for the Natives to live right in the middle of town. Of course it does make Donges look a bit silly with his group areas, and er-who's-it with his whole apartheid business, but you can't have everything. Then there's the foot and mouth emergency. When it comes to putting feet ——"

Mr. Le Roux ducked just in time and Verwoerd's inkpot whizzed past his head and laid Swart out cold. The meeting broke up in some disorder.

JOKER.

The Coloured
Seats Controversy:
Boycott — or Not?

'Leave No Gates Unguarded'

Without argument, we can agree on some of the statements made in argument about the Coloured vote — about its comparative "ineffectiveness" in the past and present; that it has always been a "crumb" thrown to the Coloured people; and that, without exception, we Coloured people share an "uncompromising feeling against our re-

moval from the common voters' roll and the establishment of Coloured seats." (The quotations are from the article in the last issue of "Fighting Talk.")

It is said that "already in the Cape the people are instilled with an overwhelming boycott consciousness" and are "apathetic to the vote." I think this is true, but only to a limited extent.

True, because the Coloured people wanted a better alternative than the United Party. True, because of the intimidation of the Non-European Unity Movement and their abstention from all forms of mass activity. And finally it is true because ever since the death of Dr. A. E. Abdurahman the Coloured people (Continued on back page)

have never had a mass organisation — the National Liberation League was too short-lived. But I believe that it is wishful thinking to conclude as do your correspondents Peake and Morrison that a broad front can be formed with the N.E.U.M. because of this prematurely judged general boycott consciousness.

A Tricky Prophecy

These writers say that "we participate in a body like parliament depending on the political development of the people the time and the place." Have they considered the time factor? Let us not forget that the general elections are still to take place, and the effects of a boycott on its outcome cannot now be forecast.

Would they adopt the same attitude if they knew for sure that the Nationalists could only win a majority of three at the next general election? Surely in matters like this it is too dangerous to prophecy? And to base a course of action on such prophecy?

One Front Among Others

The question is asked whether we can "secure any major alleviation of our disabilities through Parliament?" No. We put up candidates and we participate in an institution so long as we believe that there is a sizeable number of people likely to participate. If that is so, then these people are in need of our leadership: they cannot be left to the leadership of the United Party or muddle-headed types. We participate in the Cape Town municipal elections in spite of the fact that the majority of Coloured and African people are debarred from voting. We join and sometimes lead trade unions which debar Africans in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act, for the same basic reason. We do not isolate ourselves from them and say "You people are participating in an apartheid institution." No. participation in parliament will not lead to any major alleviation of our disabilities. But neither does June 26, or a Defiance Campaign. Like these campaigns, a par-

liamentary election is only one front; it is only one demonstration in the process of which our people advance organisationally and politically.

"Boycott Candidates?"

I disagree with the proposal made in the same issue by Myrtle Berman that "boycott candidates" should be put up who would not take part in parliamentary elections if elected, but serve merely to keep others out. If we put up candidates and they are successful, then they should try to play the part which Sam Kahn, Brian Bunting and Alex Hepple have played and so use their special opportunities and positions to advance the whole national struggle against disabilities of the Coloured people.

On All Fronts

Separate elections are to take place to the South African parliament. What should our approach be? I do not believe that there is any sense in our being wedded to either boycott or to participation as a matter of principle. Each situation must be considered on its merits, before such an important step is taken. The boycott of these elections is not the be all and end all of our movement and the same applies to participation. Our most important struggle lies outside parliament, but all avenues of opposition require attention. **Not a single gate must be left unguarded.** It is for us to attack on all fronts.

If our movement of opposition to the government is to gain by boycotting then we should boycott, but if our movement stands to gain by participation then we should participate. The advancement of our movement should be our only criterion. **Not**, the assessment of whether the vote is a "crumb", not the apathy or the boycott-consciousness of the people, not the limited value of the four representatives.

The putting up of candidates will mean that we will have to face many difficulties, not the least of which will be the venom of the Unity Movement and the tactics of the Special Branch and the bannings of leaders by Minister Swart. But are we to be turned aside by this? Are leaders not accustomed to, and steeled by, overcoming such difficulties?

Win Over The 40,000

If we can gain the allegiance of the 40,000 voters of the Cape (and many others) in this campaign then the Congress movement will have made great strides. A good proportion of this 40,000 voted in the past, in spite of the Nats, the U.P. and the N.E.U.M., and I believe that the same will happen again if the people are given the chance. **The putting up of S.A.C.P.O.-sponsored candidates will require us to tramp the countryside, put our policy to the people, establish branches and prove that Congress policy is acceptable.** Such a move will put an end to the abstentionism of the past and give the Nats a terrible shock. They do not believe that the Coloured people have so much confidence in our policy, they believe that we are still led by the United Party. **I believe that the people are waiting for the alternative which we can provide.** The Coloured people are sick and tired of United Party policy. We must lead them on to the offensive. We must not allow them to draw still further into their shells or vote for the lesser of the two evils as they have always been required to do in the past.

If four S.A.C.P.O. nominated candidates enter parliament next year, the Nats will have another headache, for it will be the shape of things to come. It will be the biggest demonstration by the Coloured people that they have broken with the United Party, that they are behind S.A.C.P.O., behind the Congress movement. I believe and I have always believed, that the people are prepared to fight and make this demonstration. The big question is, are WE prepared to lead THIS fight?

R. K. Schilder.

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