

# FIGHTING TALK

Vol. II. No. 7.

Price 6d.

*Registered at the G.P.O. as a newspaper.*

THE NATAL SOCIETY  
COPYRIGHT SECTION

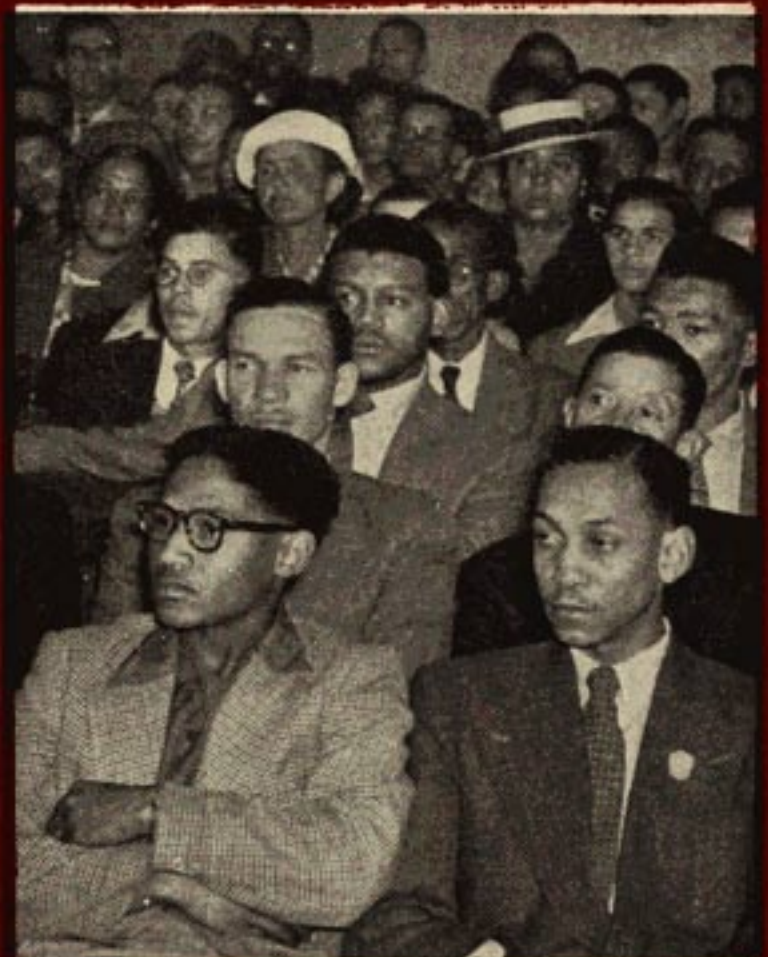
SEPTEMBER, 1955

**Our Cover Picture :** Coloured Protest Meeting against Race Classification for the Population Register.

## IN THIS ISSUE :

- Geneva—and After ● The Coven-  
anters ● "Freedom Charter" Campaign
- Cecil Williams in the U.S.S.R.

● **COLOURED AND RACE  
"CLASSIFICATIONS"** ●



## TIME TO SPEAK OUT

## COMMENT

**N**OTHING has so profoundly shocked and disgusted decent citizens as the method of classifying the Coloured people, which is now under way in Johannesburg. The senior Population Registration officer has said that his officials have been specially selected for this work, carefully selected. Maybe so.

### TESTING TIME

But what was the basis of selection? A thorough appreciation of the Hitler-Rosenberg race theories? It would seem so from the facts which are not to be doubted: from the careful examination of the hair, of the lobes of the ears, of the nostrils and the lips to determine, "scientifically," the race of the subject. All the mediaeval mumbo-jumbo of the darkest period of twentieth-century German savagery has been called into action. There is talk of "black blood" and "white blood", carefully proportioned on the basis of the "blood" of great-grandparents and great-great-grandparents. This is the reality of the Population Registration Act, whatever the illusions created by its Parliamentary phraseology might be. Not surprising that the other favourite action of the Gestapo, summary arrest and transportation to interrogation headquarters, has been brought into operation to carry it out.

This has been the testing time of many South African democrats, real and alleged. The Johannesburg City Council's Non-European Affairs Committee has been tested, and found wanting. It hurried off to Pretoria to forestall the public outcry, and in secret session reached secret agreement with the Government officials for a "change in procedure." The procedure is to be limited to pre-arranged places and pre-selected times, but what of a change in the essence? Once again this United Party City Council has intervened, not to oppose Nationalist excesses, but to sweeten them and protect them from undue public clamour. The United Party candidate in the vital "coloured vote" election in Hillbrow, Dr. L. Steenkamp, has been tested, and found wanting. His "solution" is to call for the Coloured Affairs Department of the Nationalist Government to take over the "protection" of the Coloured People from its indistinguishable partner and accomplice, the Native Affairs Department which has "protected"—Chicago style—up to now.

Only the Congress movement — all sections of it, African, Indian and European — together with its participle, the S.A. Coloured People's Organisation has come through the testing period with flying colours. There has been no secret African satisfaction that the Coloured people are being demoted to their own level. There has been no Indian or European indifference to the fate of others. There has been, instead, unity free of the corrosive racial poisons of South Africa; there has been action to tell the Coloured people their rights, to rouse all sections of S. Africans to stand with them and fight with them.

Once again, in this testing time, the Congress movement has shown that it is today, the opposition, the only real opposition to the Nazi inspired Government of Mr. Strydom; and that its Freedom Charter is the alternative, the only alternative, to the Rosenberg racialism of the enemies of South Africans.

There is an old saying that those who sow a wind, reap a whirlwind. That saying should be told to the Nationalist ministers and their accomplices now. The Population Registration Act makes provision not only for the "classification" of the race of all South Africans; it also provides for secret objectors to the race classification of every person to appeal, and bring forth evidence of wrong classification. Let the Nationalists be warned! Once secret informers are encouraged by law, there will be many a racial skeleton in the cupboards of the race-purity theorists which will be disinterred and brought out into the light of day, when their turn comes for investigation and secret prying into their heredity.

**T**HE daily "opposition" press is turning the oft repeated editor's watchword upside down. There is a new motto: "I agree with what you say. But I will fight to the death for my right not to say so." They are sounding the retreat, conscious no doubt that the eyes of the Press Commission are on them.

### YELLOW STREAK

When the Government proclaimed a ban on all meetings during the time of the first mass deportations from the Western Areas, the police issued statements, faithfully published by the press, that police "permission" was necessary for cinema shows, church services, sports gatherings, weddings and private parties. Throughout the period of the ban the press knew that the police were acting illegally; they knew that the Riotous Assemblies Act ban could apply only to gatherings in places to which the public generally had access. And yet they kept silent.

During the mass "shanghai" procedure by which Coloured people were dragooned to racial investigation in Johannesburg, the daily press has known that the procedure is illegal. And—until the illegality was openly exposed by the S.A. Coloured People Organisation—they kept silent.

The Press Commission has been taking evidence in camera, from the reporters and correspondents of the daily press. The editors, under duress, have agreed to this closed-doors procedure. But one, Brian Bunting of Cape Town's *New Age* has demanded that he be heard in open session. The editors are aware of this. They are aware of the allegations made by responsible journalists, that the secret sessions of the Commission are seriously impeding the full exercise of their duty to report. But they have kept silent. It is time for the press to burnish up its courage before the retreat becomes a headlong rout. The duty of an opposition—press or politician—is after all to oppose.

**The Geneva Conference has lifted the fear of war—laid the basis for co-existence—and, in South Africa, too, made possible new advances to freedom.**

# GENEVA AND AFTER

By BRIAN BUNTING

**I**F there is one proof that the Geneva conference of the Big Four was an outstanding success, it is that no one has been able to claim it as a failure. The Big Four themselves were unanimous that the conference had promoted the cause of peace.

Marshal Bulganin said: "Geneva was a new step in the relaxation of world tension although it could not be expected to solve all the problems immediately."

President Eisenhower said: "New contacts have been established and there is evidence of new friendliness in the world."

French Premier Faure said: "The impressions I bring back from this week of conference at Geneva are favourable . . . We have set our feet upon a road which . . . I firmly believe to be the right one."

Sir Anthony Eden said: "We are heading the right way towards peace."

Even the man who had proclaimed for weeks beforehand that the talks would be a failure, Mr. Dulles, was compelled to admit on returning to America that it was "a good conference."

Perhaps the most homely note was struck by British Foreign Secretary Mr. Harold Macmillan, who said joyfully on returning to London: "There ain't going to be no war."

## **Fear of War Lifts**

And that is really the true significance of Geneva—that it has lifted the fear of war from mankind. The fear that lay at the back of everybody's mind—the fear of war, of awful death in an H-bomb armageddon, of radiation sickness falling from the skies on the most distant and peace-loving communities through no fault of their own—this fear has been, if not entirely eliminated, at least greatly diminished. Collectively, mankind is breathing more freely today than it has done at any time since the end of World War 2.

We in South Africa are amongst those who have felt so far removed from the possible centres of war that many of us have not been inclined to take the war danger seriously. Yet thousands of South Africans died in the last war, and South Africans have been killed in action as recently as the Korean war. Now that South Africa is a uranium power, and particularly since the South African Government's shameful conclusion of the Simons-town agreement with the British Government, there is no doubt we would be involved in any future East-West conflict whether we liked it or not.

But if South Africans have often tended to be complacent about this issue, other peoples have not. A Gallup Poll taken in America just before the Geneva conference showed that public problem No. 1 for the majority of Americans was how to maintain world peace. If that is true of America, sheltered behind its massive air defences, surrounded by vast oceans, with its forward bases throughout the world thousands of miles away, how much truer is it of the people of Europe, which has already been the battlefield of two world wars; or of Japan, which has

already felt the destruction of atomic weapons?

In the last five years the world has several times been on the brink of atomic war—during the Korean war, during the Indo-China fighting in April 1954, during the Quemoy-Matsu crisis earlier this year. The nightmare uncertainties and tensions of the cold war have led the nations of the world into a ruinous armaments race, have resulted in the thwarting of social progress and the abrogation of civil rights in countries preparing for war under the banner of anti-Communism. The division of the world into military blocs separated by the so-called iron curtain made friendly relations between nations, as well as peaceful trade, practically impossible. Hatred and suspicion reigned, fanned by a sensational and venal press whose guiding principle for 10 years has been to condition its readers to the necessity, inevitability, even in some cases desirability of an anti-Soviet war.

## **Why the Cold War?**

What was the source and origin of the cold war? We need look no further than Churchill's notorious Fulton speech and the Truman Doctrine to find the answer. It has been the attempts of the imperialist powers to prevent the destruction of the capitalist market in the social revolution of the 20th century. In the space of little more than a generation, one third of the human race has been removed from the capitalist orbit and is today busy building a new type of society in which the exploitation of man by man has been eliminated. The frantic military and political struggle of the Western powers in the last 10 years has been designed to prevent any further development of this social revolution, and, if possible, to win back some of the territory lost to socialism during and immediately after the last war.

The simplest and most blatant example of Western imperialist intervention to prevent social change was provided last year in Guatemala, whose democratically elected Government was overthrown by means of an armed revolt instigated, financed and equipped by the United States for the sole reason that it had embarked on a moderate programme of reform. Such things as land reform are not allowed in Latin America, which is a sphere of enormous and expanding investment by the United States monopolists. But since it is difficult to justify to Americans, who owe the birth of their own republic to an act of revolution against imperialism, such naked repression of another people's freedom and independence, the Big Lie has had to be created that all peoples everywhere who are fighting for their rights are merely the agents of a foreign power—the Soviet Union.

In Eastern Europe, Korea, Indo-China, Malaya, Kenya and North Africa—look where you will—the freedom struggle of the people is denounced by the imperialists, resisted with every weapon and calculated brutality in their armoury. "The first important truth of the international situation," said President Eisenhower in August 1954, "is that the Communist dictatorship—ruthless,

strong, insatiable—is determined to establish its sway over all the world. This truth requires no elaboration: all Americans recognise it to be a fact.”

### **Facts or Lies?**

Yet it is a “fact” which has never been proved true, which, in fact, the imperialists have found it more and more difficult to establish. Strange that this ruthless, strong and insatiable dictatorship, aiming at world conquest, should yet be the only world power whose troops have not been involved in fighting since the end of World War II—while the troops of the “peace-loving democracies” have been engaged almost non-stop in one or other type of war ever since! Yet this has been the “fact”—let’s rather call it a lie—which has been advanced to justify their whole international and foreign policy, their whole conduct of the cold war, their anti-Communism, their assaults on democratic rights, their subversion of the labour movement, their outright murder of thousands, nay millions of human beings in their series of colonial wars.

Now, at Geneva, the Western statesmen have been compelled to admit that what they have been preaching for 10 years has indeed been a lie. “I have spoken to every member of the Soviet delegation,” said President Eisenhower half-way through the conference, “and I am profoundly convinced that they all sincerely desire peace as I do.” The far-reaching implications of this admission have yet to be realised. They make nonsense of everything the United States Government has said and done since Potsdam. They make nonsense of the cold war. They make nonsense of the anti-Communist campaign. They make nonsense of the political philosophy of imperialism and the colonial wars.

If this has been the only achievement of the Geneva conference, it has yet proved itself the most significant outcome of any international conference, almost, one can say, since World War I—for it lays the foundation, by agreement, for peaceful co-existence. What does peaceful co-existence mean? It means simply that nations with different social systems can live together side by side without war. That there will remain differences between them goes without saying; but there will be an abiding agreement to settle those differences by negotiation and not by fighting.

### **Spheres of Co-existence**

The Geneva conference defined three spheres in which further efforts were to be made to establish a secure basis for peaceful co-existence: (1) European security and Germany—to be discussed at the meeting of Foreign Ministers in October; (2) Disarmament—to be discussed at the next meeting of the disarmament sub-committee of the United Nations due to be held in New York on August 29; (3) Development of contacts between East and West—in which sphere we have seen perhaps the most spectacular development of all, with an ever-swelling flood of delegations and individual visitors pouring across the East-West borders. Equally significant has been the subsequent meeting in Geneva between the Ambassadors of People’s China and the United States to discuss the issues between the two countries. Irrespective of the outcome of these talks, they have set in motion a process which cannot fail in the end to result in the resettlement of the Formosa problem and the admission of People’s China to the United Nations.

But peaceful co-existence does not merely mean the

relaxation of tension in international affairs. It must also be made to mean the relaxation of tension in the internal affairs of the nations as well. And here—to bring this discussion down to our own earth—there is a task to be faced by every democratically-minded person in South Africa.

The success of Geneva conference was due to the presence at the conference table of an additional two powers. One was the H-bomb, which had brought realisation to the warmongers that there were no longer any positions of strength, that in any future war there would be no victors and possibly no survivors. The Einstein-Russell-Jolio-Curie statement on the H-bomb had appealed: “In view of the fact that in any future world war nuclear weapons will certainly be employed, and that such weapons threaten the continued existence of mankind, we urge the Governments of the world to realise, and to acknowledge publicly, that their purposes cannot be furthered by a world war.” The Geneva conference has gone far towards granting this request to humanity.

The second additional—and the greatest—power at the conference table was the power of the common man. It was the united action of the world peace movement, supported by the millions of the world’s peoples whose one plain desire was to live in peace, which prevented the outbreak of atomic war time and again when it threatened during the last 10 years, which compelled the warmongers to abandon their designs and try to live with people they had previously plotted to atomize.

In a recent issue of the *New Statesman*, Max Lerner discussing “America and the New Friendliness,” said: “Eisenhower and Dulles, who are now reaping the harvest of the New Friendliness, have had to be pushed into it. Only grudgingly did they finally accept the idea of a Geneva meeting . . . It is as if, in Tawney’s great image of the European rulers after the French Revolution, ‘they walked reluctantly backward into the future, lest a worse thing should befall them’.”

### **People for Peace**

It was their own people’s, and the world’s people’s, desire—and hard work—for peace which drove them to the talks and helped save the peace. Now it is the task of the South African people to draw courage and inspiration from the achievement of Geneva, and work for the relaxation of political tension here, now. If, as the Big Four have pledged, there is to be no war; if, as Eisenhower has conceded, the Russians want peace—then the justification for the Suppression of Communism Act, for the bannings and exilings, for the shutting down of newspapers, for the thousand and one invasions of the democratic rights of our people which have been perpetuated by Swart—the justification for all this disappears.

Not only must the direct work for peace be intensified—for the threat of war may still be renewed if the people’s vigilance is relaxed; but Swart’s Little Lies—about poisoned wells and bush fires, about conspiracies and treason and sedition—all these Little Lies which have been advanced to justify the police terror under which we live must be nailed once and for all. For they are all part of the same Big Lie which Eisenhower disavowed at Geneva; and they have the same purpose—to hold down the freedom struggle of the people.

Let us learn the lesson of Geneva, then, and go forward, confident in the justice of our cause, in the strength of our people, to win peace, freedom and equality for all in our own country.

# COLOURED AGAINST RACISM

**"We will not be ploughed under by scraps of paper," says a Coloured writer, J. V. H., on the attacks on the Coloured people under the Population Registra-**

**T**HE Coloured people of South Africa are more South African than any community now inhabiting the country. In their veins, in varied degrees, runs the blood of Hollanders, English, Portuguese, Italians and other Europeans mixing with that of Hottentot, Bantu, Indian and Chinese. Among the Coloured people the characteristics of sometimes one race and then another predominates; we thus have Coloureds who appear to be either European, African, Indian or Chinese, while the vast majority are just Coloured and defy any definition. Yet they are a group apart from any other.

Their religion and education, cultural life and sports are those of their White fathers and mothers.

South Africa is the richer today through men and women who rose from the Coloured people to be statesmen, musicians, singers and sportsmen. There have been Cabinet Ministers and their wives who were really Coloured. Among the architects of the Union, men of Coloured origin played a great part. Olive Schreiner, Negley Farson and other writers have made irrefutable comments on the prominent men, and great brains, of South Africans past and present, who have Coloured blood. There has never been a Springbok rugby, soccer or Olympic team without its members who were from Coloured stock. Our most famous Nightingale was a singer from a Coloured Church choir. Among the most prominent South African ballet dancers of today, male and female, there are those whose origin is Coloured—that unfortunate segment of the South African people, often despised and hated, quite irrationally and unjustifiably by both white and black.

Some say that the aspirations of the Coloured people are only to become White. While it is true that their transformation into White people would solve their major difficulties and free them from discrimination yet, just to become White is no ambition. Their claim, together with that of all Non-Europeans, to share the White man's rights and opportunities is unanswerable. They would also like to see all South Africans—African and Indians included—share the good things of this rich land equally.

Through contact with Coloured people thousands of Africans have become Westernised. In areas where they have lived in close proximity to each other both sections have gained socially, culturally and in sporting prowess. Many Indian and Chinese had their first schooling in Coloured schools, their first dancing lessons in Coloured halls and played their first cricket and soccer matches on Coloured fields.

The Coloured people have always prayed for the day to dawn when they would come into their birthright. They have sent fathers and sons to war to maintain the "democratic" and "Christian way of life," but their blood has been shed in vain. Both English and Afrikaner have done nothing but pass one repressive law after the other just to keep the Coloured man down. We are the White

man's conscience; and it is only when he treats us as his brother and we are joined in brotherhood by the other Non-European races in South Africa, only then will the White man's conscience rest and the future be safe for his children's children.

**tion Act. "Our claim, together with that of all South Africans, is to share the good things of this rich land equally."**

man's conscience; and it is only when he treats us as his brother and we are joined in brotherhood by the other Non-European races in South Africa, only then will the White man's conscience rest and the future be safe for his children's children.

The present classification process is nothing more than a stunt of the Nationalists that can only be described as the ludicrous attempt of an ostrich-like ruling class trying to escape from the truth. Any person who has been living as a Coloured and accepted as such, no matter what his complexion and texture of hair are, will always be Coloured—even if he had to have a volume of Census Certificates classifying him either African or Indian. We cannot be ploughed under by scraps of paper.

In almost the whole of the Transvaal we have been sharing locations with Africans and Indians and have never lost our identity. Whatever diabolical motive is behind the Census Classification we will still remain what we are.

To many of us, to be classified as African is objectionable—not because we are classed as Africans, but because of what it means to be a landless, voteless and futureless African. As "paper" Africans we will lose our homes and employment, and our children their schooling. There lies the reason for horror and despair. While no piece of paper can alter our racial group, it can drive us from the little we have and to which we cling so dearly.

There are many of us who are filled with anger, scorn and contempt for the perpetrators of this latest outrage, whose own racial status is defined by Dr. Donges' famous dictum, "A person is a European, who says he is, lives among Europeans and works as a European." Were the whiteness of White South Africans to be challenged, the whole structure of State and Church would rock to their very foundations. We almost saw this happen a few years ago during a probe among the white electors of the Cape Province.

If the Government were really sincere about classifying us according to our racial group then there would be no better method than the prophylactic invented by Dr. Donges, with some modifications of course, to whit "A person is Coloured who says he is, lives among Coloureds and works as Coloured." And furthermore, the only people competent to judge who is Coloured and who is not, are the people themselves.

The present classification purge of Coloureds is but the death throes of a dying tyranny. Our day will come; if not in our time, then our children will see it in their time. The writing is on the wall. White South Africa has not only its own Non-Whites against its oppressive laws but it stands condemned before the whole world as blind, bigoted and power-drunk. Goodness and truth will prevail in the end and no dream of apartheid and white supremacy will keep out the rising tide of justice, fair opportunity and humanity.

# RACE LAWS

By H. B. S.

A MIDDLE-AGED COUPLE, the man a European, the woman a Coloured, have lived together for many years. They have four children, the eldest fifteen, the youngest six. They never married because the woman's former husband refused to divorce her, and when he died it was too late—the Mixed Marriages Act prevented it. But they continued to live together because they were to all intents man and wife. Their common household, their children, led them to be accepted by their neighbours as a normal family. And then, what they had been doing for years with perfect legality suddenly became criminal with the passing in 1950 of the amendments to the Immorality Act. This couple, parents of four children, could not go to bed together without the chilling dread of police lurking under the window, of the sickening rap on the door . . . It came at last, one night—the police flung open the door, marched to the bed, pulled off the bedclothes, and in the light of their torches, triumphantly found their evidence. The criminals were hauled off to the police station, and in due course were sentenced by the court. In the name of morality, the twisted, demented morality of the Nationalists, that family had to be smashed up.

AN INDIAN trader in a country town had his licence cancelled on some trifling excuse. The Town Council had already approached the Group Areas Board with a scheme to remove the Indians of the town to a patch of bare veld five miles away. So this trader decided there was no point in staying on. Fortunately (so he thought) he owned a house on the outskirts of Johannesburg. The house was empty—in fact, through not occupied, it was becoming derelict—so he moved in with his family and went to great expense to have the house painted and renovated. Since he was merely living in his own untenanted house it was hard to see how he was harming anyone or breaking the law. But in this country the law can be broken in the most startling and surprising ways. The house had, for a period of six months, once been rented by a white family, and that made it illegal for an Indian, even the owner, to live in it. The Group Areas Board had its own private police force—inspectors they are called. The inspectors came to hear about the gross criminal behaviour going on in the house, and kept watch. One morning, when the whole family was at home, they entered. They subjected the members of the family, separately and in private, to an abusive cross-examination, and arrested the owner. He avoided criminal proceedings only by undertaking immediately to move himself and family out of the house.

Spying, snooping, lying in wait in the dead of night for a chance to invade the intimate privacy of ordinary decent people, subjecting children to inquisition to force them to inform on their parents, standing up in court to give evidence of the filthy details of their key-hole watching—these are some of the activities carried on in the name of the State to enforce race laws. One wonders who, in such cases, display the greater lack of morality—the victims of the laws, or the police and officials who undertake these sordid midnight excursions?

OF COURSE, practically all the laws in this country are by now race laws. Even those not specifically designed as such tend to become so by the manner in which they are administered. A boy receives an offer of a bursary at one of the leading American schools. It is a wonderful opportunity for the boy—a chance in a lifetime. There is nothing in the passport laws stipulating racial discrimination, but the granting of a passport is at the discretion of the Minister of the Interior. So the boy, being an African, is refused a passport on the fatuous ground that it would "harm his psychology" to study abroad, and "shatter his dreams" when he returned. There is no limit to the unscrupulousness of officials administering race laws—they indulge not only in the lowest form of spying, but the meanest form of lying too.

Racialism is an ugly and dangerous mental disease, and laws that try to give effect to it cannot help having the stamp of lunacy on them. Thus it is that there are laws that force schools catering for education-starved African children to close down; that make it a crime for an African parent to teach his children the alphabet; that cause teachers to appear in the criminal courts for running a class for the children shut out of school by Dr. Verwoerd's vicious reprisals against the schools boycott. And the worst of it is that already large numbers of people are coming to accept such perverted legislation as being normal. In this country, where so much is abnormal, it is dangerously easy to lose perspective. The rot has gone so far, there are so many examples, crowding one on top of another, of racial injustice, that people are inclined to let themselves drift in a feeling of helplessness.

But every once in a while the racial dementia of the government gets totally out of control, and it does something to shock even the anaesthetised South African public. The latest example is the attempt to "classify" a large section of the Coloured people as "Natives." The excuse is that the Director of Census wants information to draw up the population register.

Coloured people are rounded up in the streets—on the way to work, or while shopping—or hauled away from their jobs, and brought before some queer tribunal that might well have materialised out of the middle ages. There, with no warning or preparation, they are subjected to a fire of questions, the answers to which will determine the entire future course of their lives. "What is your father?" "What does your mother look like?" "Did your grandfather have crinkly hair?" "Where did your great-grandmother come from?"—until there is an answer that reveals some African ancestry. If that line fails—"What is your wife?" "Her father?" "Her grandmother?" and so on. If a man says he has no wife, then—"what about your girl friend?" "Her father?" "What kind of friends do you mix with?" "Where do you live?"—dozens of questions that cannot possibly decide whether

(Continued on next page)

# FORWARD WITH THE FREEDOM CHARTER

IT was not for nothing that thousands of South Africans from all walks of life, of all races of different political outlooks, religious beliefs and of different social status, travelled to take part in the greatest assembly ever known in our country, the Congress of the People. These men and women came in response to a clarion call made by the Joint National Executive of the Congress movement, to meet and plan the future of their country as they would like to see it.

On June 26, these sons and daughters of our land unanimously adopted the "Freedom Charter" embodying their faith and their aspirations.

"We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know, that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people." The Charter further declares that: "The people shall govern. All national groups shall have equal rights! The people shall share the country's wealth! The land shall be shared among those who work it! All shall be equal before the law! All shall have equal human rights! There shall be work and security and comfort! There shall be peace and friendship!"

## Mirror of Our Struggle

What is now to be done? The Congress of the People is over and the "Freedom Charter" has been adopted. This question cannot be answered simply by saying that the Joint Executives have decided to campaign for one million signatures to the Charter. It is necessary first to understand the significance of the "Freedom Charter" itself.

For the "Freedom Charter" is not just another resolution.

It is the common programme of our movement now and in the future. It is the mirror of our struggle. Its significance does not lie in its fine words, but in the fact that it is a document drawn up by the people themselves. It is the expression of the collective demands of the peoples, even from the remotest corners of the country. It is the embodiment of their aspirations; the total sum of their demands; and it is therefore the creed of the people.

The "Freedom Charter" is the basic law of our liberatory movement, a declaration of principles uniting all the people in our land, except for the few reactionaries, who see in the Charter the end of their long established domination and exploitation. The Charter is the picture of future South Africa, in which oppression and exploitation shall be no more. It is a document to be treasured by all who

love freedom, for generations to come.

The Nationalists know the significance of the Charter even more than some of us. They remember the effect of the American Declaration of Independence; they remember what the Chartist movement meant to the English masses many years ago.

## The People's Era

Once our people understand the Charter and its significance, the attainment of economic and political power in our life time—nothing can stand in the way of making its demands a reality.

The opening of the campaign for one million signatures has begun; yet the important thing about the campaign for the freedom charter is not just the collection of signatures; nor is it just the bringing of the ideas of the Charter to every home and making them the golden household words of the people. This is, by itself, very good indeed, but the important thing is that the overwhelming majority of the South African population should proclaim the "Freedom Charter" as their guiding star. In other words, they must understand fully the meaning, the inspiration and significance of the Charter. As someone has already said the end of the COP was but a beginning.

The campaign which produced the "Freedom Charter" was the beginning of our greatest campaign, of the

*(Continued on next page)*

## RACE LAWS—Continued

a man is Coloured. And at some stage might come that wonderfully clever, subtle question, "Do you play soccer?" If the answer is "Yes" the man is classified as African on the ground that "only Natives play soccer." This is no exaggeration; no fiction; that question was actually asked of a number of people interviewed.

This farcical procedure is combined with mock-scientific physical tests—examining of profiles, studying hairtexture, squinting through half closed eyes to determine skin colour, nose formation, lip shape. And when these comic opera anthropologists are done, the result is that light-skinned blue-eyed people named Wilkins or Steenkamp, people who have lived all their lives in Coloured townships, who attended Coloured schools, who have always been accepted as Coloureds, are "classified" out of their settled mode of life, out of their community, out of their jobs, and in some cases out of their families. Yes, brothers have found to their astonishment that they have been placed in different categories. It would all

make a magnificent scene in some stage farce, some skit to take off race-crazy officials in action, were the matter not so deadly serious. For the victims of this burlesque will henceforth have to carry passes, will come under the influx control and consequently have to suffer all the humiliating difficulties that Africans undergo when coming into the towns to work, will be forced out of their houses, deprived of unemployment pensions, expelled from trade unions—and a thousand other consequences.

Is there no end to the disastrous antics of these deranged men? How much longer will people endure these inhumanities? And can we ourselves give an honest "No" to the question—are we becoming conditioned, hardened—lulled into a state of acceptance—by the distortions of human decency that are taking place, every day, all around us? For such things as are here described would arouse a crescendo of indignation in any civilised country. Here, at best, they only create a flutter of protest that dies out as soon as the next crisis comes into view.

## FORWARD WITH THE CHARTER

(Continued from page 7)

building from our multi-racial society of a united nation, free from poverty and misery, free from racial strife and antagonism. It is our hardest campaign which will bring to the broad masses of our people the understanding that they have much more in common than the things which superficially appear to divide them; that they have nothing to lose but much to gain, from the victory of the "Freedom Charter".

The government have great fear of the "Freedom Charter". They know how powerful the "Freedom Charter" movement can be, and how it can fire the imagination of the millions of our people. They are haunted by the knowledge that the Charter means the beginning of the end of their era and the opening of a new era — the People's Era of Freedom!

The Joint Executives of the four Congresses have correctly decided to campaign for the endorsement of the Charter by one million people from the multi-racial South African society. It seems clear that we cannot achieve this gigantic task of educating the people, popularising the Charter and obtaining one million signatures, without first examining the weaknesses which showed themselves during the C.O.P. campaign so that we can build on a foundation which is more solid after the experiences of that campaign. It is hardly necessary to enumerate all the weaknesses here.

Suffice it to say that the organisational plan set up in the early stages of the C.O.P., the establishment of committees in every town, dorp, village or factory in the Union—was not accomplished. We failed to link up the C.O.P. with our daily struggles. Many people in the movement, including some leaders in the A.N.C. particularly, did not very well understand the C.O.P. They suspected it was to be a new organisation which would come to replace the A.N.C. or to dominate the A.N.C. Some regarded the C.O.P. as nothing more than just a big conference unconnected with their positive struggles. Others thought it was an attempt by the leadership to evade the positive and militant struggle of the people against the nationalist onslaught on their rights.

### Win the Future

These views can well be understood, especially when they come from the ordinary members of our organisa-

tion; but when they come from the leadership they are very harmful and extremely dangerous. Now that the C.O.P. is over, there should be no more such wrong ideas. If we are to succeed in our great task these mistaken views must not be carried over into the "Freedom Charter" campaign. They will undermine the people's struggle, and prove very dangerous to the whole movement.

What was not achieved in the C.O.P. campaign can now be achieved in this campaign, provided our weaknesses are honestly admitted and set right, provided these corrections of wrong views are made and provided the rich experience gained in the first campaign is fully utilised. The success of the "Freedom Charter" campaign depends on the building of committees in every town, dorp or factory. It depends on the daily issues of the people being related to the demands of the Charter. This will be far easier now than it was during the C.O.P. campaign, since there is no issue to which the "Freedom Charter" does not point the answer and the people's goal. Whether it be matters of culture, education or religion; of freedom of movement or press; of population registration or pass laws, or removal of the group areas; high rent or lack of houses; or low wages or unemployment, everything is closely and vitally connected with the "Freedom Charter". We can talk about culling of stock or shortages of land, cattle dipping or payment of polltax, and a chapter of the Charter can and should be quoted.

How can I describe the "Freedom Charter" for my readers to have the same inspiration which I have? I can say no more than this: that it is the harnessing of all the springs and the rivers of our land, to wash down all that is dirty, undesirable and unhealthy; that it is the clean water which will quench our thirst for all times, water our vast tracks of land and create beautiful gardens for all to live in.

The Charter is our inspiration now, and in the future. Let us all go out to win South Africa to accept it. Let us work with goodwill and unity, with the spirit of dedication to freedom which inspired the delegates at the Congress of the People to declare:

"These Freedoms we will fight for, side by side throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty." W. S.

# NO RETURN TO 1908!

By RUTH FIRST

SILENCE, they sometimes say, speaks louder than words. That seems to be what the silent campaign of the women mourners who dog the footsteps of the Cabinet is trying to prove. Most of the Cabinet Ministers, our daily press tells us — with the exception of bad-tempered, vitriolic Louw — pass the black-sashed women unconcernedly by. Is that perhaps only on the surface? Have one or two of the Ministers, despite the bold attempt to stare the mourners out, recalled the old jingle:

"The other day upon the stair  
I passed a man who wasn't there  
He wasn't there again today  
Oh! How I wish he'd go away!"

But if the skin of the Cabinet Ministers is too thick for the presence of the mourners to get under it, the silent protest has made itself felt amongst the thousands who support the protest against the Senate Act. Among them it has its meaning.

If stout politics alone could achieve more than a stirring of sympathy among those who are frustrated by the absence of acts of anti-Nationalism from the Opposition, the success of the women's campaign would be assured. If persistence were all that were needed to win out, victory for the women's protest would be within their grasp. If that were all . . .

But that cannot be all. Paying tribute to the women's protest one journal (*The Forum*) called their "quite the most effective demonstration yet made against the iniquitous Senate Act"—a measure indeed of the feeble and sickly pale body of opposition rallied in the country.

From the very start Strass had no heart in any campaign among the electorate against the Senate Act. In his timidity and faintheartedness, and for fear not enough signatures could be mustered to impress the Nats, he rejected out of hand the idea of a mass petition. The women undertook what he trembled to do and in a few rapid weeks the petition became a measure of the numbers of people who wanted to do more than merely read eloquent UP condemnations of the Senate Act.

From these beginnings: the petition tables, the marches through the streets, the camp at the foot of the

Botha statue and the vigil the women in mourning for the Constitution, the black sash women's movement was born — the League in Defence of the Constitution.

The Covenanters emerged in response to the women's call to all South Africans (Whites, that is) to join in the protest, and daily the link between the two movements becomes increasingly evident. Behind them lurks the ghost of the Torch Commando, breathing still in the form of several of the men who lead the Covenanters today, but above all in the tortured search for that elusive Holy Grail of South African politics: the "broad, non-party-political" formula that will unite all, yet commit none to anything that challenges existing prejudices too sharply.

The twin movements, of the Women and the Covenanters, are both a reaction to the ineffectiveness and betrayals of the United Party. Both emphasise continually that they are above "party politics." Apart from vague declarations that the rules of government have been broken and trust destroyed, and of the need to secure allegiance to a "common ideal of government" both movements leave members free to hold their individual views. Both bodies obviously have designs on the United Party and Strass recently warned emphatically (to a meeting of U.P. women) against the belief that success against the Nats could be achieved by anything other than a political party.

The present activities of the Covenanters and the Women appear to be to keep enthusiasm alive, to mount support for a revival in the U.P., or to give rise to a new U.P., and to see the idea of the National Convention to reach a climax in White political activity.

For the National Convention is the rabbit peeping from the magician's hat, though so far we have been allowed to see only the tips of its ears, and the magician is still in conclave with his assistants on the size and breed and shape of the animal.

Prof. C. H. le May, Professor of Public Administration and Local Government of the Wit. University, is convening a committee of experts to consider the

mechanics of calling a national convention. The Covenanters aim at 800,000 to 900,000 signatures calling for the Convention. Says Mr. J. D. Wilson, spokesman of the movement: "The Covenant will put forward no suggestion as to what sort of agreement such a Convention can reach. It is hoped parties and individuals will devote serious thought and propaganda to the type of constitution which is required."

This vagueness has characterised the Covenant Movement from the outset. At the first large meeting it held in the Johannesburg City Hall a questioner asked if the Covenanters had a plan of action if their other plans failed. "Certainly," he was told from the platform, "Certainly we have plans, but this is not the time to discuss them."

When Professor Le May was asked whether he believed in White Civilization he parried with the reply "I believe in civilisation."

Why the vagueness, the evasion, the mystery about plans and policies, the working out of details by experts alone? In part this is the game of stult politics. It is also due to a genuine confusion of aim. But above all, there is a studied and deliberate policy of making principles as vague and airy as possible, the better to attract "broad support." These movements parted from the U.P. because of its retreat from principle. But they are making a cult of evasion of principle.

What is discernible behind the airy phrases? For one thing, that only registered voters will be permitted to petition for the National Convention. This is a White man's — and woman's movement. For another, the emphasis on the return to the spirit of 1908, and a re-definition of the rules and conventions of government in the traditions of those who met in the 1908 National Convention.

The 1908 Convention might have founded a trust of government, but it was a government of Whites only, to keep all Non-Whites in subjection and, apart from the token vote given to the Cape Coloureds and Africans, off the voters' rolls and without self-government. Hertzog's "union of hearts" was of Whites only, and this

## ON THE COVENANTERS AND WOMEN'S BLACK SASH MOVEMENT.

was a union of English and Afrikaans speaking voters to deny democratic rights to the majority. The 1910 Constitution was a colour bar affair. It was based on a trust, but it was not one for democracy. So how far back into the darkness of 1908 must we go in this year 1955?

In 1908 excuses might have been found for reserving democracy for Whites only, but there are certainly none in 1955. We are living in times when the Non-Whites have declared, organised and are struggling for equality. We live in the midst of a Nationalist police state built on those very 1908 foundations of restricted democracy for Whites only. What else can tumble the Nationalists from power but an extension of democracy?

The Covenanters do not state the problem. Do they think by hiding from it they banish it from the scene? Mrs. Ballinger coined the phrase "All Union Politics are Native Affairs," but the Covenanters have their own version "Safe Union Politics are No Native Affairs."

The Covenanters and the Women's Defence of the Constitution League are guilty of a vagueness of policy that can only be suicidal if persisted in. Covenant phrases of securing allegiance to "a common ideal of government" are soothing to the ear. But what do they mean? Do we break with the past or hold desperately to it? We have called it variously segregation, White trusteeship, White civilisation, White supremacy, and now "Wit Baaskap."

All have their basis in the 1908 Convention.

This has never been democracy, but always the very opposite.

It is not a return to the spirit of 1908 that South Africans need for survival, but a break with that spirit, a surge forward to a new spirit. The old brings only a constant variation of a dying theme.

To many White voters propositions of the extension of democracy to the Non-Whites, are unpalatable, unthinkable. But the alternatives are self-destruction. One hopeful movement, the Torch Commando, crashed to its ruin over this very problem. Must the Covenanters follow the Torch Commando so very soon?



CECIL WILLIAMS writes on

## Meeting Soviet People

DO you remember the little boy in the ship on the way to South Africa who expected to feel a bump as the ship crossed the line? Well, I felt like that as I crossed the Soviet frontier! What with all the nonsense that is printed about the Soviet Union, I felt sure I was entering into Samuel Butler's "Erewhon" or Caliban's enchanted domain or some such place. As it turns out, I have spent three weeks here, being an absolutely ordinary tourist, as, for instance, a holiday-maker in London or Istanbul or Johannesburg. It's true that from time to time I've been agog and agape, but, like any other normally impartial tourist, I've moved around using my eyes and my ears, my head and my heart — and I've had a first-rate holiday!

As a South African I've moved around the Soviet Union with the land and people and problems of South Africa as my background. Our blatant extremes of poverty and wealth, of kindness and intolerance, of opportunity and closed doors, have, of course, thrown into sharper and more attractive relief the conditions I have observed in the U.S.S.R.

For instance, whenever in Leningrad, my first port of call, I saw a dark-skinned face or a mongoloid pair of eyes, I assumed the owner to be a foreign visitor — there are so many thousands of tourists here anyway. It was only after I had spoken to some of these supposed "foreigners" that I discovered they were Soviet citizens from Uzbekistan or some other remote part of Soviet Asia, working, holiday-making or studying in Leningrad and Moscow. Such encounters gave me many touching moments as I realised that these so-called Coloured people are *completely* free from the indignities and inhumanities of racial discrimination.

In the same way, I can assess the provision of housing accommodation in the Soviet Union only with reference to housing conditions in South Africa. I am a White South African and like a large proportion of our White population I live comfortably. So, in Minsk, for example, where we saw two-roomed flats, plus kitchen, bathroom and entrance hall for a family of three or four, I thought the

living space was small. But then my thoughts wandered home and I pictured the thousands of people who would have jumped at the opportunity of moving into a modern flat, even if on the small side, with its conveniences and its absurdly low rental. And I thought of the Cape Coloured people of Windermere and the Africans of Orlando and Moroka, who would have thought themselves in paradise could they have taken possession of an ordinary flat like those I saw in Minsk.

In English-speaking countries if you want to make a joke about Russia, you merely repeat "Omsk, Tomsk and Minsk," because to our ears the sounds are funny. But, believe me, the city of Minsk is no laughing matter — not at all. It happens to be one of the most interesting cities a visitor could see. Minsk is the capital of Byelorussia, so that here you can pay a silent tribute to the 1,200,000 people in this republic alone who gave their lives in the war against Nazism. You will also feel impelled to pay tribute to the people who have done such a gigantic job of reconstruction. When the Nazis were driven out in 1949, less than 20 per cent. of all buildings were intact. Just picture that. Today, ten or eleven years after, the "white city" has arisen like a phoenix, housing nearly half a million people, about twice the size of the pre-war population. Not only more than 7,000 blocks of flats, a multitude of factories, municipal and capital buildings, hospitals, shops and so on have been completed, but lovely boulevards have been laid out, in addition to a vast stadium and parks galore. When I think of the many still disabled cities of war-torn Europe, then I begin to think that the socialist system must have a "certain something" about it.

And, do you know what struck me with even greater force? The fact that the people and planners of Minsk have still found the time and labour and material to construct just outside the city an artificial lake, measuring nine miles by seven — 63 square miles of water — the shores fringed with pine forests. When we asked if it was a reservoir for the city's growing water requirements, they said: "No."

When we asked if it was part of an irrigation scheme, they said: "No." Seeing that Minsk is so far from the sea and has no large river, they thought they ought to construct such a resort for the citizens' leisure and pleasure. Well, that takes some beating, doesn't it?

At Minsk, too, they have built a children's railway, about half normal size, with about four kilometres of track. To give you some idea of the size, about 25 adults rode in the coach I was in. But this is the interesting point. It is not merely a toy for the children. They are building a railway workshop where boys and girls will learn how an engine and a railway system work. They will qualify as drivers and stokers and gangers, ticket clerks and guards. There is purpose, you see, in their pleasure. I found it remarkable that with so much still to do, with building jobs under way whichever direction you look, there has still been time to look to the out-of-the-ordinary needs of the people and the children.

And what you may ask, what about the people in the Soviet Union? Do they look happy, sullen, well-fed, ill-clothed, rebellious or what?

Well, by the standards of London and Paris and the White inhabitants of Durban and Cape Town they are poorly and un-stylishly dressed. But the Russians don't seem to think that it matters all that much. Well, I daresay we attach too much importance to our appearances, but, to my taste, I think the people here should start giving it a little more importance!

For the rest, they appear to be well-fed and well looked after. And, bless my soul, they honestly don't give me the impression of wanting to change their system. On the contrary, they are very proud of what gigantic changes their system has brought about for them as individuals.

As people they are the same as most people, most places. They are very open and friendly. I have chatted — in English and French and, with the aid of my companion's elementary Russian, even in Russian — to lots of people, in the streets, shops, theatres, on the underground and in factories and trade union holiday hostels and so on. And despite a certain local reserve in Leningrad, I have found a readiness to talk and an eagerness to hear about South Africa. They are kindly and considerate

(Continued on next page)

# ATOMS FOR PEACE

By DR. R. PRESS

THE gold mines of South Africa have proved to be a cheap source of uranium, the fuel of the future. The sweated labour of thousands of African mine workers produces, as a by-product, tons of crushed rock, quartz, from which the gold has been gleaned. This sand still contains uranium in some cases; and after the production of gold has paid for the crushing of the rock, the extraction of uranium is a cheap process. In this yellow powder, uranium oxide, man holds the genie of peace, progress and a better life. It could form the basis of a vast research station where the genie could be trained to the service of man.

The centre of such a research station would be the atomic pile, a solution of uranium salt in heavy water. Such a pile acts as a vast devil's kitchen of atomic radiation from whence our scientist and engineer can conjure a multitude of atoms, tailored to suit their purpose. In medicine, radio iodine can be used to cure cancer of the thyroid gland; carbon "14" can trace the digestion of starches and proteins; and radio nitrogen and sodium act as monitors in the complex analyses of biochemistry.

That mighty midget, the atom, sends its searching rays from radiocobalt through three foot metal castings, and finds the microscopic crack that would have meant the failure of a propeller shaft or the bursting of a boiler. Radio activity, so poisonous to man, can indicate the wear in a motor-car piston and improve the greases used to lubricate its roller bearings, or illuminate the dial of

your watch while you sit with your girl in the moonlight.

The uses of radio atoms are so multitudinous that a short review may seem like a catalogue of man's activities. The possibilities in research are vast. You are a biologist interested in growing food in the "suurveld." The soil is fertile, water is plentiful and the sun brings the energy of life; but the crop does not seem to thrive; it is stunted and the yield is poor. You analyse the soil for nitrogen, potash, lime, and phosphorus; you check on the bacteria and the soil's aeration, the acidity and the moisture. All the tools of the scientist's trade are employed, and amongst the newest and most probing is the radio isotope, which perhaps reveals that the crop needs a trace of borax which is absent from the soil. The application of such an inexpensive item, in just the correct quantity, may mean the difference between success and failure for the farmer.

Or take the case of the archeologist who investigates the history of the African people. How old is their civilisation? Did they get their knowledge from Egypt or did they give more than they received? Which came first, the kingdoms of Central Africa or of the Euphrates? Part of a woman's shoe is found in a ruined cave. The scientist measures the radio activity of the carbon in the leather and dates the time when the cow was killed to provide the leather for the shoe. It was perhaps 3,000 B.C. and another riddle of history is solved.

When the fitter machines that steel casting, what is the best angle for the

carbide tip to meet the surface? At what angle will the least wear on the tool occur? Make the carbide tip of radio carbon, machine a casting at varying angles and measure the radio activity of the metal shavings. If the tip has worn one millionth of an inch more at 110 deg. than at 120 deg., a measure of the activity will show it.

The atom can help the worker in the factory and make the Kalahari fertile. Next to great stretches of dry, arid, yet rich, soil lies the vast salty ocean. How many times has man dreamt of watering the desert with the sea? Yet it can be done, perhaps not now, but given ten years of atom research and power development, the sea *could* water Bechuanaland. An atom power station erected at the coast could produce electricity from the Rand's uranium. Such a plant needs no vast transport system to supply coal or oil, no vast river to cool its condensers, no hard working labour battalions. It can be erected on the coast at no vast cost, and its fuel need only be a few pounds of uranium per year, or perhaps when man harnesses the hydrogen bomb, which is a definite possibility, a few gallons of sea water each month.

Such a plant could supply current to de-salt the sea. De-salting of sea water by electricity is already a commercial possibility, especially using the new ion exchange membranes coupled in series. It could pump the fresh water into the desert and make it bloom with crops. This is not a myth, but a real possibility.

And what of the vast deposits of manganese, platinum, cobalt, titanium and berilium which cannot be mined because they lie hundreds of miles from any source of power? Setting up an atom power station is a comparatively simple process and once set up there is power for rock-drills, power for transport, power for hoists, and light for the workers.

There is a genie in the yellow powder, but selfish madmen have stolen the lamp from the people and they are rubbing it furiously to rob mankind of life. They mutilate Japanese fishermen, poison the atmosphere, and terrorise the colonial peoples.

But the yellow powder belongs by right to all the people, and when, as the Freedom Charter says, "The people shall share the country's wealth," uranium will work for peace and for the people.

(Continued from page 10)  
people, not only to foreigners but to each other. We have found them alert, well-informed and vivacious.

Leaving aside such features of their life as the amount of reading we see being done everywhere, the special attraction of their lavish care of children, their love of culture in all forms, I must give some emphasis to their attitude to the question of peace.

In the U.S.S.R. I knew there was a strong peace movement, but sometimes I wondered whether it was an "organised," perhaps a phoney thing. I know now it isn't. These people

passionately want peace. The evidence is everywhere, in posters and placards, all over the place; the dove, symbol of the World Peace movement everywhere, even on the matchboxes; in the conversation of the people; and especially, of course in the reconstruction and replanning that is going on everywhere — work that has no meaning if they expect it to be destroyed all over again by an H-bomb. But their work, they are determined, shall have meaning because of their confidence that their own will and the will of the peoples of the world for lasting peace will prevail.

# Verwoerd's Camps and Colleges

By DUMA NOKWE

DR. VERWOERD is stubbornly and arrogantly continuing to implement every aspect of his Bantu Education plans. In his statement of policy on Bantu Education Dr. Verwoerd said "My Department policy is that education should stand with both feet in the Reserves and should *have its roots in the society and being of Bantu society* . . . An increase in the number of institutions for higher education located in the Urban Areas is not *desired*. Steps will be taken *deliberately* to keep institutions to an increasing extent, *away from urban areas and to establish them as far as possible in the Native Reserves*."

There is at present no such thing as a Bantu Society: it is a society which exists in Dr. Verwoerd's fertile fascist imagination and which he is trying to create. To do so Dr. Verwoerd has embarked on a series of removal schemes; the removal of people from their homes; the removal of people from their work; the removal of youth to youth labour camps; the removal of education and the substitution of an inhuman experiment; and now, the removal of teachers' training colleges to the reserves. After all these removals and many more to come, Dr. Verwoerd hopes to have led the Africans, physically, mentally and spiritually away from what he referred (in his Senate speech on Bantu Education) to as the "green pastures of European society in which they are not allowed to graze." Dr. Verwoerd admits that the "economic structure of our country results in large numbers of Natives having to earn their living in the service of Europeans . . . and the school must equip him to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose upon him." So, clearly, Dr. Verwoerd's ideal member of the Bantu Society will be an automaton who will grow the "green pastures" for the Europeans, but who will be blind to the wealth he is creating, insensitive to and dumb about his sufferings, deaf to anything else except the commands of the master.

## Colleges in the Countryside

It is for this purpose that Bantu Education was introduced. To harness the old teachers, Dr. Verwoerd bound and gagged them under the most humiliating set of regulations. But still he does not feel secure. The old teachers have been the forbidden "green pastures of the Europeans," and though they may be silent, Dr. Verwoerd fears that they may be longing for them. He is now setting about training his insensitive, deaf dumb and blind teachers, who will assist him in transmitting these qualities to some of the African children. Naturally, the first step in the training consists in removing the training colleges from the persistent groans and protests of the African people in towns, and from the sharp contrasts between the squalid shacks, starvation and disease of the vast toiling masses, and the sky-scrapers of the masters of the Herrenvolk society. Contrasts have a way of opening the eyes, and of stimulating thought, questions and discussion, and these are the very things which Dr. Verwoerd wants to destroy and he must destroy them in the teacher first. As he said "So much depends upon the teacher carrying out his *duties conscientiously* . . . the Bantu teacher must be integrated as an *active agent in the process of the development of the Bantu Community*."

He must *learn* not to feel above his community with a consequent desire to become integrated into the life of the European Community. He becomes *frustrated* and *rebellious* when this does not take place and he tries to make his community dissatisfied because of such *mis-directed ambitions* which are alien to his people!"

The removal of the colleges to rural areas will also reduce the expense of training these teachers. Although the curriculum has not yet been announced, there is no doubt that amongst the numerous useful things which the "Bantu teacher" will learn will be agriculture and manual labour. They will grow and cook their own food. They will spend their holidays profitably on a farm learning the art of hard work and obedience. They will be of the greatest assistance to Native Commissioners, in explaining to the people the "benevolent" policies of the government.

## Nationalist Party Agents

The "teacher" training camps of Dr. Verwoerd, will serve to train African agents for the Nationalist Party. In addition to his duties in the classroom of training the African child not to look at or long for the "green pastures of the Europeans," the "Bantu Teacher" will have to be busy after school, arousing support for Nationalist policies, and denouncing, sabotaging and agitating against the liberatory movement. Dr. Verwoerd said: "A community, for example, will not be able to claim the advantage of education and at the same time *ignore* and even *oppose* guidance in regard to the care of the soil."

*The removal of teachers' training colleges is the first step in the removal of most Bantu Education schools from towns.* Dr. Verwoerd hopes that this will add to the pressure of pushing the Africans from towns and squeezing them in the reserves, where they can be plugged in, like vacuum cleaners, and dragged at will to towns, farms and mines, to do the dirty work, and then pushed back into the reserves where they are securely plugged in!

Simultaneously with the reduction of facilities of Bantu Education in towns, the Nationalists are establishing youth labour camps for African youth from towns. Dr. Van Rooyen, the Chief Journalist of the propaganda bureau of the Native Affairs Department, has been at pains in trying to explain that the youth labour camps are an attempt to save African Youth from becoming tsotsis. According to Dr. van Rooyen, African parents who want to save their children from becoming "tsotsis" should send them to the camps where they will be trained in agriculture and elementary technical skills. And what will happen to the youth after receiving this training? On this point Dr. van Rooyen keeps a judicious silence.

In Government circles the word "tsotsi" has come to mean an African who opposes and resists Nationalist policies. During the first weeks of the boycott of Bantu education on the Reef, Verwoerd said that the people who were boycotting and keeping the children from schools were tsotsis. The youth camps are not designed to save children from becoming delinquents; it is one of the most important and profitable tasks of the Nationalist government to increase the number of gaols and farm prisons and to pack them with African youth. The

# RAVE, NEW WORLD

By H. B. KIMMEL

THE results of twenty years of exposure to insects and other sources of skin irritation, greeted Rip van Winkle II when he awoke. The sun pressed hot and thick on his neck and ears as he stood to his feet. He threaded his way carefully down the hillside to solicit a lift from some obliging motorist.

The road had been divided into four fenced lanes. Our hero stood on one foot to see whether he had been drinking. The reader may smile at Rip's bewilderment with the insight and smugness that is his privilege, but let him take heed, for he too may, one day, fall asleep for twenty years, on attending an open air lecture on what the Nationalists have done for South Africa.

He began thumbing a lift. His rhythm had degenerated into that lazy swoop one employs to drive away flies on a hot day, when he observed the most grotesque creature striding in his direction. It turned out to be an African with a tank on his head, while, before him, he pushed a wheelbarrow of books.

"Tell me," asked Rip, "what are you doing with that device on your head and shoulders?"

"Where do you come from, that you do not recognise an oxygen tank when you see one? Or don't you know that fifteen years ago the Government introduced legislation prohibiting Non-Europeans from breathing the same air as Europeans? We work for the Europeans, but live separately. There is some talk of

giving us a submarine society on the bed of the ocean off the shores of South Africa, for it is not good, say the Nationalists, that Whites and Blacks should share the same continent."

Rip learned the date and tried to conceal his surprise and consternation.

"They must not share the same continent, soon they'll be thinking in terms of planets, perhaps even solar systems," Rip thought.

"You must pardon my ignorance of current affairs," said Rip, "but for a long while now, I have bene indisposed. Tell me, why is the street divided into four lanes?"

"Well, the first half of the left hand side is for vehicles driven by European drivers, and the second half for Non-European drivers. The right hand side is divided up in the same manner."

"What is the wheelbarrow for?" asked Rip.

"Why, every African is compelled to have his wheelbarrow of books on *Laws for African Urban Workers* with him."

Rip continued to ply his new acquaintance with questions to provide himself with as much knowledge as possible, concerning the new world in which he would have to adjust himself.

"How do the Africans react to such oppression?" was Rip's next question.

"Oppression? Don't be silly. We have been promised our own facilities in terms of segregation and these obligations have all been fulfilled. We

have our own churches, theatres and universities. We have a large assortment of hymns on every juke box, and these can be played when required. We also have slot machines for the absolution of sins. The finest plays are performed in our theatres: we are allowed to stage any drama that does not involve the imitation of Europeans. Plays like *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* therefore, are forbidden. These aren't good anyway, the Minister of Education himself says he doesn't like them.

"We haven't our own ministers or parliament yet," he added by way of corollary.

"The Whites have built us wonderful bioscopes in which the most enjoyable films can be seen. At the moment we have a superb musical romance called 'The Life of Albert Einstein!' It's full of swordfights, song hits and scientific experiments."

Rip's nausea was beginning to peep through his reserve.

"What about your universities?" he asked.

"The advocates of apartheid have built us a fine model all to ourselves. Here we receive instruction in all subjects related to work in which Non-Europeans are declared the most suitable. The Nationalists maintain that Providence has destined us for special work, and so we have excellent degree courses in gardening, dish washing and street cleaning."

Their steady pace had brought them within the city.

A sharp droning sound was heard. "We repeat the message," barked a number of loudspeakers placed at convenient points along the road and on buildings.

(Continued on page 15)

(Continued from previous page)

training in agriculture is necessary in order that African youth can be efficient, cheap labourers for the farmers. The "technical training" which the youth will receive does not conflict with the Schoeman and De Klerk policy of confining Africans to unskilled labour. "Technical" training means preparation for the mines, railways and roads. Today, the sending of children to these camps is "voluntary." Soon, however, the police vans will be hounding every street and probably houses in the locations looking for "potential tsotsis" and youngsters will be whisked away from their homes and parents, and taken to the camps to be *saved* and *trained* for the mines and the farmers. The youth labour camps are child labour reservoirs, and they are the beginning of the most ruthless form of the exploitation of child labour.

Dr. Verwoerd is creating camps to grind the Africans into a "Bantu Society," which will accept fascist oppression without resistance. The teachers' training camps will train men and women who will dedicate their lives to

arresting the mental and spiritual growth of the Africans. The police camps will produce men who will callously hound and *arrest* those youth who might escape the destructive process of Bantu Education. The youth camps will harness the energies of the youth for the brutal exploitation of the farmers and the mines. In this way the Nationalists hope to have complete control over the African youth and over the African people.

Dizzy with their partial success, the Nationalists are contemptuously and arrogantly attempting to mould their Bantu Society as though out of clay. But the people know that these vast removal schemes are an attempt to remove them from the path of freedom and progress which they have chosen and along which they are now marching. And they have spoken to warn the Nats. "The doors of learning and culture *shall* be open." The Nationalists are continuing to shut them. But the people will open them, and shut out all that the Nationalists stand for. And then they will graze in the *green pastures*, not of European society, but of the *society of the people of South Africa*.

DESMOND BUCKLE ON

# TOGOLAND'S FUTURE

A UNITED Nations Visiting Mission has been touring British Togoland in recent weeks. Appointed at the last plenary session of the United Nations Assembly, this mission has the special task of recommending how the wishes of the British Togolandians should be ascertained when the Gold Coast achieves independent status within the British Commonwealth, as it is expected to do before the next visit of a United Nations mission takes place in three years' time.

The Trust Territory of British Togoland is a long narrow strip of land wedged between the Gold Coast and French Togoland. It represents, as *The Times* (August 9, 1955) says, "one of the worst examples of the way Africa was carved up by European powers in complete disregard of tribal, geographical, or even common-sense considerations."

The British have been responsible for this part of Togoland since 1914 when they first occupied it on the outbreak of war between Britain and Imperial Germany whose colony Togoland was. At first British Togoland was under military occupation, then it was administered under the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. Latterly, of course, it has come under the Trusteeship System of the United Nations.

Although the population of British Togoland is under 400,000, the people are divided into many tribes, the main sections of which actually live in the Gold Coast. And while the division of German Togoland between the British and the French at the end of the First World War brought many of these people under the same administration as their fellows in the Gold Coast, it nevertheless separated them from others of their tribe who came under the French.

In this division the Ewes of the south, the most important of the Togoland tribes, fared the worst. Although some 100,000 were reunited with the bulk of the Ewe people of the Gold Coast, another 175,000 were cut off in French Togoland.

A demand for the unification of the Ewe people was first voiced during the Second World War when the Vichy French authorities in Lome, capital of French Togoland, imposed

a strict guard on the frontier with British Togoland. Ewes of the Gold Coast and British Togoland, who had hitherto been able to cross and re-cross the frontier at will on visits to relations in French Togoland, found the new frontier barrier intolerable and began to raise the demand that all Ewe people should be under one administration. This led to the formation in the Gold Coast of the All-Ewe Conference, whose main object was to fight for Ewe unification.

This struggle developed later into one aiming at the unification of British and French Togolands, when in 1952 Sylvanus Olympio, leader of the All-Ewe Conference in French Togoland, joined forces with S. G. Antor, leader of the Togoland Congress in Southern British Togoland.

In 1951, the Administering Authorities of the two Togolands, the British and the French submitted a memorandum to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations proposing the establishment of a joint body of representatives of the two Trust Territories. It was proposed that this body, while not possessing executive or legislative power extending over both territories, would be "a meeting place" wherein views on the development of the respective territories could be exchanged and co-ordinated, and measures of development in every field harmonized.

Appearing before the ninth session of the Trusteeship Council, which considered the Anglo-French memorandum, S. G. Antor, representing the Joint Togoland Congress, told the Council that the proposals contained in the memorandum were unacceptable to the Togoland people as a solution of the Togoland problem. He said that the Joint Togoland Congress requested an immediate recommendation to the General Assembly that the present Trusteeship Agreements for the Togolands be revoked and a single agreement be substituted providing for direct United Nations supervision for five years, followed by complete self-government or independence for the Togolands. The Council, however, adopted the Anglo-French proposals.

When the General Assembly that same year discussed the Ewe question, Togoland spokesmen once again pleaded the Ewe case not only for

Ewe unification but for that of all Togoland. After an intensive debate, the Assembly's Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee adopted a resolution urging the two administrative powers, Britain and France, and the inhabitants involved, to "exert every effort to achieve a prompt, constructive and equitable solution of the problem, taking fully into account the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." The resolution also recommended that the Trusteeship Council should arrange for the despatch of a mission to the two Togolands, or alternatively, that the Council should authorise its next Visiting Mission to those territories to make a thorough, on-the-spot study of the whole problem. The Mission, which has recently been in Togoland, is the second to go there since the resolution was passed.

In the meantime the British have been going ahead with their own plans in regard to the future of their part of Togoland. The terms of the agreement under which Britain administers the trust territory provide for it to be governed as an integral part of the Gold Coast. The northern part of British Togoland has in fact been so vintegrated with the Northern Territories for many years.

In the south the British have recently taken a step clearly in anticipation of what the United Nations may decide. They have created a new region of the Gold Coast called Transvolta Togoland, including both the southern part of British Togoland and the Ewe-inhabited area of the Gold Coast which lies to the southwest. This is a region in which at present there is a great deal of developmental activity in preparation for the vast Volta river hydro-electric and aluminium scheme.

When the Gold Coast general election took place in June, 1954, the British authorities in Togoland tried to represent the voting as a plebiscite on the issue of unification of the two Togolands or integration of British Togoland with the Gold Coast. The voting showed that in the north and the centre the integrationists hold the advantage. In the four Ewe constituencies of the south, however, the Togoland Congress Party, which favours unification, gained two seats, and an independent who is sympathetic to the idea of unification, won another.

While it is true that the Convention People's Party of the Gold Coast, which favours integration, secured a high vote, there were reasons to show that this did not necessarily mean

## BOOKS

# The Kenyatta Case

I HAD the galling experience of spending part of the period during which Kenyatta was on trial for "managing Mau Mau" among Kenya White settlers — on board ship and for two weeks in the Kenya port of Mombasa. Two memories of them will always remain: firstly, their eager and confident expectation that Kenyatta and his five comrades would hang. (Actually they were not being tried for a capital offence and the maximum penalty the Court could impose was one of seven years' imprisonment). Secondly, there was the oft-repeated settler solution to the "emergency" — "Shoot a hundred (or some other figure) of the Kikuyu every time a White man is killed." The prize in this connection went to a very recent settler whose suggestion was four hundred Kikuyu lives for every White life. He was a Dane who had left Denmark in 1947. On being asked whether he had left Denmark because he had been a Nazi collaborator, he blushed and the conversation ended rather suddenly.

Now, reading Montagu Slater's excellent summary of the proceedings at the trial itself, it becomes abundantly clear that the bar at which Kenyatta was being tried was precisely that of this type of White settler opinion. The magistrate, a man of doubtful competence and undoubted bias, clearly convicted not on the evidence for the prosecution but

## TOGOLAND'S FUTURE—continued

that those who voted for the CPP in Togoland accept its policy on Togoland's future. The fact was that the CPP election manifesto proclaimed that an independent Gold Coast, including British Togoland, would ensure that French Togoland was at last united with British Togoland. Many of the voters quite obviously had this promise in mind when they voted for the CPP.

The Visiting Mission is certain to have found out that the Togolandese want a practical solution of their problem and that they will not be satisfied with any imprecise alternatives being put to them when the time comes for framing the questions to be asked at the plebiscite.

on Kenyatta's own plea for African freedom. "I feel," says the magistrate in convicting, "some of the underlying causes for their actions is their obsession about what is called the colour bar, or alleged racial discrimination."

In the end the magistrate believed all the Crown witnesses and rejected *all* the evidence for the defence. To appreciate the full meaning of that statement it is necessary to read what D. N. Pritt did to the crown-witnesses in cross-examination. Meet, for example, the three African crown witnesses, whom Pritt called the "three tailors of Tooley Street" and the Africans of the "wait-and-see-group" — "Mugwumps Union." In any other trial they would merely have been remembered for the lighter relief they provided. Yet their thoroughly discredited evidence helped to convict the accused. There is also the police inspector who knew many women named Wambui, but who did not say that the only Wambui in the case was his mistress. (Kenyatta was supposed to have discussed secret oath-taking in front of her, a total stranger).

My settler acquaintances obviously knew Kenya justice. Kenyatta and the others can consider themselves fortunate that they were not arrested and tried later during the "emergency." By then "association with terrorists" had become a capital offence. Imperialism's haste to destroy the liberation movement may very well have saved Kenyatta's life.

The author allows the record to speak for itself and asks his readers to decide the question of the guilt or innocence of the accused for themselves. He should have gone further. He should have asked his readers to decide the innocence or guilt of the Kenya Government and British imperialism as well.

The question must arise with every fair-minded reader whether such perversions of the concept of justice as the British Government is here guilty of, and which the Privy Council condoned by refusing the accused leave to appeal, does not itself constitute a crime.

At a time when several books of doubtful objectivity about the Kenya situation are being widely read, the record of the Kenyatta trial gives unanswerable ammunition to all who support the cause of East African democracy. It also serves to remind us of our duty to our fellow African democrats to work constantly for the end of the primitive terror the colonialists have unleashed against them, and for the release from jail of Kenyatta and the 83,000 people whom the Kenya Government now boasts that it holds in jails and concentration camps.

M. MULLER.

*The Trial of Jomo Kenyatta*, by Montagu Slater. Price 18s.

## RAVE, NEW WORLD

(Continued from page 13)

"As an auxiliary to the Immorality Act, dogs, cats and other animals owned by Non-Europeans shall not mix with dogs, cats and other animals of the opposite sex owned by Europeans. Owner and animal are liable to penalties of not exceeding six months in prison."

"Good Heavens! How far does this Apartheid go?" asked Rip.

"Well, certain distinctions have been made between English and Afrikaans speaking people and there is a rumour to the effect that persons speaking different Afrikaans dialects will find barriers between them."

Suddenly Rip felt a firm hand on his shoulder. "Come with me," said a voice . . .

\*\*\*

"You are charged with contravening one of the most sacred laws of the Republic," said the Judge. "Law 583 B, Section 14, which decrees that no European shall enter into discussion with a Non-European except for the purpose of giving him an order. You are sentenced to . . ."

Here there was pause while it was debated whether Rip should die by Jukskei or Rugby crucifixion.

\*\*\*

"At least the ball is made overseas," Rip thought to himself, after he had been nailed to the rugby posts and the ball was aimed at his head.

**Ruth Reed**  
OF FIFTH AVENUE

**STEWART'S  
REXALL PHARMACY**  
S. Joffe, M.P.S.  
CHEMIST & DRUGGIST  
PHOTOGRAPHIC SUPPLIES  
280a, Louis Botha Avenue,  
ORANGE GROVE  
Phone 45-6243/4

Bedroom Suites by  
**ANGLO UNION  
FURNITURE  
Manufacturers Ltd.**  
Stocked by  
LEADING FURNITURE  
STORES


**Trump Clothing  
Manufacturers**  
(PTY.) LTD.  
1 Central Road - Fordsburg  
Phone 34-4529  
Makers of  
TRENCH TROUSERS  
and  
and ACROBAT SUITS

**Standard Furnishing**  
(Pty.) Ltd.  
30d, 30e, Voortrekker Street  
and 35a, Prince's Avenue,  
BENONI  
**For The Best In Furniture**

Day Phone 25-3963  
**MALVERN PHARMACY**  
CHEMIST AND OPTICIANS  
619 Jules Street, Malvern  
JOHANNESBURG

**COMMERCIAL  
PRINTING Co. (Pty.) Ltd.**  
New Era Buildings, Johannesburg  
(Cor. Loveday & De Villiers Streets)  
Phone 23-7571 P.O. Box 1543  
Printers of this Journal  
General Printing - Magazine - Bulletin  
Newspaper and Advertisement Display  
Work.

**Juno Furnishing Co.**  
64 KNOX STREET  
Phone 51-1106 GERMISTON  
**For A Square Deal**  
Contact Us

*FINEST VALUE IN PIPES*  
**DR. MACNAB**  
**FILTER**  
*SELECTED  
BRIAR*  
  
Trade Enquiries:  
**L. FELDMAN LIMITED**  
JOHANNESBURG

*Perfect Writing  
Instruments*  
**Burnham**  
PENS  
AND PENCILS  
*Your friend  
for life!*

**BARRIS BROS.**  
WHOLESALE MERCHANTS AND  
DIRECT IMPORTERS  
120 Victoria Street Germiston  
P.O. Box 146. Phones 51-1281; 51-3589

**BANTU HOUSE  
RESTAURANT**  
• for Hot Meals  
• Refreshments  
• Pleasant Company  
4a PRITCHARD STREET  
(Next door to the Star Office)

**AGENTS**  
wanted to sell  
**"Fighting Talk"**  
on commission  
Write to P.O. Box 1355