

# FIGHTING TALK

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## COMMENT

### RADICALS PROGRESS.

THE deportation from Southern Rhodesia of railway strike leader, Bob Taylor, added point to Simon Zukas' letter from London in Fighting Talk's June issue. Writing prophetically before the deportation, Zukas made the telling point that deportation without trial is vital to colonial governors, because otherwise they might have to wait "until the man actually commits a crime." Taylor, it seems, was well on the way to committing a crime of militant trade-unionism, a few short months after Rhodesia's "labour" leaders had sold the right to strike for a mess of Federation pottage.

In the good old days, colonial magnates had to fight for themselves. These days they have "labour leaders" to do the fighting for them. "Return to work and put your house in order." This was the stern command of Sir Roy Welensky, one-time railwaymen's union leader. "Where the rule of law and common sense and collective responsibility was intended to operate, we have seen an attempt to substitute chaos, folly and nationalism." All the language of the millionaire press-barons — chaos, irresponsibility, lawlessness — has now become part of the arsenal of the labour lieutenants of colonial governors when they talk of strikes. The strike could have had "the gravest consequences to the political and economic future of the Federation" Sir Roy pontificated. Perish the thought; Sir Roy's job of Minister of Transport and Communications demands that workers stay docile and dividends stay high.

### THE NEW PHILOSOPHY

"WE are now engaged at Supreme Headquarters . . . in working on the philosophy of war." Thus Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers in Europe, General Alfred M. Gruenther, commemorating the tenth anniversary of D-Day in Normandy. The phi-

losophy, it is to be regretted, is not yet completed; but the General and his allied philosophers are working on it. "We are working on a philosophy to have a force in being that is the smallest possible and to depend on reserve forces . . . In our thinking we visualise the use of atom bombs on targets in enemy territory." This new contribution to the world outlook of the Western Allies is, of course, not the whole story. Even the General blushing admits that these are ". . . the highlights of it."

"We have one asset now . . ." said the philosopher. "I refer to the B-47, which can fly so fast and so high that there is no defence against it . . . That plane can fly and drop atomic weapons and drop them accurately." On this high philosophical plane, the General argues that, if war should come this year, ". . . our conclusion is that the Soviet Union would be defeated." To round off the scholarly address, a short dissertation on progress. "We felt three years ago that the Soviet could march to the Channel at very short notice. . . . Now the shield which we have has been reinforced . . . That means that the Soviet in the Kremlin would have to make the firm decision to launch World War III with all the responsibilities that that entails. That is very great progress." No comment.

### HARD LUCK STORY.

PITY Johannesburg's poor City Fathers! Always under fire, no matter how hard they try. Take for instance the lone 'Bekkerite' councillor, Mr. J. Klipin. Out of the goodness of his heart, he attends the quarterly joint meeting of the Council's Non-European Affairs Committee with the Joint Advisory Boards. The agenda dealt with all manner of important things — bur-saries, roads and the position of Africans employed by municipal departments. But the Advisory Board members insisted on discussing the activities of certain councillors, not excluding Mr. Klipin, who are assisting the removal of 58,000 people from the Western Areas. "My opinion is", said Mr. Klipin, "that they had been primed by outside advisers. Most of the speakers stuck an attitude of open hostility." Mr. Klipin, deputy chairman of the Committee walked out, leaving Chairman L. V. Hurd to face the fire.

The fire was straight and strong. A motion demanding the resignation of Mr. Hurd as chairman of the committee was carried unanimously, even after Mr. Hurd had told the chairman of the Orlando Advisory Board, Mr. Mpanza, that if he didn't like the chairman he could leave the meeting. Mr. Mpanza made his attitude quite clear by leaving. This was Mr. Hurd's second stormy session in one month. Some weeks before he had been roughly treated by a deputation of his electors, who came to the City Hall to demand that he cease co-operating with the Government in the Western Areas Removal scheme. "My conscience will be clear when I meet my maker," he had told the deputation, pointing a defiant finger at the sky. "You will meet your maker down there! Not up there!" one of his elderly constituents quavered, pointing accusingly at the floor.

After the fire, tears. "Mr. Hurd has devoted six or seven years of his time and energy to the interests of the Non-Europeans" complained Mr. Klipin. "He got the usual type of thanks." No one, it seems, appreciates Mr. Hurd's kind insistence on the removal of people from their homes. "All along I have acted in the best interests of Johannesburg, both of the Europeans and the Natives" Mr. Hurd complained later. One point had been gained. Mr. Hurd will not serve on the Government "Resettlement Board" if asked to do so. The next result for Mr. Hurd and his running mate Klipin is expected at the October elections.

## WAY OUT

JOHANNESBURG dealt a resounding blow to splitters in the progressive movement at two meetings on the same week-end in June. In Orlando, at a fine, enthusiastic Branch Conference, the African National Congress decisively routed the opposition "Bafabegyia" group, which met in dismal lifelessness at another hall, claiming to be the "real Congress". No one comparing the confident, united and militant spirit of the A.N.C. gathering, with the pathetic "everyone-out-of-step-but-us" bleating of the opposition could have failed to see the blind alley into which the Bafa begyia led. The climax came when the bulk of the opposition's supporters came across to the Congress gathering, stated they had been deceived and declared their faith in the A.N.C. and their contempt for splitters.

In the Transvaal Peace Council, a unanimous decision was taken to dissolve the Doornfontein group, for long a running sore in the Peace Council's side. The Doornfontein group, maintaining its unceasing hostility, rejected every offer of an olive branch, and sought to win new adherents for its consistent sniping at the Peace Council. In doing so it lost even its former friends. A call has been made for members of the group to join Peace groups in their own areas, and co-operate with other peace-workers to prevent the outbreak of war. Surgical operations are often the only way to remove cancers.

# A LETTER TO TO THE EDITOR — AND A REPLY

Having received a letter from Mr. Mohotlong, "Fighting Talk" invited the well-known political writer Moses Kotane, to reply. The letter and Moses Kotane's reply are printed below.

102 Fifth Avenue,  
Alexandra Township.  
20th May, 1954.

The Editor, "Fighting Talk".

Dear Sir,

It was most unfortunate that your London correspondent in his last article described the Mau Mau terrorists as "African resisters" and General China as an "African leader". The word "resister" has come to be associated with the Defiance Campaign. We have all spent years trying to refute the Government propaganda that the Defiance Campaign is the same thing as the Mau Mau. We have also spent years trying to restrain the African hotheads who say that our resisters should become a Mau Mau. Now Mr. Zukas writes as if there is no difference between the two.

As for General China, he and his kind are repudiated by the true African leaders such as Jomo Kenyatta. The

British Government framed Kenyatta as a Mau Mau, but Kenyatta denied it. The truth of his denial is proved by the fact that he was not used in the recent surrender negotiations.

Do not let us become confused about the Mau Mau. Though we are against the imperialism which produced the Mau Mau and the savage methods being used against the whole population of Kenya in an attempt to suppress the Mau Mau, we are not in favour of the Mau Mau itself. Their methods are not only immoral but also unwise. They have blackened the name of the African people in the eyes of the world. Do not insult our resisters by using their title to describe these thugs.

Yours faithfully,

G. MOHOTLONG.

The Editor, "Fighting Talk."

Dear Sir,

Your Correspondent, Mr. G. Mohotlong, takes exception to the description in the May issue of "Fighting Talk" of what he calls "the Mau Mau terrorists" and "thugs" as African resisters and of General China as an African leader. Mr. Mohotlong says "the word 'resister' has come to be associated with the Defiance Campaign" and should therefore not be confused with Mau Mau "thugs".

I can understand Mr. Mohotlong's fear of the danger of confusing Mau Mau with a purely non-violent political resistance movement. But we should not, in our anxiety to prevent confusion, try to change facts or the meaning of words. The word "resister" has been used in various parts of the world long before we ever thought of the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign. There have been resisters of different kinds and for variety of causes. Similarly the word "lead-



er" applies to any head or director of a group, team, a herd or a flock. A person or a thing is a leader whether he or it is good or bad, or whether we agree with it or not.

Mr. Mohotlong says that General China "and his kind are repudiated by the true African leaders such as Jomo Kenyatta." I do not contest that fact. But, General China was followed by thousands of Africans notwithstanding that repudiation. So he is an African leader even if we consider his methods to be wrong or his followers misguided.

Let us guard against the danger of falling victim to the false and malicious capitalist propaganda. Imperialists and reactionaries everywhere use certain words and phrases to confuse people in their own countries and to deliberately misrepresent the actions, and politics of movements, organisations or nations opposed to them. Some of those words and phrases are:—

"Agitators," "Aggressors," "Aggression," "Bandits," "Terrorists," "Satellites," "Thugs," "Iron Curtain," "Free World," "Free Nations," "Democratic nations" and "Communist tyranny".

Thus genuine and honest fighters for national liberation in Malaya, Burma, Tunis and Indonesia are alternatively described as "bandits," "terrorists" or "thugs". And spokesmen of the people are described as "communist agitators" or "agitators". Then we have the so-called free world, democratic nations or free nations which include Spain of General Franco, Portugal of Dr. Salazar, South Korea of Dr. Rhee, Formosa of Chiang Kai Shek and South Africa of Dr. Malan. They send armies and arms all over and then accuse others of aggression and threatening their interests!

Now what about Kenya itself? What are the facts, who are the real terrorists and thugs? Kenya has a population of 5,654,000 of whom 5,500,000 are Africans, 100,000 Indians, 30,000 Europeans and 24,000 Arabs. The Kenya Legislative Assembly consists of 45 Europeans, 14 of whom are elected and 31 nominated; 8 Indians, six of whom are elected and two nominated; 3 Arabs, one of whom is elected and two nominated, and 8 Africans "all of them officials, all of them nominated."

There are two important political organisations in Kenya: the "Kenya African Union" and the "Kenya Electors' Union". The "Kenya African Union" which is now banned represents the interests of the mass of the people of that country. According to its official representative in London, Mr. P. M. Koinange, its membership was open to all persons:—

"The policy of the Kenya African Union was never a secret. Every meeting and discussion that we held we informed and even invited the Government. Members of the police, even inspectors of police, stood on our platforms as members and spoke for us as well as subscribing to our funds."

The "Kenya Electors' Union" represents the interests of the White planters only. It stands for the creation of a landless and impoverished African population, a source of cheap labour supply. This organisation says:—

"Our policy in this regard is the principle initiated by Governor Mitchell. We believe that the cause of the present labour trouble is the dual economy of the shilling and the goat."

In pursuance of this policy of destroying the economy of the African and depriving him of everything except his labour power, therefore, the "Kenya Electors' Union" forced the Government in 1933 to expropriate some 16,700 sq. miles of the most fertile land belonging to Africans and to transfer it to European Settlers.

#### PEOPLE'S PETITION.

In 1951 the "Kenya African Union" circulated a petition which received 400,000 signatures. This petition was presented to the British House of Commons. It—

- (a) complained of the alienation of land and its transference to European settlers;
- (b) complained that the mass of African people were poverty stricken and starving;
- (c) suggested that the people should be allowed to occupy and farm the large unused areas which are in the territories reserved for Europeans; and

- (d) suggested that further immigration of Europeans should be stopped in view of the land hunger from which the African community suffers.

This agitation alarmed the European settlers to the extent that their organisation presented a secret memorandum to the Government in August, 1952, demanding that:—

- (a) The Government should neutralise or liquidate certain African leaders.
- (b) The "Government should make it quite clear that the position of the European Highlands as laid down by the Kenya Land Commission in 1933 and as established by Order-in-Council was unassailable."
- (c) A state of emergency be declared.
- (d) Curfews be imposed.
- (e) A pass system be introduced.
- (f) Corporal punishment be imposed.
- (g) "A system of rewards for Africans laying information of use to the Government in suppressing crime, etc." be instituted.

The settlers accused Africans of being responsible for a crime wave and subversive activities in the colony but a subsequent Government Report for 1951-1952 showed that while stealing had only increased by 2,000 cases, crime against persons had dropped by 200 cases.

In September, 1952, African members of the Legislative Assembly issued a public statement warning that the cry about the crime wave was a trick to divert attention from social and economic problems facing the African people; that the agitation was intended to justify the attack on civil liberties; and that it was aimed at covering attempts to destroy the Kenya African Union at the time when the country faced important constitutional changes.

Two months after the submission of the settlers' secret memorandum the Government introduced the Emergency Regulations and proceeded swiftly to arrest African leaders so that "in a very, very short time more than 50,000 were arrested." Then followed ruthless and indiscriminate shooting of Africans by the Whites. Yes, there are terrorists and thugs in Kenya but these are not Africans, they are the so-called civilised Europeans of that Colony!

Yours faithfully,  
MOSES KOTANE.

# European Diary

*Ruth First, the South African journalist has been travelling in Europe. Here are some of her impressions taken from letters she has written home.*

## 26th MAY

HERE and there in Berlin, one can see what the bombed city must have looked like. All rubble is cleared away or stacked in tidy heaps, but gaping shells of some buildings remain. Some impressive building has been going on. The Stalin Allee is the city's pride and rightly so. It stretches for some miles, a wide open boulevard and lining both its sides are enormous apartment houses. The thousands of flats here have been allocated to the best shock workers. Names were put in a lottery for allocation to some of the people who, by giving three per cent. of their earnings per year, helped to find the money to build the flats.

The World Peace Council Meeting — a really great meeting. There were about 500 participants among them, names known throughout the world. Pritt opened the session. Then there was Kuo Mo Jo, Sartre, Anna Sehgers, Shostakovitch, Lafitte and thousands of other celebrities, as thick as bees. There were plenary sessions in the morning and commissions in the afternoon. The two main items on the agenda were the H-bomb and national independence. The whole meeting is a masterpiece of organisation. There is an army of interpreters and translators and a smoothly working system of simultaneous translations through head microphones.

The Indian delegation is big and very representative.

Mulk Raj Anand is among them. He is a small man with a sharp sense of humour. He was using his every free moment in organising an exhibition of contemporary Indian art to tour Europe. Sitting next to me are Desmond Buckle and Gordon Schaeffer. A little man with only half of his left arm — chirpy and full of go. The Indian delegate who spoke yesterday got a tremendous reception, especially when the Chinese and Soviet delegates went up to shake his hand after the speech. Kuo Mu Jo seems to be everybody's favourite. He has just to giggle (and he does!) and the whole Conference roars with him.

The Conference went mad when it was announced that the 1953 Peace Prize had been awarded to Charlie Chaplin and he had accepted. The other recipient was Shostakovitch, a shy, retiring man obviously embarrassed at being fussed over.

On Thursday night we saw the Soviet ballet — the company that was sent home from Paris in transit here for three nights. We saw Ulanova dance in Romeo and Juliet — indescribably beautiful. Then a potpourri of all kinds of dances — some waltzes, the Swan Lake extract. Continuous clapping went on till our hands were almost blistered. That's one thing we've been doing a great deal of — clap. But of course in the last week there's been a lot to clap.

## 1st JUNE

This week-end the Conference of the Free German Youth will take place. It promises to be very impressive. Already

contingents of young people have been marching up and down the streets outside the hotel.

I did a short broadcast this morning on South Africa over the German radio.

Berlin is a real Conference city. Last week the Peace Council, this week the Youth Whitsun Festival, next week something else. And all entails tremendous organisation. A fleet of cars, whole hotels placed at the disposal of delegates; each one receiving not only a guide, and a special Conference briefcase, but even 50 marks of pocket money!

I went over into West Berlin the other night. It was like two countries, two cities. The outside appearances are completely different. One cannot drive from the West into the East without a visa and all the paraphernalia, but all one has to do is go into the underground railway and over you go. The lights go out for a few seconds as you cross the border from East to West and the other way, but that is all that happens.

West Berlin is like a corner of London or Vienna. Luxurious flats, well-dressed people — but 300,000 unemployed in a population of 2 million. And the relatively high standard of living of the rest only because of the enormous amount of American aid.

In the East, not this superficial atmosphere of luxury but signs of the steady improvement of living conditions, magnificent workers' apartment houses are a sign of the future.

## 3rd JUNE

This is not just a Conference of the Free German Youth but a week-long Festival of sport, culture and parades. Berlin has changed hands. The youth have taken over. This morning trainloads of young people have been pouring in. Two and a half thousand foreign guests are coming. Altogether 700,000 youth will take part. The Free German Youth has a membership of 3 million in the German Democratic Republic. Imagine a march past with almost the entire population of Johannesburg taking part.

There are several international football matches, athletics, ballet, opera and a Soviet Folk Dance group, puppet shows and lots more.

Tomorrow we visit Stalinstad — a completely new city not on the old maps which has gigantic iron foundries. On Monday we plan a visit to Potsdam, in between we'll take part in the youth festival.

This afternoon a few of us visited the Pioneer Republic for children of six to fourteen; adults of over 25 are not admitted unless accompanied by a child! It takes two and a half hours to walk round the Republic which is beautifully wooded and has an artificial sea with sand brought to its banks by train; tents and camping facilities which ordinarily house 3,000 pioneers at a time but which this week are housing 30,000 participants in the Festival; an



open-air theatre which will be officially opened tomorrow by the G.D.R. Premier — Pieck; sports fields and athletic tracks, sleighing rinks and a toboggan slope, puppet theatres, a morse station for the children — we got tired walking around so gave up at this stage. I think this is the most exciting thing I have seen in Germany up to now. Every ten pioneers have a leader or Free German Youth instructor with them and this enormous park teams with files of children, singing, dancing and walking from one part to another. Their singing would delight you — especially some of the German international brigade songs.

Yesterday we went to Dresden and Leipzig. Eleven Nigerian students are studying at these two universities on scholarships given by the Free German Youth and supervised by the German Trade Unions.

Two young students are acting as guides and interpreters. Both are very interested in what goes on in the world, South Africa included. One asked intelligent questions about South Africa and seemed to grasp the situation and remarked how complex it was. But in the next breath he revealed that he thought Malan was a black man! I can now understand how complex South Africa *did* seem to him.

Everywhere there are many newly published books in German being sold. Their publishing is not only prolific but of a fine standard. If only one could get in English some of the works I have seen in German. I am thinking mainly of the proletarian poetry, novels of such people as Amardo, Zimmering, Neruda and scores of others.

#### 7th JUNE

The German Youth's Festival has now been going on since Friday but yesterday, Sunday was the official opening. It is difficult to believe but the march past took 9 hours 20 minutes! Even those here who are used to seeing such demonstrations said that they had never seen such an enormous one. The march started at the Brandenburg Gate proceeded down Unter Den Linden and into the Marx-Engels Platz where the reviewing stand was, then out of the square into the side streets again; it never stopped coming. Young people in blue shirts — the uniform of the Free German Youth, young people in folk costumes, in shorts on motor cycles, athletes marching, pioneers, West German Youth (not in blue shirts because the West German authorities were hunting them up and down the country trying to keep them from this Festival and trying unsuccessfully). Wilhelm Pieck, Ulbricht, Oniker, the youth president and others took the march past and we among the honoured guests from the many different countries stood behind them. It began to be almost a joke after 6 hours. When would it end? What an achievement to build a youth organisation like this in so short a time.

On Saturday afternoon there was an exhibition of mass gymnastics by eight sports clubs of youth in a stadium where about 70,000 must have been seated.

It's impossible to give a clear impression of this city spilling over with blue shirts and processions and demonstrations, dancing in the streets, bands, flags and shouts of "Freundschaft." In between scores of cultural activities, far too many for me to see more than a fraction.

#### 9th JUNE

I am writing this in a little village where we have spent the night. It is somewhere near Magdeberg. Quite where I'm not sure. A trip was arranged by the German Peace Committee and this morning we've been over a factory employing 1,500 women. Yesterday we saw a tractor station



"Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is in chains."

and were told of the peasants' co-operatives here. Among the 81 tractor drivers on the station two are women. Seventy-five per cent. of the peasants here still remain outside the co-op. preferring for the time being to till their individual plots. There are many who make use of the tractor service. Two gigantic harvesting machines on the station were built in the U.S.S.R. and do everything to the wheat, short of eating it.

After that we went on to the river to see the ship-building works and had to climb into every hole in the engine room and coal bunker to see what it really looks like. Then a culture ship. There are two in the German Democratic Republic and we were lucky to see one of them just before it took off again. The culture ships sail rivers, stopping from ship to ship to give cultural performances for the sailors, cinema shows and library facilities.

The importance of an occasional visit of a foreign delegate overwhelms me anew each time. I feel somewhat embarrassed each time I am handed a bouquet of flowers, greeted in a speech of welcome by the local mayor. Many of these people are exceptionally fine, doing pioneering work in new fields, tough as granite, outspoken but friendly.

In nine short years this Republic has done a great deal to be proud of and signs of the advance towards socialism are everywhere apparent.



# BY WAY OF CRITICISM . . .

I MUST begin by expressing my appreciation to the editor of *Fighting Talk* for opening his columns to an article of this sort — it is not often that organisations show such tolerance of antagonistic ideas.

Three years ago, I found the counsels of the Legion full of gloom. They were now backing the United Party and the Torch Commando both ways. *Fighting Talk* carried my opposition both to the gloom and to the two organisations upon which we were invited to build our hopes. Alas, I was regarded with suspicion, except for a small minority, and my views rejected.

Then several things happened that caused those whom I had opposed to swerve right across the road — in fact, right into the Congress of Democrats. By pursuing a policy of "Too much and too late", they were, perhaps, trying to compensate for their previous omissions.

If you read pages 10 to 14 of *The Threatened People* you will see a complete (though delayed) vindication of my warnings of eight years ago. What should have been obvious all along is obvious now. Those who built on the United Party were building on quicksand. They did considerable damage to the cause of the people of South Africa. They spread darkness and confusion and wasted many valuable years that should have been dedicated to preparing for what was to come.

But instead of publicly admitting their crimes and retiring from political life to think it over, they suddenly began propagating the antithesis of what they had been saying for years before. The United Party and Torch Commando were abandoned and their chosen instrument became the C.O.D.

## FORMATION OF THE C.O.D.

The C.O.D. was formed in November 1952, when the Defiance Campaign was at its height. The African and Indian Congress, wishing to avail themselves of the help of white South Africans sympathetic to their struggle, invited several hundreds of them to a meeting in the Darragh Hall and several hundred of them accepted the invitation.

At that meeting and at meetings of the provisional committee then elected, two opposed lines were put forward. The one can be summarised thus: the

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"Fighting Talk" was asked by Dr. Guy Routh to print this criticism of the Congress of Democrats. We do so together with a rejoinder by an executive member.

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Government is preparing a *coup de grace* for the Defiance Campaign. Provocateurs are at work and the police have already resorted to violence in a number of cases. Our urgent necessity is to prepare united resistance now for whatever the Government plans to do. Therefore, we must gather together all the whites we can who are prepared to condemn the six unjust laws and the steps the Government is about to take to destroy the resistance campaign.

In the event, the *coup de grace* was delivered by the addition of two more unjust laws which made the original six look almost democratic by comparison — the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act. *If there had been in existence then the sort of organisation I had envisaged, those two laws might never have been passed.* The anti-Nat. public was at that moment burning with indignation and would have gone into mass demonstration had there been an organisation broad enough in its appeal to organise them. At least, tens of thousands of whites would have been drawn into the struggle and been led to identify themselves, however vaguely, with the aspirations of the non-whites.

## THE DOCTRINE OF THE TEN JUST MEN

The other policy — that of the leaders of the C.O.D. — had its beginnings in a misconception of the meaning of political events. They believed that the initiative had passed to the Resistance Movement, which they imagined would go from strength to strength until it overwhelmed the Government and brought about a new political system in South Africa.

To them, the danger with which we should be preoccupied was not the ever-increasing pressure of the Afrikaner Nationalists, but the ever-increasing nationalism of the Africans. Unless a group of whites sided fair-and-squarely with the Congresses, they argued, the Congresses would themselves be taken over by African and Indian nationalists,

and the country be overwhelmed by non-white fascism.

So the test for admission to the C.O.D. was made acceptance of the policy of universal franchise. The enemy is bombarding the gates and we start arguing about qualifications for the franchise! It is as if soldiers facing an attack should refuse to fight unless they were given a daily issue of freshly-laundered linen! Or as if the Soviet Union, Britain and America, during the war, had refused to become allies unless the one turned capitalist or the others turned communist!

## FACT AND FRANCHISE.

Just as the issue for an African trade union today is not the overthrow of the capitalist system, so the dividing line in South Africa is not between those who demand universal franchise and those who don't, but between *those who believe in more and more rigorous oppression of the non-whites and those who don't.* Every white person who is prepared to advocate concessions to the non-whites is a potential ally. "Twenty or thirty years ago," says *The Threatened People*, ". . . the creation of Joint Committees to meet the Non-European on some equal footing was a timely and even revolutionary advance towards race co-operation." To-day, co-operation must be "on the realities of the aspiration of an articulate Non-European political movement."

I am not sure what that last sentence means, but the inference is that the only useful sort of co-operation can be between non-whites and whites who are prepared to demand universal franchise. That is nonsense. A joint council of Jews and Christians would have been a tame affair in the Weimar Republic, but a startling demonstration in the Third Reich. So, the more the Nationalists try to drive wedges between the races, the more urgent it becomes to preserve every contact that is available and to make new ones.

Every organisation that is prepared to work on any of several hundreds of issues is an ally or potential ally — Western Areas, University apartheid, trade unions, education, pass-laws, housing, health, land, by-woners rights and many more. It would be absurd to make a willingness to demand universal franchise a prerequisite for accepting their support.

## FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

The first necessity is for progressives to clear their heads of the apartheid-consciousness (or unconsciousness) which is the emotional background to



the policy of the leaders of the C.O.D. It is not true that the Non-Europeans will emancipate themselves by their own political action. South Africa will be liberated by a combined movement of all who desire liberation. In the hurly-burly of the years to come, as the struggle becomes more intense and sways this way and that, there will be many changes, and from those changes will come an integrated movement, not three unracial movements. Without that, there can be no liberation at all.

Meanwhile, there are certain things to be done. The African and Indian

Congresses and S.A.C.P.O. must be strengthened. These Congresses must go forward on a united front with all the whites whom they can muster on the sort of pressing issues for which they can muster the support of their own people. African misery is an urgent matter of housing, transport, wages and jobs and no African movement can become a mass movement if, when its members ask for bread, it offers them a vote.

As for white progressives, it is wrong and unnecessary to make the Liquidator the present of an organisation to keep him occupied now that his present work

is coming to an end. The desire to do so, so keenly felt by some of the members of C.O.D., is the result of an inverted moral cowardice, a fear of being outdone in bravado by someone else. There are many existing organisations that badly need help and that can be dynamised if that help is forthcoming. Many of them, though not all, have no colour bar.

All that is needed is a spirit of enterprise and the firm knowledge that we are invincible. And the eradication from our conscious and unconscious minds of the poison of apartheid.

## ... BY WAY OF REPLY

THERE is an old saying that it is easy to be wise after the event. Dr. Routh, however, illustrates the opposite. He, it seems, was wise about the Torch Commando before the event of its capitulation and collapse. But strangely he is bereft of wisdom after its collapse, and seeks nothing better than a further dose of disillusion. His proposal, made and rejected at the initial Congress of Democrats meeting, called for the formation of a permanent body, to "... gather together all the whites we can who are prepared to condemn the six unjust laws ..." Like the Torch, this was to be a body without any basic principles moved only by the exigencies of the moment to do what seemed "tactically" advisable.

Those who started the C.O.D. had, possibly, been once bitten by that particular set of false teeth. We were understandably shy of a second encounter. It is perhaps true that "At least, tens of thousands of whites would have been drawn into the struggle ..." (though, like the American sceptic I am inclined to say "Show me!"). But so were tens of thousands drawn into the Torch Commando, only to end in a confused medley of anti-colour, anti-"Communist", anti-progressive policies, all for "tactical" reasons. If the Torch's thousands did anything for this country, they managed to sow such bitter disillusionment and defeatism amongst decent citizens, themselves included, that we still suffer from it today.

It might be argued that, if Dr. Routh's course had indeed prevented the passage of the Public Safety and Criminal Law Acts, then that course should have been followed. On this one can only specu-

late. Dr. Routh, like some of those who voted with him and subsequently formed the Liberal Party, seem to believe that popularity comes easy to anyone who is prepared to water his principles down to what he imagines is acceptable. We were told repeatedly at our inaugural meeting that we should be like Sam Goldwyn — "If you don't like my principles, I've got others" — and drop our principles of full equality in favour of a "limited franchise."

This, we were told, was the way to win masses of white South Africans to our side. Our critics may well be pondering the intricacy of their logic, now that their "popular" concessions of principles have been decisively rejected by the electors in both the all-white Provincial elections in Natal, and the all-African election in Cape Western.

Popularity and support from white South Africans cannot be cheaply bought by "conceding" to white bigots that Africans have different birthrights. Nor can it be cheaply bought from Africans who talk of liberty, by "conceding" their right to amelioration — within limits — of their conditions of life. Popularity and support have to be campaigned for and fought for, in the political arena, in the teeth of opposition claimants of all types. To win out in such a struggle requires firm, undeviating principle, adhered to without tactical "concessions" for spur-of-the-moment acclaim. It was in this frame of mind that the C.O.D. was started.

Dr. Routh seems to think that the C.O.D. lives in a world apart; that while the people of this country face injustice and poverty and fascism, C.O.D. members try to sell the new patent-medi-

cine, "Votes for all". True, an acceptance of full equal rights and opportunities for all S. Africans forms part of the policy of our organisation, and is therefore a condition of membership. But we do not seek to sell "votes for all", like itinerant patent medicine hawkers, as a cure for all evils. We use our principles as a frame of reference, guiding us in our decisions as to what is right and must be done, and what is wrong and must be fought.

From this frame of reference, we decided, for example, that the current Liberal policy of a "qualified franchise" was wrong, and a delusion for whites who seek an alternative to Malan's fascism. We published "The Threatened People" to counter that delusion. We entered into, and became the active heart of the campaign to rouse white citizens against the Western Areas Removal Scheme. Where others kept quiet, accepting the Verwoerd legislation in dull apathy, we campaigned against it.

In fact the African movement is becoming a mass movement, not because we or others offer them a vote when they ask for bread, but because, together with the African National Congress we organise the people around a programme which can win them bread.

Dr. Routh is right when he says that "... South Africa will be liberated by a combined movement of all who desire liberation," not because there is any abstract justification for his statement, but because there is a C.O.D. which is forging an alliance for liberation with the non-European people and their Congresses. His suggestion that the C.O.D. serves only to provide new names for the Liquidator's lists can mean only one thing. "Lie low! That way one keeps out of trouble." If all hearts in South Africa were as faint as Dr. Routh's, no South African would ever win fair liberty.



# THE CONGRESS

AS a result of the historic call made by the African National Congress at its Conference in Queenstown, the National Executives of the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, Congress of Democrats and South African Coloured Peoples Organisation have decided to call on the people of South Africa to come together in a great assembly — **THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.**

The South African peoples' movement can be proud of its long record of unbroken struggle for rights and liberty. But never before have the mass of South African citizens been summoned together to proclaim their desires and aspirations in a single declaration—**A CHARTER OF FREEDOM.**

The drawing up and adopting of such a charter of Freedom is the purpose for which the Congress of the People has been called. Never in South African history have the ordinary people of this country been enabled to take part in deciding their own fate and future. Elections have been restricted to a small minority of the population; and even their franchise rights, particularly in recent times, have been threatened and curtailed. There is a need to hear the voice of the ordinary citizen of this land, proclaiming to the world his demand for freedom.

## WHAT IS THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE?

**T**HE Congress of the People will not be just another meeting or another conference. It will be a mass assembly of delegates elected by the people of all races in every town, village, farm, factory, mine and kraal. It will be the biggest single gathering of spokesmen ever known in this country. The representatives of the people who come to the Congress will consider the detailed demands of the people, which have been sent in for incorporation in the Freedom Charter. This Freedom Charter will be the South African peoples' declaration of human rights, which every civilised South African will work to uphold and carry into practice.

By decision of the joint National Executive Committees of the sponsoring bodies, the Congress of the People must be held as soon as possible, and in any case not later than next June. The Congress of the People will be made the occasion for a great cultural festival of the national and folk arts of all sections of our population.

## HOW WILL THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE BE ORGANISED?

**T**HE first task will be to make the whole country conscious of the Congress of the People, and of its tremendous importance. There will be the greatest possible campaign with hundreds of meetings, house to house canvasses and group discussions. The central aim of all these activities will be to get the citizens of the country to speak for themselves, and to state what changes must be made in their way of life if they are to enjoy freedom.

Every demand made by the people at these gatherings, however small the matter, will be recorded and collected for consideration by the Congress of the People for inclusion in the Freedom Charter. In this way it will become the Charter of the people, the content of which has its source

in their homes, factories, mines and reserves. It has been decided that all these demands must be forwarded by October 30th of this year.

## CAN WE SUCCEED ON SUCH A SCALE?

**T**HE main burden of such a campaign of national awakening as this will fall on those politically conscious and active people who make up the membership of the national liberation organisation. If the campaign is to succeed, the message of the Congress of the People and the news of the Freedom Charter will be carried to every corner of the country.

If there is sufficient understanding of the radical changes that such a campaign can make in the South African situation, then the same spirit of self-sacrifice and discipline, which was the hall-mark of the Defiance Campaign, will be created. With such a spirit, people will once again come forward, volunteering to give up their holidays, weekends and spare time in order to carry the campaign into those parts of the country where there are no existing organised political groups. We must expect from the advanced people in all the Congresses those sacrifices made by 8,000 volunteers during the Defiance Campaign who sacrificed their liberty and their jobs in the cause of freedom.

We will create a corps of Freedom Volunteers, who will be the core of the campaign, and make themselves available to the organisers of the campaign for whatever work in whatever place they are required.

# OF

## HOW TO SET ABOUT IT.

**T**O carry through the campaign, the four Congresses have set up "THE NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL FOR THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE" composed of equal numbers of representatives of each body.

A CALL TO THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE has been adopted. Every Union-wide organisation without exception is being asked to support and endorse this call. Those organisations who do so will be asked to appoint representatives to the National Council.

The aim is to establish CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE COMMITTEES on a provincial basis, and on a town, suburb, factory or street basis. At all these levels attempts will be made to draw in the participation of every local organisation and group.

The immediate task is the establishment of Provincial Committees. These committees will be composed of equal numbers of representatives of each of the original sponsors. Their first duty will be to convene a Provincial Conference, to which every organisation possible will be invited, and which will elect additional members to the Provincial Committee.



Wherever possible, this procedure will be repeated on a town or district basis. Only through setting up such active committees on the widest possible scale, drawing in thousands of active workers to assist them, can the campaign succeed on its greatest scale. Through these committees the demands of the people everywhere will be gathered, the people be canvassed and local delegations to the Congress of the People be organised.

Above all, it must be remembered that the creation of a network of local committees in every corner of South Africa will in itself be a major political achievement, which will be of tremendous value in every struggle of the future to achieve the demands set out in the Freedom Charter.

### HOW TO MOBILISE FOR THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

THE message of the coming Congress of the People cannot inspire people unless everywhere it is linked in people's minds with their own burning problems, and with the vital issue of the day. When speaking to farm squatters, the Congress of the People must be linked in their minds with their own struggle against ejection from their homes; to town workers with the fight for trade union rights and better wages; to the people on the trust farms with the culling of cattle. Every vital issue, whether it be the eviction of people from the Western Areas, the introduction of apartheid at the Universities, the expropriation under the Group Areas Act, or the removal of voting rights under the Separate Representation of Voters Act, must be linked with all the propaganda for the Congress of the People.

### WHO WILL VOTE?

BECAUSE of the long history of indirect and sham representation from which the Non-European people have suffered, it has been decided that the basis of election to the Congress of the People should be direct. That means that representatives elected by the people in any area or unit will go direct to the Congress of the People.

Every person over the age of eighteen, without distinction of race, colour or sex, will be entitled to vote for his representative.

Since the aim of the Congress of the People is to hear the desires of every group in South Africa, it is obvious that each voting unit will not be composed of the same number of people. So if, say, a group of fifteen African farm labourers decides to send a delegate, that is all to the good. On the other hand, large urban townships cannot be expected to send one representative for every fifteen inhabitants.

At this stage of the campaign it is not possible to define precisely what will make up an electoral unit. It is only after the preparatory work has been successfully carried out that a more definite demarcation can be made, based on the number of local committees. In the last resort, local committees will have to decide what units in their locality will have to be represented, based on a target set by their National Action Council.

### HOW WILL PEOPLE VOTE?

ELECTION Day should be made the occasion for great political demonstrations and rallies in every part of the land.

Wherever possible, elections of delegates should be held by public vote at a meeting of the electors. There may be cases, however, such as on a mine or farm, where the holding of a meeting may not be possible. In such cases, a canvass of the electorate by the local committee may prove to be the only practical method. It must be stressed that delegates to the Congress of the People are not delegates from local committees, but from the people in the area where the local committee organises the work.

### HOW WILL THEY GET THERE?

THOUSANDS of delegates converging on the central venue for the Congress of the People must take place in an atmosphere of great political demonstrations. Where a large number of delegates are travelling together, Freedom Processions to greet them in every town they pass through may be organised.

It is obvious that the National Action Council will not be able to meet the bill for the expenses of delegates. The electors themselves will be prepared to make the sacrifices necessary to see that their chosen representative reaches the Congress.

### WHO WILL PAY THE BILL?

IN spite of this, the National Action Council will require tremendous sums of money to see that a copy of the Call to Congress of the People gets into every home in the land, and to see that delegates are provided for at the Congress. It is therefore most important that every unit taking part in organising the Congress of the People should seize every opportunity to collect funds from the people for the campaign.

Not only must every supporter be asked to pledge regular monthly sums of money to the campaign, but in the countryside particularly, people must be asked to make pledges of cattle and other foodstuffs to feed the delegates at the Congress.

The campaign for the Congress of the People is not a campaign for members of the Congress alone. All those who wish to hear the voice of the people must be encouraged to join in. There can be no neutrals.

Those people and those organisations who refuse to take part will stand exposed as fearing the democratically expressed opinions of the majority of South African citizens and will lose the support and allegiance of all decent, freedom-loving citizens.

In such a campaign as this, thousands of new active workers will rally to the support of those who have initiated and carried through the main burden of the campaign. New strength and new enthusiasm will grow in our ranks making it possible for us to lead our people forward to the winning of the Freedom set out in the Charter which our people will write and adopt.

# THE PEOPLE

# FATHER HUDDLESTON'S OPENING SPEECH

— AT THE "RESIST APARTHEID" CONFERENCE IN JOHANNESBURG.

I WOULD like to say at once how greatly I appreciate the honour you have done me in asking me once again to open a conference of this kind. I would like to repeat what I said in this hall some eighteen months ago on a similar occasion — and I do so with even greater conviction

I said then, and I repeat to-day, that I identify myself wholly with the Non-European people of South Africa in their struggle against unjust and discriminatory laws. I do so as a man, as a Christian and as a priest of the Church. As a man, because these laws strike at the very root of human rights: as a Christian, because the Christian faith proclaims the eternal and immutable value of justice and of brotherly love — which these laws aim to destroy: as a priest, because it is my duty to preach and to practise principles based on the dignity and sacredness of every person in the sight of Almighty God: and it is my deepest conviction that Apartheid and the laws that flow from this idea are absolutely contrary to this precept and in fact are aimed at its destruction.

You have many issues to discuss to-day, and many important decisions to make. It is not my purpose to take up much of your time nor to tell you what to say or do: that would indeed be an impertinence.

## Western Areas Removal Scheme.

But I want to say a few words about certain aspects of the legislation we are to consider — particularly that which has reference to the Western Areas Scheme and the Bantu Education Act. And I want, if I may, to use a text for this purpose: not a Biblical text, but a quotation from the lips of that remarkable national leader and prophet, the Minister of Native Affairs. I am sure that we must all listen in awed silence to anything that he says, for, in his own view at any rate, he is the arbiter of our destiny. What he says must be right because he says it. No one in this hall would dare to question that!!

In a speech to the Senate on the Bantu Education Bill on June 7th this year, Dr. Verwoerd said:—

"It is the policy of my Department that education should have its roots entirely in the Native areas and in the native environment and native community . . . The Bantu must be guided to serve his own community in all respects. There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour."

"There is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour."

From the Minister's own lips we have here, in this sentence, a clear and definite expression of the principle which underlies all recent legislation and every regulation and each new pronouncement from the Native Affairs Department.

This is the essence of Apartheid — and Dr. Verwoerd cannot accuse me of misrepresenting him, since I am using

his own words. What — in practice — does such a statement mean? We can see very clearly what it means if we look for a moment at the Western Areas Scheme and the Bantu Education Act.

"There is no place for him in the European community . . ." Therefore we must remove the Non-European from the place which has been his home for 50 years: we must do so without consultation: we must do so by depriving him of freehold tenure: we must do so whether he likes it or not — because Sophiatown and its adjacent suburbs are now surrounded by white residential areas. The European community has engulfed the African community — "and there is no place" for the African there any more.

But — just in case there are some people whose consciences might be upset; just in case there are some people who might vote against injustice at the next election, we must give some simpler explanation to the world. So — the removal is slum-clearance: the fine and beneficent Government. All who oppose it are agitators — are the enemies of improvement and lovers of squalor and overcrowding. As chairman of the Western Areas Protest Committee I do wish to call upon you all to co-operate with us to the fullest extent possible in exposing the dishonesty of such a manoeuvre. I believe that we have achieved something at least in persuading the City Council at last to wash its hands of this disgraceful thing. Now let us work together as never before to see that those who really *are* in need of homes have priority and that those who own houses in the western areas do not lose them.

## The Bantu Education Act.

"There is no place" says the Minister, "for the African in the European community, *above the level of certain forms of labour*". May I remind you that these words were spoken in a policy statement concerning Education. They give the clue to that policy as it is now enshrined in the Bantu Education Act.

The whole purpose of that Act is to ensure that, in South Africa, "there will be no place for the African in the European community." In other words his education must be different in *kind* from all other education. And to this end it must be guided and directed in every particular by the one man who knows what the destiny of the African is and who has a mandate to enforce that destiny at all costs. "Certain forms of labour" — will be left open to the Non-European in European areas. And in order that that labour may be reasonably efficient, education up to Standard 2 must be enforced. This is in fact that basic reason for the double-session; this is in fact the great and noble motive behind that mass education policy so loudly publicised recently in statements from the Native Affairs Department. This is the reason incidentally for that attack upon Mission schools which has already been launched — for, with all their faults — the Mission schools have stood for one principle — the principle that education *is* education and that it is nonsense and dangerous nonsense to proclaim a division on the grounds of colour.

(Continued on next page)



# THE WAR IN GUATEMALA

## TESTING TIME.

THE invasion of Guatemala is a war of a different kind to those we have seen since VE-Day. Where in Korea there could be dispute as to who fired first, here there is no dispute. Where in Indo-China there was an internal rising against a foreign imperial power and its puppets, here there is foreign armed invasion against a popularly elected government. It is a clear-cut case of aggression from a foreign base, Honduras. It is thus the testing time for all international bodies, and all national leaders. Are they for aggression? Or against?

There is no room for equivocation. If the United Nations is not another anti-Comintern Pact dominated by an automatic American majority, it must intervene to

preserve the integrity of Guatemala, and the authority of its Government. If America's vaunted "defence of peace" exists, the United States Government must use its authority to cut the aggressors off from their supply-base in American dominated Honduras. If Britain's Malayan claims of "defending constituted Government against armed brigands" are honest, she must assist the Guatemalan government with armaments and munitions.

By the time this appears in print, the answers will be out. There is no need to speculate about them. For in this testing time, deeds will speak louder than words. Those who are for peace, will be for Guatemala. And those who are for aggression, will argue,

temporise and conspire while Guatemala bleeds.

The blame for aggression must be apportioned. The United States intervened, illegally, to prevent the Guatemala Government arming for its own defence. But it stood idle while an aggressive force armed and equipped in Honduras. The American State Department incited hostility to the Government of Guatemala, and connived at its overthrow. The culpability lies at their door, and the door of the United Fruit Company which has financed a host of petty tyrants in every South American "banana dictatorship." This is their testing time.

And by their deeds we will know them.

(Continued from previous page)

### We are Protesting.

I could say much more. But there is one final point I wish to make before I conclude, and it is a general one. I have said repeatedly in the last few years, and I repeat it to-day, that world opinion is on our side and that it is a weapon we can and must use. For saying this I have been called many unpleasant names. I am not particularly concerned at this. But I want to say just a word in my own defence. When Dr. Verwoerd or some other member of this Government claims to speak to the world in the name of South Africa he is, and he knows he is, speaking in the name of a minority group — of a minority group, moreover which does not even express the opinion of the whole of white South Africa.

Now I have no personal quarrel with Dr. Verwoerd. I cannot dislike a person I have never met! But I hate the policy and I detest the principles which he proclaims, and I do not see why that policy and those principles should be labelled South African. And I certainly do not see why the world should be told such things without contradiction.

Let us be quite sure what we are doing here to-day. It is very simple. We are protesting against certain legislation which we believe to be discriminatory and unjust and which we know to be an attack on human rights.

I am proud, as a European, to take my part in this conference publicly, because I believe that it is in the true interests of the South Africa I love.

I have much pleasure in declaring the conference open.

The W.A.P.C. States

# Total Opposition

IT would probably not be incorrect to state that the action taken by the Western Areas Protest Committee over the past few months has resulted in certain concrete gains in the fight against the Native Resettlement Bill.

In the first place, a guarantee was given a short time ago by Dr. Verwoerd that no families would be moved from the Western Areas until the first 1,000 houses had been completed at Meadowlands and until a school had been built. This, for what it is worth, is at least some advance on the Government's previous intention of moving the Western Areas families on a certain fixed date, regardless of whether or not accommodation was ready for them in Meadowlands.

The second gain was in regard to the U.P.'s stand on the question. It will be recalled that some time ago Mr. Strauss announced that the U.P. would oppose the Native Resettlement Bill. This move was greeted with approval by both the W.A.P.C. as well as by all right-thinking persons throughout the country. At the same time, however, the W.A.P.C. realised the danger of this decision being rescinded because of the obvious frictions within the U.P. itself over the principle of the removal scheme. These fears were realised when it was announced in the Press recently that three members of the U.P. caucus in the Johannesburg City Council were prepared to negotiate with the Government on the Western Areas issue, and particularly with reference to serving on Dr. Verwoerd's Board. This was met by a firm statement by the U.P. that it would not co-operate with the Government on this question and that no members of the U.P. were to accept nomination to the Board.

Despite this stand by the U.P., however, the W.A.P.C. is well aware that the fight against the proposed removal scheme is far from over. It will, in fact, have to be continued for as long as the principle of a complete removal is still accepted by any of the political parties. In other words, the U.P., despite its opposition to the Native Resettlement Bill, has reaffirmed its acceptance of the policy of the total removal of the population of the Western Areas

and differs from the Nationalist Party only in the manner in which it would tackle the scheme if it were in a position to do so.

## NO REMOVAL

The W.A.P.C., on the other hand, is opposed to the proposed removal scheme on the grounds that it is immoral and unjust to remove any settled population for the sake of political expediency and without regard for, or consultation with, the population which is to be moved. It believes, further, that for any party to do so, by whatever means (i.e. freehold for freehold, adequate compensation, etc.) can only lead to a worsening of race relations in this country and to ultimate friction between the various ethnic groups. Accepting this point of view, the W.A.P.C. therefore stands in opposition not only to the Nationalist Party on this issue, but to the U.P. as well. Consequently its task in the immediate future must be that of influencing the U.P. to reverse its policy of support for the principle of the removal of the Western Areas. Not until it has succeeded in accomplishing this objective, can the W.A.P.C. claim to have completed its task. In other words, it must rouse a public interest against the immoral action embodied in the proposed removal scheme sufficiently strong and influential to sway the U.P. and to achieve a reversal of its present policy.

## SOLIDARITY WITH THE NON-EUROPEANS

A further task of the W.A.P.C. must be to show its support for and solidarity with the various Non-European organisations which are concerned with the Western Areas Removal Scheme. It is a matter of vital importance that the Non-Europeans be shown unequivocally (and in the immediate future) that there is a substantial section of the European population which is aware of the issues involved in the removal, and which is prepared to lend not only moral but also active support when the crucial test is made — i.e. when the plan to move the Western Areas becomes an actuality and the first lorries drive into Sophiatown to move the people to their new "homes" in Meadowlands.

(Continued from page 13)

*For hanging, and so he calls to me  
To help pull down the gallows-tree."  
And I went out with right good hope  
To the Hangman's tree and the Hang-  
man's rope.*

*He smiled at me as I came down  
To the courthouse square through the  
silent town,  
And supple and stretched in his busy  
hand  
Was the yellow twist of the hempen  
strand.  
And he whistled his tune as he tried the  
trap  
And it sprang down with a ready snap—  
And then with a smile of awful com-  
mand  
He laid his hand upon my hand.*

*"You tricked me, Hangman!" I shouted  
then,  
"That your scaffold was built for other  
men . . .  
And I no henchmen of yours," I cried,  
"You lied to me, Hangman, foully lied!"*

*Then a twinkle grew in the buckshot  
eye:  
"Lied to you? Tricked you?" he said,  
"Not I.  
For I answered straight and told you  
true:  
The scaffold was raised for none but  
you.  
"For who has served me more faithfully  
Than you with your coward's hope?"  
said he,  
"And where are the others that might  
have stood  
Side by your side in the common  
good?"*

*"Dead," I answered; and amiably  
"Murdered," the Hangman corrected  
me:  
"First the alien, then the Jew . . .  
I did no more than you let me do."*

*Beneath the beam that blocked the sky,  
None had stood so alone as I—  
And the Hangman strapped me, and  
no voice there  
Cried "Stay!" for me in the empty  
square.*



# BALLAD OF THE HANGMAN

By JACK DENOYA.

Reprinted from *Masses and Mainstream*.

1.

*Into our town the Hangman came,  
Smelling of gold and blood and flame—  
And he paced our bricks with a diffi-  
dent air  
And built his frame on the courthouse  
square.  
The scaffold stood by the courthouse  
side,  
Only as wide as the door was wide;  
A frame as tall, or little more,  
Than the capping sill of the courthouse  
door.*

*And we wondered, whenever we had the  
time,  
Who the criminal, what the crime,  
The Hangman judged with the yellow  
twist  
Of knotted hemp in his busy fist.*

*And innocent though we were, with  
dread  
We passed those eyes of buckshot lead;  
Till one cried: "Hangman, who is he  
For whom you raise the gallows-tree?"*

*Then a twinkle grew in the buckshot eye,  
And he gave us a riddle instead of re-  
ply:  
"He who serves me best," said he,  
"Shall earn the rope on the gallows-tree."*

*And he stepped down, and laid his hand  
On a man who came from another land  
And we breathed again, for another's  
grief  
At the Hangman's hand was our relief.*

*And the gallows-frame on the courthouse  
lawn  
By tomorrow's sun would be struck and  
gone.  
So we gave him way, and no one spoke,  
Out of respect for his hangman's cloak.*

2.

*The next day's sun looked mildly down  
On roof and street in our quiet town  
And, stark and black in the morning air,  
The gallows-tree on the courthouse  
square.  
And the Hangman stood at his usual  
stand  
With the yellow hemp in his busy hand;  
With his buckshot eye and his jaw like  
a pike  
And his air so knowing and business-  
like.*

*And we cried: "Hangman, have you not  
done,  
Yesterday, with the alien one?"  
Then we fell silent, and stood amazed:  
"Oh, not for him was the gallows rais-  
ed . . ."  
He laughed a laugh as he looked at us:  
". . . Did you think I'd gone to all this  
juss  
To hang one man? That's a thing I do  
To stretch the rope when the rope is  
new."*

*Then one cried "Murderer!" One cried  
"Shame!"  
And into our midst the Hangman came  
To that man's place. "Do you hold,"  
said he,  
"With him who was meat for the gal-  
lows-tree?"*

*And he laid his hand on that one's arm,  
And we shrank back in quick alarm,  
And we gave him way, and no one spoke  
Out of the fear of his hangman's cloak.*

*That night we saw with dread surprise  
The Hangman's scaffold had grown in  
size.*

*Fed by the blood beneath the chute  
The gallows-tree had taken root;*

*Now as wide, or a little more,  
Than the steps that led to the courthouse  
door;  
As tall as the writing, or nearly as tall,  
Halfway up on the courthouse wall.*

3.

*The third he took — we had all heard  
tell—  
Was an usurer and infidel,  
And: "What", said the hangman, "have  
you to do  
With the gallows-bound, and he a Jew?"  
And we cried out: "Is this one he  
Who has served you well and faithful-  
ly?"*

*The Hangman smiled: "It's a clever  
scheme  
To try the strength of the gallows-beam."  
The fourth was a man of a darker hue  
Than the rest of us, by a shade or two,  
And "What concern," he gave us back  
"Have you for the doomed — the doom-  
ed and black?"*

*The fifth. The sixth. And we cried  
again:  
"Hangman, Hangman, is this the man?"  
"It's a trick," he said, "that we hang-  
men know  
For easing the trap when the trap  
springs slow."*

*And so we ceased, and asked no more,  
As the Hangman tallied his bloody  
score;  
And sun by sun, and night by night,  
The gallows grew to monstrous height.*

*The wings of the scaffold opened wide  
Till they covered the square from side  
to side;  
And the monster cross-beam, looking  
down,  
Cast its shadow across the town.*

4.

*Then through the town the Hangman  
came  
And called in the empty streets my  
name —  
And I looked at the gallows soaring tall  
And thought: "There is no one left at all*

(Continued on page 12)

# WHAT IS WRONG WITH LOCAL ART?

by ALAN LIPMAN.

SINCE the beginning of this year Johannesburg has seen what is to my knowledge an unprecedented spate of art exhibitions by South African artists or artists who have made South Africa their homes for some considerable length of time.

## NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

One expects to find in the work of any artist some reflection of characteristic features of the country in which he lives and works: some particular interpretation of local and national features which go to stamp a work of art with the unmistakable imprint of the people and land which form the immediate environment of the artist. The compound term commonly used to describe such features is 'national consciousness'. National consciousness can be reflected in an artist's work in a myriad of ways both in form and content but inevitably it will be discernible in that it will indicate love of national culture and country, pride in the achievement of the people and their heroes, and pain for the sufferings and wrongs of the artist's countrymen and his fellow human-beings.

Of course to expect the full maturity of national consciousness in art from artists working in South Africa today is to ask for the moon. This is due to the fact that we are not yet a nation but a political, social and economic state within which live a number of national groups as yet not welded into that stable community one can call a nation. It is clear, however, that consciousness of the land we live in and the people we live with is a vital prerequisite of the future art in a democratic South Africa.

This does not mean that our art must follow the course of nationalism indicated by the Fascist art of Hitler's Germany or Mussolini's Italy where art was used to convince the people of their own right and special "destiny" at the expense of other peoples. But it does mean that it is the task of the democratic artist to reveal to the people the wealth of their cultural heritage, the beauties of their land and the essence of brotherhood with their fellow-men. This, not in an approach which must lead to parochial and reactionary nationalism: for true love of country does not exclude

love for the peoples of other countries; on the contrary it presupposes it.

## COSMOPOLITANISM

It is in the context of this thesis that one cannot view with anything but acute alarm the cosmopolitanism of the art that is today being presented by young South African artists.

Without entering into any appreciation or criticism of their work from other aspects one can only mention that their exhibitions could have taken place in any city of the world and aroused in the viewers no more feeling of national or local awareness than they did have. This, mind you, not because of any profound feelings of internationalism evoked by the artists but because of a complete lack of any form or aspect of nationalism; of belonging to any country, of having any roots whatever. Much the same can be said of the artistic endeavours of Mr. Albert Newall and Mr. Portway. Both these last mentioned deal in abstract form unintelligible to any but their coterie of 'art enthusiasts': and so remote are they both from the affairs of men that not only do they show no local awareness but they attempt to avoid the real world in general to the best of their abilities. Then there is the school illustrated by Philip Bawcombe, a South African who excels in charming water colours of scenes from Paris. Judging from his work on show he is completely unaware of any charming scenes to be found in the towns and cities of South Africa.

Of course the tendencies described above are not the only features of S. African art today; there are artists who while they do not express any awareness of the social atmosphere in which they live do reveal a deep and genuine love of the land and its people. Such artists as Walter Battis, Gregoire Boonzaier, Terence McCaw, Irma Stern and Francois Krige show in their art a fine love and appreciation for the natural beauties and particular peculiarities presented in so wide a variety in our country. This

manifestation of local and national awareness is, in my opinion, on a lower plane than is to be expected from an artist today, but it does nevertheless indicate an awareness of the necessity for the recognition of essentially South African characteristics in South African art and as such is to be cherished and encouraged by those who wish to see a national art flourish.

Of the current exhibitions both that of Mr. Amschwitz and Richard Cheales have demonstrated considerable understanding of their love for the people and country of South Africa. The latest Amschwitz communicates in his characterisation of South Africa's types a fine humanism and observation, while the younger artist has a deep affection for dock, mountain and country-side scenes that cannot but move any South African to a better and deeper love of his land.

## CULTURAL INDEPENDENCE

I have tried to show in this brief resumé of what the many recent art exhibitions have to offer us only one aspect of what art means to the common people (albeit an important aspect) and indicate what I believe these exhibitions could and should have offered us. There is food for much thought and discussion on the cosmopolitan tendency of most of our young artists today.

I feel that the struggle for cultural independence and for the preservation of the real cultural heritage and democratic traditions in art is an aspect of the struggle for democracy and national independence that is all too often neglected or relegated to a secondary role by progressives involved in these struggles.

The danger of cosmopolitanism in our art is that in denying us the artistic interpretation of our national heritage and environment the artists are serving the interests of those who fear the existence of a national consciousness; those reactionary forces that thrive in the engendered feelings of national inferiority and inequality.

Progressives must take up the struggle against these forces, and their agents in the guise of artists, and in exposing them lay the basis for a truly democratic art.





### WAR IN GUATEMALA

**J**UST in case anybody thinks that there is no substance in the Soviet charge that the U.S. is responsible for the "war of liberation" in Guatemala, let him ponder the following.

(1) The Eisenhower Administration has been making continual overt threats against the Republic of Guatemala since it democratically elected the left-wing government of President Arbenz. This culminated with a speech by John Foster Dulles some months ago at the Pan American Conference in which he openly attacked Guatemala for daring to be critical of U.S. policy in Central America.

(2) Although America denies it, it is difficult to imagine where the rebels would have obtained their arms for such a major military campaign if not from the U.S.

(3) The rebel army launched its offensive from the neighbouring state of Honduras, an American colony. Incidentally, this was where Col. Carlos Armas, the fascist leader of the rebels, had spent his exile and it can be safely assumed that he had not spent it writing his memoirs.

(4) As reported by the "Star" (22/6/54) the two occupants of the aircraft that force-landed in Mexico after being damaged while strafing Guatemala City, and who were interned by the Mexican authorities WERE BOTH NORTH AMERICANS.

Yes, the whole affair would appear to be another repetition of history — 1936, to be exact. Just change Armas to Franco, "Fage" to "Falange", Washington to Rome, and you have another Spain, made to order.

Only this time the fascists may not be quite so successful; this time they have a watchful and experienced world to contend with.

### TIME TO CALL A HALT!

It is, I think, high time that all people who have a spark of humanity in them should make a forthright and courageous stand on the so-called anti-"Mau Mau" campaign which is turning Kenya into a slaughterhouse. Not a single day goes by without a newspaper account of how 20, 30 or 40 Kikuyu tribesmen have been shot or hanged by trigger-happy British Army regulars. Even the "London Times" was compelled to comment on the "alarmingly high rate of executions" and this speaks volumes for the attitude of British public opinion on the matter.

Surely these happenings in Kenya, reminiscent of the Nazi reign of terror in occupied Europe, have never been justified even by elastic Colonial standards? It is incredible that these "terrorists" present such a threat to the European security of Kenya as to necessitate these savage reprisals. If, in reality, it is the genuine African independence movement that is being attacked with such ferocity, then the British Colonial Office will have a terrible reckoning to meet one day when the full truth is made known.

### THE POSTMAN RINGS TWICE.

Mr. C. R. Swart, having got his Parliamentary rubber stamp in operation, has launched into a new spate of bannings. His postmen from Marshall Square have been delivering his odious little Valentines right, left and centre. If he and his colleagues think they can break the spirit of democratic South Africa in this manner, they are making a grave mistake. The movement towards full equality is gaining strength and it will take more than Swart's poison-pen to stop it.

### UNITY FOR WHOM?

The coming-together of the Trades and Labour Council, the Federation of Trade Unions and the Cape Federation into one national body did not come as a surprise to those who have been following events in the topsy-turvy world of local Trade Unionism. The attitude of this new co-ordinating body towards non-European Unions has still to be announced, but I shall be a very surprised columnist indeed if they are not rigidly excluded. South African organised labour has not covered itself in glory over the past few years, and this has made it possible for the Government to pass in principle the Schoeman Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill. "Unity" is a word yet to be learned by the European trade unionists.

### CONSIDERED CLERIHEW.

The recent Natal Provincial Election results have inspired the following rather unkind lyric:—

The United Party and all its descendents  
Liberals, Federals, Independents  
Have still to learn, the silly old fogeys  
That the Nats. are better at raising bo-  
geys.

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