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TALK

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£1 A DAY and the NATIONAL WORKERS' CONFERENCE



LEMMY "SPECIAL'S" PENNY WHISTLE TROUPE
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"Over the Voter's Shoulder"

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Economic Boycott:

"The Silent Weapon"

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CRIME AND THE HANGING ACT

"Death to Robbers"

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Articles by

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A MONTHLY JOURNAL FOR DEMOCRATS

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OUR COVER PICTURE of "Lemmy" Special and his Penny Whistle Troupe playing in a Johannesburg street for visiting Italian film stars was taken by JOSEPH JACK.

FROM THE SIDELINES

This month's
writer: ALFRED
HUTCHINSON.

"Have you heard . . ." It's not meant for your ears only, of course. Train-talk, bus-talk, taxi-talk. People will talk, talk about bank-robberies, the ravages of the pass laws, the heart-breaks brought by their children, police excesses, Sputniks and the balance of power . . . And talk to the turning wheels.

TAXI TALK She was a young woman — probably from work in a kitchen or factory. And she was talking about the fall of titans, the shapers, or sharpers of Apartheid. In recent months a Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church fell and lately no less a personage than the secretary of the Prime Minister. My friend and I could pardon such talk — not because we are more malicious than most, nor given to salaciousness. Her young teeth bit through into the bitter kernel of the matter: the immorality of the Immorality Act. I think she called it a fraud and an outrage. She cited incidents where justice had miscarried harrowingly. She grew angry; for though talkers and travellers are amused at the Stern and Mighty falling from their self-built pedestals ("The Natives are Laughing at us," said one Nationalist glumly) there is also baffled anger at the irony whereby those whose hatred and fear of the African runs so deep and irrationally, swerve so wide of their own loudly proclaimed principles.

Thinking of the Immorality Act, what special breed of man is recruited into the Immorality — or are they the Morality — Squads? A man with a restless finger on the trigger of a torch,

WHAT BREED OF MEN?

quick to flash it into the dark corner; who knows almost by instinct where is the place to pry, which is the appropriate moment to fling wide the door; sharp of judgement when it comes to picking the comely woman to act as trap? For snooping needs technique and successful snoopers must be men of very especial training. Put all qualms aside, have no scruples about intruding on the privacy of couples, married or otherwise, blanch never at the frightened faces of children woken at midnight, go unerringly for the evidence that will commit . . . for the crime is the thing. Is there a police primer, or a police training college instruction book anywhere that sets out the A's, B's and C's of making sure that all who contravene the Act are brought to Justice?

And speaking of police methods there seems to be a suspiciously identical pattern about the official police version of clashes involving African crowds and police. Time and again when the police have opened fire (tear gas is tame stuff) their account comes pat: "A rain of stones came from the crowd . . ." Sometimes it is hard to credit that the aim of angry stoning crowds could be so wide of the mark, for at the end of the day's work while there may be no more than one or two policemen — if any — with slight injuries, those felled by the bullets will more likely than not wake in hospital beds to find a police guard beside them. Their crime? Public violence! Attacking the police! Resisting arrest! Or being in the line of fire!

Ducktails are again stealing the show and setting police officers, social workers, mayors and psychologists thinking. Only a short while ago the clean-up of Alexandra Township was hitting the head-

THE QUACK OF THE FEARFUL DUCK

lines. Judging from press reports, Alex is a transformed place, where the puddle of deeper shadow has lost its terrors and where people sleep soundly. It may be comforting to know that police are tramping the location and that soon the Dark City will be lighted up. But I wonder how many people believe that the present lull has come to stay. Much more than police and light is needed. Unless the "clean-up" strikes at the root causes, the police may tire and the street lights fuse, leaving crime and gangsterism as much a part of the location as it has been. Poverty, enforced worklessness, deep-seated frustrations — these must be removed.

OVER THE VOTER'S SHOULDER

by MICHAEL HARMEL

Those who regard South African elections as a sort of five-yearly sporting contest between the United and Nationalist Parties should remember that to millions of South African citizens who are left out of the voting the elections are in many ways a far more serious matter than they are to the voters themselves.

Non-Europeans in South Africa are *governed* far more than Europeans are; they feel the heavy hand of the State upon them in every corner of their lives. Most Europeans who are against the Nationalists find the present Government rather a nuisance. It has put up the cost-of-living; it is increasingly feared and mistrusted. Industrialists, no doubt, are angry because Verwoerd is messing up their labour-force; democrats and persons of culture are indignant at the Nationalists' dictatorial tendencies and their shameless vulgarity and narrowness; far-sighted men and women look forward with fear and anxiety to the explosive tensions which Government repression of the Non-Whites are building up.

But, on the whole, Europeans come into little hostile collision with the machinery of the police state.

They do not know the State as the Non-Europeans know it, as a sinister, inhuman presence, that hunts them down the nights and down the days, that is ever present with them to the end of their days.

The Real Face of the Nats

They do not see the real face of the Government; the jeering, insolent bully's face that glares at the dark-skinned South African over a policeman's collar or over the counter of a "civil" servant's office.

They know not, as the African does, the cynical and heartless bureaucracy of the pass office, the pain and indignity of the midnight and dawn raid, the ever-present threat of deportation.

They know not, like the Indian or Coloured worker, the haunting insecurity of employment, when by the stroke of a Ministerial pen a man may be thrust out of a job he has spent his life learning and perfecting into unskilled labour — because his skin is a shade darker than that of those for whom the job is henceforth "reserved." Or the desperation of the Non-White property-owner or businessman whose utter ruination and destitution has followed, or is about to follow, from the cynical and heartless farce of a group area "enquiry."

And so we have this searing and savage irony: that those to whom this matter of Government is truly a matter of life and death seriousness have to stand impotently by; while the White men seem to be playing at politics as if it were some sort of entertaining game. Oceans of printer's ink are spilt in endless newspaper columns about the chivalrous Sir Div; how many hundreds of meetings he is addressing, how friendly, studiously undramatic and restrained he is . . . with never a word about what he actually has to say. (It

reminds one irresistibly of Roy Campbell's epigram on "certain South African novelists":

"They praise the restraint with which you write,
I'm with them there, of course,
You use the snaffle and curb all right,
But where's the bloody horse?"

And the Nationalists are of course spilling out into the platteland, beating up the old tribal drums once again, humourlessly, grimly, going through the old formulas that worked so well in the last two elections: the Black Menace, the Red Menace, the Red-White-and-Blue Menace — all the old extraordinary bunkum that bears as much relation to the problems of this Sputnik Age as Grimm's Fairy Stories.

The Iron Realities of the Election

Politics? There are no real politics in this fantastic election. Politics today means H-bombs and intercontinental missiles; it means capitalism or socialism; it means the crucial decisions for the ending of colonialism in Africa, the Middle East, Asia. Politics here means passes, wages, the homeless refugees in the hills at Zeerust, the Congress fight against apartheid and for equal rights. But of all these things no word will be spoken in this, the world's strangest and most unreal election contest.

Yet though no word is spoken of them at all the innumerable pre-election meetings of the rival candidates — these ideas are avoided as if they were somehow obscene — these are the iron realities behind South Africa's election. And though the "politicians" will not speak about them nevertheless they can and must be brought home to the voters in the bogus "election" of April 16 in a way they cannot fail to understand. Brought home by the great mass of voteless citizens; brought home by action; for only thus is it possible for the voiceless to speak, the voteless to vote, the people to express its will, as it must in any real election.

It is against this background that the leaders of the Non-European people have called upon men and women in factories, mines, farms, shops and offices; in compounds, township blocks and streets, all over the land, to send their representatives to the National Workers' Conference in Newclare, Johannesburg, on March 15.

This background, and the nature of the issues that will be discussed, make it one of the most significant gatherings ever to convene in this country.

Let us examine some of those issues.

£115 a Month: £1 a Day

It is hard for a European to grasp with any real sort of understanding the enormous fact that the majority of the country's workers are struggling to get their wages increased — to the trivial sum of £1 a day.

For when it comes to incomes, Whites and Non-Whites in our South Africa might be inhabiting different planets.

The average earnings of a White family in the Union

work out at £115/10/0 a month. So, at any rate, says the Government Bureau of Census and Statistics, after an urban survey which (including income of working wives) showed that:

- * Boilermakers average £1,006 a year.
- * Schoolmasters, £1,260.
- * Professional men and technicians, £1,886.
- * Industrial workers (including miners), £1,083.
- * "Self-employed" (i.e. businessmen), £2,361.

The Bureau claims that its survey is a good representation "of the population sampled," and is "free from serious bias."

Perhaps it is — unless one regards the omission of that four-fifths of the population which happens to be dark-skinned as evidence of quite a serious bias.

Leaders of trade unions will probably contest the accuracy of the Bureau's conclusions. They will point out, quite properly, that it is somewhat absurd to lump the incomes of company directors with those of artisans and journeymen, and call the result an "average family income."

There are far more workers than there are company directors, and the Bureau's figures are doubtless, for this reason, too high.

All the same, the Bureau's findings cannot just be dismissed out of hand. Family incomes of urban Europeans probably do average out at something like £1,000 a year.

There is nothing specially startling or "shocking" about that. With the £ down to about a third of its prewar value it has become a commonplace that "we are battling to come out on the sort of salaries we used to dream of earning!" Even the £115 a month will only buy about as much as a prewar income of £35 a month. Nothing very fancy about that!

The only occasion for shock or surprise is when we come to contrast these figures with those the Bureau has left out of its survey.

According to the "£1-a-day" memorandum issued by the Congress of Trade Unions last year, unskilled wages in four representative industries on the Witwatersrand averaged £2/15/0 a week: less than £12 a month, much less than £100 a year.

£12 a month — that's £4 (prewar) real wages for a grown-up family man for a month's work and a month's living expenses. The figures speak for themselves. Think about them for a bit — and then you'll understand why thousands walked in last year's bus boycott to save twopence a day. And why the National Workers' Conference has met with such an enthusiastic response throughout the country, wherever its message has penetrated to the rank-and-file workers.

Part of that message is that workers should receive an immediate all-round increase in wages, and that a national minimum wage of £1 a day should be payable, by law.

But that is not the whole of the message.

The Pass System

Closely linked with the shockingly low wage rates for African workers is the pass system. The system has always operated to depress African wages. It is designed to prevent the operation of the laws of supply and demand in a free labour market; and it is closely linked with the conception of a private contract between "master and servant" which underlies the deep-rooted hostility of the authorities to the recognition of African trade unions or of any collective bargaining by them.

Since the coming of the Nationalist scourge, however, the advent of Dr. Verwoerd and his pass-books and labour-bureaux, the operation of the pass-system has been intensi-

fied, brutalised and dehumanised to such a degree as to make it practically a new kind of system.

It is becoming more and more impossible for any African to escape the cogs of this remorseless machine. The acute labour shortage on the Witwatersrand about which employers are now complaining so bitterly is only one side of the picture. The other side will show innumerable broken families, broken lives and broken careers — the never-ending man-hunt of the police and the "ghost-squads" — the virtual cordoning-off of the Rand and other industrial areas — the deportation of thousands of urban working men to the insatiable farm jails and contract farmers.

Caught between the pincers of this machine, on the one side; the cost-of-living on the other, the African worker today is in a desperate, an intolerable position.

And he is in a mood to do something about it. The rumblings of 1957 — the Great Bus Boycotts, the extraordinary phenomenon of June 26 when, with a minimum of preparation and organisation the African workers of Johannesburg brought the city to a virtual standstill for 24 hours, the mass demonstrations outside the Drill Hall and the City Hall — all these were plain warnings to the Government and to the employers. The latter made some soothing noises, and did nothing. The Nationalists as we might expect, showed not the slightest recognition of the position of the workers.

There are other high-tension problems which form the background to the forthcoming National Workers' Conference.

If one action, more than any other of Dr. Verwoerd, can be singled out as showing his utter contempt for the feelings of those he has been placed in authority over, it is his decision to extend the operation of the pass system to African women. At present the long drawn war between his Department and the African people, arising out of the attempt to impose this decision, is at its bitterest height.

As the knowledge of the unrelieved reign of terror at Zeerust penetrates throughout the country, indignation and anger is rising to unprecedented levels.

What does the White electorate know of this anguish? They see the "ghost-squad" and other man-hunters openly about their gruesome work in the streets; they know — they cannot help knowing, from personal experience, of some African of their acquaintance missing from his work or from his home, languishing in jail or "sold" to a farmer. And yet they do not see, and they do not know. When some Trevor Huddleston or Barbara Castle writes about it, they resent the "misrepresentation." They are like the Germans who lived near Belsen or Auschwitz, who heard the screams of the tortured and saw the evil clouds of smoke that hung, day and night, over the crematories: and yet they were "innocent", they "knew nothing", they "were not responsible." How easy, how comforting, how soothing to the conscience! We are just private citizens; we mind our own business.

But when you go to vote on April 16 you are not just a private citizen. You are, for once, a public citizen. You are not just voting for yourself. You are voting to decide the future of the millions of human souls suffering in the hell of Verwoerd's pass system; working and living in poverty, hunger and dirt; facing ruin from the legal robbery of group areas, or the atrocity of job reservation.

And since your public leaders, your newspapers and (with the honourable exception of a few brave clergymen) your other mentors will not tell you these things, and you refuse to see them for yourselves, other means must be found to draw them to your urgent attention.

PENNY WHISTLE TROUPE

A rhythm-packed show featuring leading Township Jazz stars was in progress in the Great Hall of the University of the Witwatersrand when the compere announced "Now, ladies and gentlemen, you will hear Lemmy "Special" and his group of penny whistle players." Meanwhile six kids, young enough to be asleep and snoring in their homes, had sneaked up behind the microphone. They wasted no time in injecting new life into the show as they gave their penny whistles a go, stamped on the floor and "bounced" to the rhythm. They were really hot stuff. The audience roared with laughter and delight and demanded an encore, then another. The youngest fellow, wearing shorts and playing in front of the others (else he would not have been seen at all!) stole the show. He was almost falling over, unable to keep his feet on the floor, kicking his legs about, swinging round and wriggling himself into a variation of jive steps, and was he blowing that flute!

That was the introduction into Big Show Business of the young penny whistle king, Lemmy ("Special") Mabusu.

The six were still raw from the streets of Alexandra Township at that time, and had no stage experience. Once they had played themselves into a frenzy they did not know when to stop and someone back stage had to shout to them "haak, haak" and they would then retreat slowly and fade away.

It was after the film "The Magic Garden" had played in the Township and everyone had heard the mastery of the penny whistle by Willard Cele that all the boys in the township took to penny whistle playing.

Lemmy and his troupe got their initiation in the penny whistle right on the streets and pavements of Alexandra and the European suburbs. During the week Lemmy sat patiently in a standard two classroom, but over weekends you would have to look for him where the penny whistle music sounded loudest and most magical and where the crowds had gathered thickly on the

LEMMY "SPECIAL"

pavements. Mr. H. the well-known string bass player in Alexandra who "discovered" Lemmy says: "When I heard a group of boys playing penny whistles on the verandah of a shop in my street I thought they had something there." He called them to his house but they refused to play, saying there was a younger fellow who played better than they. They went out and brought Lemmy. Soon there was a jam session as all the boys joined in and played. That was the birth of the troupe.

Today they are the darlings of all African jazz fans and feature prominently in the big shows.

A visiting cinema manager from Italy who has seen them perform says that Italian impresarios would fall over one another in a rush to promote Lemmy's shows in Italy. And an American journalist here for some months thinks that Lemmy would be a big hit on American television.

It seems that most if not all of their parents hardly know that their sons go round making money in show business.

It dismayed me greatly when Mr. H. told me that he did not expect the six to last long together. "To expect them to stay together another three years would be to expect every man to live up to a hundred years," he said.

It is said that the boys have become swollen-headed by the money they get playing in shows — not that it isn't money well-earned and couldn't be put to good use. But as things stand now, the six know that any weekend they are broke they can just walk into town and start a concert right on the pavement and go back home with a few odd pounds. There must be one big question that worries Lemmy as he sits behind his desk at school: should he remain there puzzling his head over sums, or make money straight away? Several members of his troupe, not much older than he, have already made up their minds. It's money for them and no more schooling.

TENNYSON MAKIWANE,

To find these means is the task of the National Workers' Conference.

Over the Voter's Shoulder

We have a secret ballot in South Africa. In the polling booth, the voter fancies himself alone with his conscience.

But, in reality he is not alone. Chief Luthuli spoke for eleven and a half million Non-White South Africans when he said that this election could not be a matter of indifference to them. And beyond our borders the aroused conscience of all humanity has brought our country sharply into focus.

Subject, voteless South Africa will be in there with the voter, looking over his shoulder as he makes his cross on April 16. The whole world is looking over his shoulder.

He must be made to feel this, to know it and to understand it. He must have placed before him, in terms which he cannot ignore or mistake, the election message and programme which no candidate will espouse but which represents the real will of

the people in this pseudo-democracy of ours. The main planks of that people's election message are brief and pointed:

- * Ten years of the agony of Nationalist rule has been enough and more than enough; we can no longer suffer it!
- * We are desperate with poverty; we must have more wages; and no worker shall, by law, be paid less than £1 for a day's work!
- * The pass system must be ended!
- * Apartheid, including group areas and job reservation, must be scrapped!
- * All adult South Africans, regardless of their colour, must take part in elections and decide themselves how, and by whom, they shall be governed!

There will be little disagreement with such an election programme on March 16. The National Workers' Conference will, however, have to do more than adopt such a programme. It will have to decide with courage, wisdom and determination, how to enable the people whom they represent, to VOTE for this programme and carry it to victory.

ECONOMIC BOYCOTT

by GOVAN MBEKI

The Silent Weapon

During the great Reef bus boycott of 1957 because the people could not afford the extra penny fare asked by the Public Utility Transport Corporation, the Minister of Transport stepped on to the scene and destroyed all hopes of an early and amicable settlement between the people and the bus company — committing a reckless and irresponsible action that will dog him for the rest of his career. The payment of the increased fare by the people would have meant another reduction in already wretched living conditions. This was a threat to meagre diets, a threat to health and a threat, thus, to life itself. The people decided to walk and theirs proved to be a great feat of human endurance — that within the year had snatched glorious victory.

While the people, after many weary weeks, still clung to the roads, the Nationalist Government was bringing into Parliament more and more restrictive laws — the Native Laws Amendment Act; the additional Native Laws Amendment Bill; the Nursing Apartheid measure; the Separate University Apartheid Bill; fresh amendments to the Group Areas Act; the Industrial Conciliation Bill; the Coloured Disfranchisement Bill — a many pronged attack on the rights of the people.

These would have been stunning blows rained on any organisation that planned its strategy on parrying the individual Nationalist blows.

Choosing a Battleground

Too often the Nationalists have had the advantage of selecting the battle ground on which to launch its engagements against the peoples' rights. The bus boycott was a turning point. The Congresses, the spearhead of the resistance movement against the Nationalists, moved on to the offensive. Hardly was the bus boycott over and victory secure when the Congresses declared an economic boycott of Nationalist products and Nationalist-controlled businesses and finance houses—a new weapon of political struggle.

Two Types of Boycott

In recent years the economic boycott has served as a political weapon in two main ways. It has

most often been used against individual targets, such as traders, to effect improvements in services offered or to win limited gains in certain localities. But the economic boycott has also been used as a weapon in the struggles of the liberation movement, as used at one time by Mahatma Gandhi against British cloth in India, and, more recently, in the Jomo Kenyatta campaign against British manufactured hats in Kenya.

Into the former category fall a number of the boycott actions that have taken place in our country in the last few years, more particularly in the Eastern Cape.

There was the Alexandra Township bus boycott of 1945. There followed another bus boycott at New Brighton in 1949. At that time the railways were operating a bus service between Port Elizabeth and the location. The fares were increased from 3d to 4d and the African National Congress called for a boycott of the buses. After nearly three months the railways sold the bus service to a private company. Who could have imagined, before the boycott that the mighty government could be compelled to shut up shop because Africans withheld their custom. This was a discovery: a sign of the might that lay in the purchasing power of vast numbers of poorly paid people.

The end of the Defiance Campaign left an upsurge of national feeling that found expression in new campaigns. The people demanded that European shops serving Africans that had always employed White salesmen should employ Africans in those posts. Some complied after brief periods of boycott, and are still carrying on lucrative trade amongst the Africans at New Brighton; others sold their businesses to Africans; while those who, in spite of the boycott, insisted on trying to carry on as usual, were compelled ultimately to close down.

The picket in a military coat who stands a few paces away from the shop door and hurls the ominous words "Akungenwa" (don't enter) at would-be buyers; that woman who is always ready at hand to pass in front of the shop as a prospec-

tive customer nears the door; that cluster of under-tens who appear engrossed in some childish game on the ground but will always throw up their heads just in time to see a person about to enter the shop, and bawl out sharply, as they merge the second syllable with the third: "A'ngenwa"—those are a nightmare to the trader and his staff who start nervously as the echo of the word rings in the haunted shop.

No trader who has the experience will ever take lightly the announcement of a boycott; and none anywhere who has any imagination should ever invite its application by a senseless disregard of the peoples' decision.

Bottlenecks

The decision to launch a national boycott of the products of the United Tobacco Corporation after nearly 800 workers in Durban had been dismissed by that firm carried the use of the economic boycott a stage further. After shops had been circularised about the products which were being boycotted, and the reasons for this boycott, boycotts were organised of any trader who continued to sell the products himself. Thus, without necessarily winning everybody to boycott any product, the boycott was extended by placing the onus largely on the retail traders to remove boycotted products from their shops. Thus, the retail trade, which is the point in the distribution line nearest the consumer, has proved to be a bottleneck, and a most vulnerable point in the boycott of any product. While the African National Congress carried on its campaign to educate the people at meetings and by leaflet, a strict check on the shops was kept.

By the time meetings were banned in Port Elizabeth people had already been so schooled in the use of this weapon that a single leaflet was sufficient to inform the people that a boycott had been officially announced. This official announcement is important because at no stage should the boycott weapon be open to abuse by opportunist elements who may use it to settle personal grudges against any trader. Like every form of struggle, discipline and

(Continued on page 13)

by TENNYSON MAKIWANE

Recently I went home to the Transkei, a territory which appears to be in deep political slumber, flickering to life only when Verwoerd goes to address the Bunga to sell his policies. Then suddenly the Transkei hits the news because to everything Verwoerd says the members of the Bunga reply "agreed, agreed."

These things have shocked and puzzled all those who are opposed to apartheid, especially in view of the fact that in almost all African areas — even the remotest — Verwoerd policies have received stern rebuffs.

I was equally shocked when I heard first-hand accounts of some of the happenings there.

When African women were issued with passes, in two areas two babies were crushed to death in a stampede by the women pressing forward in the queues to get their passes. Some women then walked proudly about wearing the pass handbags round their necks. Some were anxious to see that the dresses they wore matched the beautiful pass handbags.

Where there was some resistance it was among the tribal red-blanketed women, but the opposition was not based on their principle of "no passes for women". They refused to take off their "doeks", in order to be photographed, saying that that amounted to going "naked" and they didn't take off their head coverings even in front of their husbands.

Another shocking event in the Transkei was the acceptance of the Bantu Authorities Act when the Bunga decided to commit suicide and reconstituted itself as the "Bantu Authority". The Bunga also accepted Bantu Education, only making the prayer to the Minister that subjects like mathematics should be retained as it was indispensable to science students.

Yet on the question of passes for women it is becoming increasingly clear that Verwoerd has not had the last laugh and the acceptance of the Bantu Authorities Act by the Bunga thus far amounts to suspending a roof in mid air — it still needs a supporting wall, the support of the people.

Close examination of these events reveals, however, that far from

presenting a picture of a broken-down people, willingly bowing down to apartheid, there is another side to the story. The people of the Transkei have been victims of the most skilful and shameless form of deceit by the government and its agents. There has been no thorough exposure of this trickery.

The African National Congress as well as all but the most backward in the Reserve looked upon the Bunga as a walking corpse and paid no interest to its activities, leaving it to be the platform of the magistrates and servile African chiefs who were never able to do more than "advise."

It is therefore not surprising that Verwoerd found it an easy job to put over his plans. These he coupled with numerous deceitful stunts.

He dangled the promise of removing the Europeans from the Transkei in order to get the Bunga to accept Bantu Authorities which he said extended self-government to the Africans. No sooner had the Bunga accepted Bantu Authorities than Verwoerd turned round and said that the Europeans who were in the Transkei were there for the benefit of the "Bantu" themselves and there was no question of removing them.

The government propaganda on passes for women was even more cynical. Information officers and other officials went to the women and addressed them along these lines:

"You people have long been wanting to go to the big cities like Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg to work there or follow your husbands there. We have come to give you the freedom to go. If you have these reference books you don't even need travelling permits."

That statement heralded the big rush for passes. No one explained that in terms of section 10 of the Urban Areas Act Africans cannot remain in an urban area for more than 72 hours unless they had the permission of the local authority.

The women realised too late that they had accepted passes and a change began to take place. They stopped wearing the pass handbag round their necks. In one or two

Roof in Mid-Air

places where Congress anti-pass leaflets were distributed women held out for a couple of days but when there was no follow up they submitted.

At the same time the Bantu Authorities Act is not having a smooth sailing. Members of the Bunga accepted the Act but then faced the task of taking it to the people. Two headmen (in Mount Ayliff and Ntabankulu) who attempted to carry out the task had their huts burnt by the people, whilst the paramount chief of Western Pondoland, Chief Botha Sigcau, was openly insulted in a meeting he addressed on Bantu Authorities.

An even more significant pointer to the changing tide is a step taken by the Tembus under Chief Sabata Mtirara who have rejected Bantu Authorities and have sent a deputation to the N.A.D. headquarters in Pretoria informing them of their opposition to the Act. A spokesman of the Tembus, refuting the lie that Bantu Authorities meant self government said at a meeting "If I'm holding a stick and you are holding the other end of it you cannot say that I am wielding that stick."

The people's attitude on Bantu Education has also changed from one of passive looking on to outright condemnation of it. They were shocked into realisation of its evils by the arbitrary dismissal of teachers of long standing who were victimised for their political views. The victory which these teachers won when they appealed to court against the dismissals is being applauded throughout the Reserve.

The final swing of the tide against Verwoerd seems now to hinge on whether the people of the Transkei will see — in time — where the truth lies. Verwoerd poses as a great reformer who has given the Africans a new deal and self-government throughout the length and breadth of the country. Which Africans ever believed him? In the Transkei (where there is hardly a single branch of Congress) he has stolen a march on the people. Some have already learnt the lesson of this deception, but the apathy of the greater part of the Transkei holds back the cause of African freedom in our country.

Mr. Swart's Hanging Act is likely to cheapen life still further and swell South Africa's volume of violence, already perhaps the largest in the world.

His new law is called the Criminal Procedure Amendment Act of 1958. One of its sections is meant to help the prosecution to obtain convictions in the Treason Trial, and falls outside the scope of this article.

Another section extends the procedure of deportation and exile, hitherto confined to political opponents of the regime and alleged vagrants, to persons convicted of crimes listed as serious. The minister may order their deportation on discharge from prison for an indefinite period and from any area. The maximum penalty for non-compliance is 10 years' imprisonment.

Thirdly, the Act adds four crimes to the list of capital offences: treason, murder and rape. A person may now be hanged also for robbery, attempted robbery, housebreaking and attempted housebreaking if, in each case, the trial judge finds that 'aggravating circumstances' were present.

These the Act defines to mean, among other things, the possession of a dangerous weapon or threat to commit an assault in housebreaking, and the infliction of grievous bodily harm or threat to inflict such harm in robbery.

The phraseology used is not precise, and allows the courts wide latitude. Violence is an essential ingredient of robbery; therefore all robberies may be said to occur in 'aggravating circumstances'. 'It includes', said Mr. Swart, 'the infliction of serious injury, or the threat to inflict serious injury. It does not matter whether he does it with a field gun or a rifle or with his fists'. (Herald 28 January, 1958).

A would-be thief who hits his victim with his fist, or only threatens to hit him, and then tries to steal his handkerchief, is guilty of the crime of robbery. The court may find that aggravating circumstances were present and sentence him to be hanged. A housebreaker found carrying a knife, perhaps a stick, will incur the same risk.

The illustrations are not as far-fetched as they seem to one unacquainted with South African court practice. Consider the case of Solomon Mfobanga, sentenced in April, 1956 to £100 fine or four months' for stealing two fowls, this being his first offence; or the case of Samuel Kiewiel, sentenced in November, 1957 to death for rape of a European married woman, said to have identified him solely by the flash of a match in a dark passage; or the case of execution granted for Lucas Sibande, who was to have been hanged on February 15, 1958 for raping a European woman, on the ground that she had concealed from the court her incestuous relations with the husband's brother and consequent pregnancy. Remember the young children hanged or transported in England 150 years ago for so small a thing as extracting a handkerchief from its owner's pocket.

DEATH TO ROBBERS

by

DR. H. J. SIMONS

"Parliament's preference for repression and not reform stems from political considerations"

Only the small group of Tories and Liberals opposed the Hanging Clause, and no one in parliament challenged the claim that a crime had arisen.

Mr. Swart struck the keynote with his assertion that 'there has been a great increase in serious crime', and all sides of the House echoed his phrase: 'like wave of crime'. Mr. Harry Lawrence, leading off for the United Party, went one better. 'The crime situation, he said, had taken on the proportion of a national emergency. Mindful, as doubt, of his own War Measures No. 61 of 1945 - introduced after the end of the war - which gave special courts power to impose death sentences for robbery and other crimes of violence, he proposed that 'on assuming office we shall give the highest priority to this menacing and major social crisis'.

And this is odd, because there is no crime crisis, epidemic or wave.

Look At The Figures!

A long-suffering public has long either ceased to expect the Fathers of the Nation to be guided in their deliberations and legislation by social facts and scientific reasoning. One cannot but be disappointed, however, to find that no member of the House seemed to ask the elementary question whether statistics of crime supported the case for extraordinary measures.

If Mr. Swart had taken the advice of his own experts, he would have been forced to arrive at a conclusion different from the one he stated. For Major-General Rademeyer, Commissioner of Police, told the Press only a few days before the debate started, that 'he would not describe the position on the Rand as a "crime wave"'. The rate of crime per capita was no worse in Johannesburg than in Cape Town. A new element of crime had appeared on the Rand about nine months ago with the outbreak of a series of organized robberies, but the police had now 'found their feet' and were in control of the situation.

Statistics of Crime

The Union's statistical services are not organized to give up-to-date information on social questions, and there are no published figures relating to robbery and housebreaking after 1955. Later figures are no doubt in the possession of the Census Department, but none were quoted in the debate on the Bill. If a big increase has taken place in the past two years, it is not known to the public. Some of the relevant statistics are tabulated below.

Year	Robbery	CONVICTIONS		Aggravated Assault	Beyond Crime- per 100,000 of population.
		Housebreaking			
1949	2,807	3,983	10,681	322	
1950	2,945	11,714	21,292	308	
1951	2,112	14,254	22,029	344	
1952	2,381	12,280	26,556	320	
1953	2,093	12,149	22,222	314	
1954	2,999	11,411	26,289	340	
1955	2,986	12,252	26,758	350	

Convictions in each category have increased, but so has the population. If we relate convictions to 100,000 of population in 1949 and 1955, we find that the rate of convictions for robbery actually declined from 28 to 25, the rate for housebreaking rose from 31.8 to 30.2, and the rate for assault rose from 34 to 35. The volume of serious crime has remained fairly constant.

It is quite possible that an upward swing has taken place since 1955, but the known facts do not support the popular belief in a great crime wave. This belief rests on nothing more substantial than a fear or a glib payroll arithmetic and sensational headlines in the daily press.

I do not mean that crime does not present a problem. On the contrary, I know of no country where it is more urgent than here. But it has been serious for many years; it is endemic, not epidemic; and its roots lie deeply embedded in the frustration, deprivation, and repression of the social order.

There is one conviction every year for every ten South Africans. The proportion exceeds one in eight if children are excluded. Africans and Coloured convictions are equal to one in five of persons aged 15 years and over.

Plant laws and other apartheid legislation account for nearly half a million African convictions per annum, but there is also much drunkenness, petty thieving and common assault.

Crime	Convictions per 1,000 of Population aged 15 years and over in 1955			
	Africans	Asians	Coloureds	White
Burglary	0.9	3.7	17.3	5.5
Non-burglary	180.2	175.9	189.5	81.8
Total	181.1	179.6	206.8	87.3

Imprisonment	7.9	10.5	34.8	3.3
Death	10.1	4.0	26.4	2.5
Awarded	30.1	9.8	14.2	2.8

Strokes and Executions

Severe punishments have not reduced the volume of crime. The introduction of compulsory whipping of robbers and housebreakers has not been an effective deterrent. The monthly average of strokes inflicted rose from 2,100 in 1950 to 7,250 in 1955-7, but the increase in serious crime kept pace with the increase in population.

The number of executions has risen, but wardens and juries have not discriminated. In the five years 1946-50, 162 men and women were hanged; in the next five years, 326 were hanged. Of those sentenced to death, 77 per cent were hanged in 1952, 49 per cent in 1953-54, and 24 per cent in 1955-56. If capital punishment were an effective deterrent, the Hanging Bill would not be necessary.

Mr. Swart rejected pleas for more constructive measures. The, as Minister of Justice, was not concerned with social reform, he told the House.

Would a Minister of Health be so foolish as to state that he is concerned only with the treatment of disease, and not with its causes and prevention?

LOVE VOICES

"You can just bring into this House to impose the death penalty for every crime under the sun and you won't reduce crime. The Hon. Minister with previous harsh legislation has proved that. He would not listen to the lessons of history, even though history proves that severe penalties don't end crime . . ."

Mr. A. Dipple in the House of Assembly.

"Increase in the past a man was hanged for stealing a sheep, and because in the past a man was deported to the Colonies for petty theft and other petty offences, that is no reason to say that it is a precedent for us in 1958 to caluminate this our land in South Africa. The trend is to abolish the capital penalty and it seems extraordinary that we in South Africa are going back-wards and now advocating it to robbery and house-breaking."

Mr. W. P. Stanford in the House of Assembly.

Crime is a social disease. The conditions that breed it are increasingly well known, and the appropriate remedies are found. Inequality, broken homes, defective education are potent causes of crime. They have been forced on the African by poverty and segregation. That is why urban localities breed criminals, and will continue to do so in spite of whippings, long terms of imprisonment, deportations and hangings.

Political Measures

Parliament's preference for repression and not reform stems from political considerations.

The United Party, which had been violently affected during the general elections of 1954 for alleged failure to deal with a supposed crime wave, has been trying to turn the tables by laying the same charge against the Government. It, in turn, has sought to distance its critics with the Hanging Act, which is intended to serve the same electorally purpose as that assigned to the Public Safety Act and Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1951.

Mr. Vorster, the Minister for Justice, was explicit on this point.

"I do not know whether the Bill will stop violence", he told the House, "but I know that if the Minister of Justice had not taken the steps he is taking today, bearing in mind recent developments on the Witwatersrand, he would most certainly have been accused by the public of neglecting his duty. I do not know whether it will stop violence, but I know the Minister will gain the respect of all who want to put a stop to these occurrences because he had the courage to introduce these measures into the House."

Mr. Swart's own temperament and beliefs appear to approximate the death penalty in principle. He described the Bill as one of the measures that we are going to use to ensure that these reckless criminals who commit crimes of violence depart from this earth.

Man will be hanged, however, because South Africa had a general election in 1958.

APARTHEID AND THE CHURCH

"Who Is Thy Neighbour?"

"For as many of you as have been baptised into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither bond nor free; there is neither male nor female: You are all one in Christ Jesus."

GALATIANS 3: 27, 28.

This is one of the basic principles on which the Church of Christ was founded. But to utter these words is "blasphemy" in certain circles in South Africa "unrealistic"; and "political" because it stands opposed to the accepted policy of apartheid, segregation, separation, trusteeship or Christian trusteeship.

This is the crux of the storm that is now raging in this country over a statement of principles made by the Archbishop of Cape Town, the most Rev. Joost De Blank in a recent issue of "GOOD HOPE", a Cape Town diocesan magazine, condemning apartheid as "un-Christian and inhuman."

The Archbishop's statement though appearing in a Diocesan journal and presumably directed at those who belong to his church, touched off a volume of press publicity, was debated in Parliament, has now become a national issue that may have a bearing on the outcome of the general election. It must be so because it strikes at the very foundation of race discrimination and race prejudice in South Africa.

Soon after his election the Archbishop said: "I have not been identified with any school of thought about the South African controversy." Has he now done so? That depends on what one understands by the "South African controversy." The crux of the South African controversy is the race problem which is a challenge to Christian thought and Christian practices. Christ says: "LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF." The majority of White South Africa ask: "Who is my neighbour?" And says Dr. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs: "I accept that I must have contact with the Native in connection with the office I hold. But it is that of the guardian with the person whom he must uplift. And it will be so throughout the whole of society." And says Mr. C. R. Swart, Minister of Justice and Acting Prime Minister: "We reject in its entirety this attitude of the Archbishop. It is a dangerous thing for him to come here and after a few months, to interfere in our way of life."

Which is "our way of life?" Is it Christian or Un-Christian? Or is South Africa not a Christian country?

Is there a residential qualification which a Christian has to satisfy ere he can be trusted and relied upon to give a fair and justifiable pronouncement on the so-called "South African controversy"? The late Archbishop Clayton lived in this country for more than 20 years, yet he said: "It would be intolerable to suppose that there should be a different Gospel for every race — that there should be a Gospel for South Africa and that it should be different from England, Holland or the United States, for example. There is only one Christian Gospel — the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Father Huddleston lived in this country for more than 12 years, but when he dared to criticise the apartheid policy of the government of the day as "un-Christian and inhuman", he was roundly condemned as rash and prejudiced. THE STAR said of "Nought for Your Comfort" that "he met the extremes of racial theory with an extremism of his own, which not only rejected the theories but took no account of the circumstances out of which they arose and which still influence the South African attitudes he condemns." Nationalist back-benchers had often clamoured for the deportation of Father Huddleston because of his "un-South African attitude." Today Mr. P. J. Coetze, M.P. for Langlaagte, says of Archbishop De Blank, "people of this type should be deported."

Let us, for the sake of argument, accept the statement of Mr. C. R. Swart that "It is a dangerous thing for him (Dr. De Blank) to come here and after a few months, to interfere in our way of life." Will Mr. Swart accept criticism from Professor B. Keet of the University of Stellenbosch? Professor Keet is a born South African and has lived in this country all his life, yet he writes: "When we speak of apartheid we do not mean merely distinctions, but divisions that are at variance with God's ordinances and the unity of the human race." (WHITHER — SOUTH AFRICA?) And again, "What makes colour and race prejudice so unreasonable and so sinful, is that a man is condemned for what he has no control over (as if he had chosen his ancestors) while for that which he can change, his character,

he receives no recognition." Of apartheid as a possible solution to the race problem in this country, he writes: "Can one be blamed for coming to the conclusion that it is all a pipe dream in which a solution for the problem is sought in the easiest possible way, which is also an impossibility? The impossible is easiest because no one needs to worry about it; one just dreams about it."

Some Afrikaner intellectuals claim that apartheid will succeed "because it is in keeping with the Scriptures and the historical process, because it has as a basis the Christian principles of absolute honesty, justice and fairness." (Mr. de Wet Nel, M.P. for Wonderboom, and member of the Native Affairs Commission.) Some Predikants of the Dutch Reformed Church have sought to justify the policy of apartheid on scriptural grounds by claiming that "God willed that there should be separate nations. . . . Are we then justified in trying to wipe out lines of division? Shall we not be acting in disobedience of God's decree?" (Dr. M. W. Retief, quoted by Professor B. Keet). And Dr. De Blank says: "In Christ there is neither Black nor White, and the Church can help to break down the dividing walls."

This suited Mr. E. H. Louw, Minister of External Affairs, who lost no time in demanding the Archbishop open Anglican private schools to Non-Whites. To this His Grace has now replied: "I pledge myself, if the legal barriers to our having Non-Whites in our private institutions are repealed, that I will use my influence to find a *modus vivendi* by which people of all races can come together and learn to help one another in our schools and other cultural institutions."

One wonders what would happen if Christ surreptitiously landed at Cape Town. Would He refrain from making any pronouncement until He has known the country better? Would He be accused of having done "irreparable harm" to the cause of race relations by preaching "Love Thy Neighbour As Thyself?" How, in fact would He be received: separately by the Whites and Blacks? How would He be treated: as a privileged "witman" or as a despised "Kaffir?" Yes, what treatment would be meted out to Him?

One thing is certain: The battle is raging. The struggle is on. There is no going back. We must choose between the good and the evil; between what is right and what is wrong; between Christ and anti-Christ. There is clearly no middle-of-the-road approach in the race problem. One is either on the side of Christ or on the side of Christ's enemies.

MOKGOMANA.

Pan-Arab nationhood, long thought to be a Middle East pipe dream, took huge strides forward with the laying of the foundation stone by President Nasser of Egypt and President Kuwatly of Syria of a single Arab state of Egypt's 23 million and Syria's four million.

Yemen, engaged in hostilities with British forces on the frontiers of Aden, has just joined as a third member of the new state.

Almost simultaneously King Hussein of Jordan and King Feisal of Iraq, feudal heads of rich oil lands, announced the formation of their counter union, this move born partly of the need to try to prevent the initiative in Arab politics from passing altogether out of the hands of these puppet oil powers.

For Arab feeling for independence and unity has never run higher — and had brighter prospects for success.

The British and French attack on Suez was an act of aggression by the Western Imperialist powers which precipitated their undoing. It brought Syria to the aid of Egypt by cutting the oil pipelines. This solidarity was reciprocated when the United States threatened to overthrow the Syrian Government and Egypt stood by Syria. The French war in Algeria and the bombing of the Tunisian village of Saktiet roused millions of Arabs throughout the Middle East to support of the cause for Arab liberation.

The new Arab state of Egypt, Syria and Yemen brings in sight the prospect of a modern Arab state stretching from Morocco on the Atlantic to Kuwait on the Persian Gulf. This new force in the Middle East holds trump cards in its hands for it controls not only the Suez Canal but also the four most important pipelines from Iraq and Saudi Arabia to the Mediterranean.

The Pan-Arab political aim born when the West first began to divide up and exploit the Arab lands is at long last bearing fruit.

The Middle East, the hottest hot-spot in the world, a cauldron of conflicting interests that could spill over and set the world ablaze with war, has often seemed unpredictable and as the Americans have found to their cost, the outsider doesn't seem to know "where the Arab leaders stand."

Eisenhower Doctrine

A good example of this can be found in the recent developments in Jordan. Guided by the American Embassy in Amman, and with the U.S. Sixth Fleet

cruising handily by, King Hussein executed a coup against his neutralist Parliament. Yet to this day Hussein has not openly declared Jordan's adherence to the Eisenhower Doctrine and the 10 million dollars U.S. loan to Jordan is officially outside of it.

Similarly, Syria's neighbours — the Lebanon, Iraq and Jordan—behaved towards Syria in a fashion that few persons in the West were able to predict. For nearly six months they supported America's anti-Syria campaign, sending hostile notes to the Syrian Government and provocatively massing troops on the Syrian borders.

As Washington's long-prepared campaign to isolate Syria and force the downfall of its neutralist Government moved to a climax, Dulles on behalf of President Eisenhower spoke of the accelerated delivery of arms to Syria's neighbours. The effect of this speech was remarkable.

According to Time Magazine, "Within 24 hours every U.S. ally in the Arab world had rallied to Syria's side." Far from Syria being isolated, it was America that suddenly stood alone.

Pan-Arab

What was it that suddenly made the Lebanese Government declare its opposition to the use of force in Syria, and the Premier of Iraq state that Syria did not threaten its neighbours, and King Saud of Saudi Arabia tell Eisenhower in an open letter that his country would "fight with Syria or any other brother Arab country"?

The answer is — pan-Arab nationalism.

The rulers of the pro-Western countries in the Middle East are in a difficult position, which reflects itself in their vacillating policies. On the one hand they are dependent on direct U.S. aid or else royalties from the British and American-owned oilfields for the continuation of their rule.

On the other hand they are subject to constant pressure from below from their subjects. The Arab masses are motivated by two powerful forces: anti-imperialism, the struggle for today; and the demand for Arab unity, the goal for tomorrow.

The Kings of the Middle East cannot afford to fly in the face of these two forces, particularly the latter, otherwise they will lose their thrones. Though they tried hard to unseat the national coalition government in Syria, they dared not come out too openly as the agents

of America, a non-Arab power, and at all costs they could not afford a war with Syria, part of the 'Arab nation'.

80 Million

For the demand for Arab unity is strong. Syria's foreign minister, Selah Bitar put it as high as this: "We Arabs are much more concerned about achieving our unity than, for example, the Germans are about achieving theirs. Our revolutionary aim of Arab unity guides every step we take".

In recent years the feeling amongst the 80 million Arabs in the area stretching from the Atlantic Coast to the Persian Gulf of being one people has grown enormously.

Schoolchildren compose and sing songs celebrating the common struggle to achieve a free and united Arabia.

Arabs move about between different Arab states as between different parts of the same country. Palestinians are at home in Cairo and carry on much of its trade; Algerians in Damascus.

In Beirut a Lebanese scholar told an American reporter: "I consider myself an Arabic, not a Lebanese, writer".

Arab Bonds

This recent resurgence of a spirit of Arabism is deeply rooted in the history of the Arab peoples, Arabs everywhere share the same history, traditions and culture.

Most Arabs share the same religion. But progressive Arabs are quick to point out that Arabs do not claim to be a nation by being Moslem. There are as many Christians as Moslems in the Lebanon, yet these Christians are regarded as part of the Arab nation. Similarly, there are hundreds of millions of Moslems in Asia who by no stretch of the imagination can be regarded as Arabs.

The secular nature of Arab nationalism was well demonstrated during World War I when the Arabs, overwhelmingly Moslem, rebelled against the Moslem Turkish Empire to side with Christian allies in an effort to overthrow Turkish rule and win national independence.

Another factor which binds the Arabs together is the fact that Al Umma Al Arabiah (the Arab nation) speaks one language. Dialects may differ; but classical Arabic (known to the masses

(Continued on page 16)

Fishing in Troubled Waters

The crisis in Indonesia serves as a graphic reminder that the road to colonial liberation is far from easy. It is almost thirteen years since the people of Indonesia announced to the world that, having liberated their country from the Japanese, they had no intention of returning it to the control and domination of Holland. It is almost nine years since the bitter peoples' armed struggle against Dutch imperialism ended with the Hague Agreement, by which a militarily battered Dutch Government formally conceded independence to the people of Indonesia — except only for the small area known as West Irian. And still the struggle for independence is uncompleted. It carries on, taking new forms, finding new enemies, attacked from new quarters from year to year.

In recent months that struggle, vital for the whole future of Asia, crucial to the outcome of East-West power balance, has moved towards a crisis and a turning point. Dramatically, the press has seized upon the formation of a so-called "rebel government" in Sumatra, challenging the authority of the central government of the Indonesian Republic, and calling on President Sukarno to hand over the leadership of state and government to Dr. Hatta, a notorious anti-communist, and reactionary leader of a reactionary party called Masjumi. The rebels have taken up arms against the government; orders have gone out from the rebels to American oil concessionaires in Sumatra to stop paying oil revenues to the Central Government; and planes of the Indonesian Air Force have been warned that rebel forces will open fire on them if they pass over "rebel" territory.

Separatist Moves

This is the open, surface symptom of the crisis. There have been two previous attempts to undo the Indonesian Republic by force of arms within the past twelve years. Both have failed. Within the Republic, a strange scattered territory of some three thousand neighbouring islands, there have always been local separatist movements, based on claims of immediate local advantage which will accrue to this area of that if it breaks with the Republic. The Republic has proved to most of the people of all this scattered chain that the political and military needs of the people can best be met by unity within the republic; but until it proves that their economic needs can also best be met and satisfied, local separatist movements will

provide troubled waters in which dissident, anti-republican groups will be able to fish.

The present "rebels" fish in just such waters. In central Sumatra, where live 27 million of the 88 million people of the republic, separatism has been encouraged by the cry that the great natural resources of the island are used — as indeed they are — to maintain the economy of the more populous but poorer island of Java, home of 56 million people and centre of the government. Separatism has also been encouraged by the great American oil companies — Caltex and Standard Oil, whose main concessions and investments are in Sumatra. Long before the present crisis, the separatist movement had started military struggles against President Sukarno and the central government. The tattered banner of "anti-communism" was raised — against a Government which does not count a single Communist in its cabinet — and terrorist attacks were made during last year on the leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party, on leaders of the powerful trade union organisation and on President Sukarno himself.

Dutch Hold On

War, as has so often been remarked, is but the continuation of politics by other means. And the politics of undermining the Indonesian central government and while sitting at conference tables and making solemn agreements with it, has characterised Dutch imperialism for many years. The 1949 Hague Agreement declared that "... within a year from the date of the transfer of sovereignty to the Republic of Indonesia, the question of the political status of New Guinea shall be determined through negotiations." That undertaking has never been honoured. Holland has refused to hand over the area — the only part of the former Dutch East Indies not included in the Republic — or even to discuss or negotiate on its future. Repeatedly Indonesia has raised the question of the future of West New Guinea — now known as West Irian — with the United Nations, only to be blocked, time after time, by the combined votes of all the imperialist countries allied against her, sufficient to prevent a two-thirds majority which is necessary for any decision by the General Assembly. The last occasion was in November, 1957; a resolution calling for negotiations to be reopened between Holland and Indonesia on the problem, failed to get a two-thirds ma-

majority. Where UNO had failed, the people of Indonesia came forward, militantly determined to liberate West Irian by their own efforts.

On December 1st, the Dutch national airline, K.L.M., was forbidden to land in Indonesia. The following day, a 24 hour strike called by the "Action Committee for the Liberation of West Irian" paralysed all Dutch businesses. In great discipline, the workers moved forward on their own initiative, inspired by the enthusiasm and unanimity of the strike. Workers' committees formally took over Dutch companies, offices and workshops. Workers took over the five great trading companies controlled from Holland, the K.P.M. shipping company, the Dutch banks. The Government, acting under pressure from the workers, froze the assets of Dutch companies; when the workers formally handed the seized undertakings to the Government, a decree was issued by the prime minister placing all Dutch plantations and enterprises — except retail shops — under the control and supervision of the Indonesian government and military forces.

Nationalisation

How sweeping were these confiscations and nationalisations? Sweeping enough to provoke desperate counter measures by an imperialist country whose once mighty empire has little else left. And sweeping enough, too, to free the Indonesian Government for the first time from a stranglehold of economic power which had always held it by the throat. Of the plantations producing tea, coffee, sugar, palm oil, tobacco and fibres, the greatest part were Dutch owned. The major part of the ocean and inter-island shipping, essential for the trade and economic survival of the Republic, was in Dutch hands. Most of the country's banks were Dutch. Overnight, on the 3rd December, 1957, this great seat of power from which the Dutch had continuously hampered, hindered and sabotaged Indonesian development, passed into the hands of the government.

Almost overnight, too, the inspired cry of "communist plot" began to rise in several western capitals, echoed immediately by the rebel group in Sumatra, who demand the sacking of the Prime Minister and his replacement by Dr. Hatta.

In normal times, the Indonesian Government, with the tremendous personal prestige of President Sukarno, and the mass support of the National and Com-

THE ECONOMIC BOYCOTT

(Continued from page 6)

control in the boycott is essential. It has always to be borne in mind that the trader is boycotted only if he flouts the decision of the people by continuing to sell the product on the boycott list. If he wants to negotiate a settlement he should know exactly whom to contact, and when he has "surrendered" no time should be lost in calling off the boycott of the shop. This procedure has proved of educational value both to the people and to the traders.

Boycott of Nationalist Products

Last year's decision to boycott Nationalist cigarettes — against which the nine month long court interdict against the Congresses has now been withdrawn — falls into the second category of the use of this weapon for the overall liberatory struggles. It is a higher form of the application of the weapon, intended to drive home to those financial interests, which are part and parcel of the Nationalist dream to build an empire, the lessons that apartheid racial laws are irreconcilable with economic laws. At one and the same time the Nationalist empire depends largely on the internal purchasing power of the vast majority of the Africans and the other Non-European groups, and yet it is on those peoples' rights that the Nationalists have declared war.

The producers of essential consumer goods like food and clothing, everyday necessities like cigarettes and tobacco, and other daily-used commodities can never disregard the significance of the purchasing power of the Non-Europeans. Equally the conscious control and direction of this purchasing power could make a most significant impact on the country's economy, as well as its politics.

It has been variously estimated that the annual purchasing power of the African alone (that is, what he could buy if he used the entire African national wage envelope) is anything between 300 and 400 million pounds. The post office savings of Africans are estimated at nearly £80,000,000. Some insurance companies are known to have insured the life of almost every African constable in the civil service, while certain burial societies have drawn almost their entire income and profit from African subscribers. Shift that portion of the total African purchasing power from one finance house under Nationalist control to another outside its orbit, and the Nationalists will find it difficult to convince their supporters or themselves that apartheid is a cure-all-ills remedy! The "disease" of African advance to liberation may well prove less disastrous to them than the remedy.

Silent, Deadly Use

In the day-to-day organisational activities of the liberatory movement large numbers of the people, for one reason or another, find themselves unable to participate. But no Non-European can be said to bless the Nationalist regime, and there are large and growing numbers of Europeans who are prepared to crack a whip that the deafest of the deaf Nationalist supporters will hear. An economic boycott is one of those weapons which may be silently used by all without fear of victimisation. Not all the police nor all the military are sufficiently powerful to compel one individual to spend one penny on a commodity he does not want.

Even outside the areas where the Non-Europeans are in the ma-

jority, the retail trade is still the most sensitive spot on which to exercise pressure. And the boycott of chain stores that refused to comply with the announcement to boycott any product would give tremendous effect and far reaching results. But pressure on these sensitive spots is transmitted, willy nilly, to the finance houses, manufacturers and farmers whose products only earn a profit when they pass through retail traders' hands to the consumer.

Such pressure would awaken the people to the importance of their purchasing power in the national economy. The psychological and material effects the boycott would have on the producers of the commodity would be far more noticeable than the boycott of a number of small shops. Nor is the influence of political pressure confined within the country's borders. If a commodity is exported to the Northern African states and colonies that are fighting for their independence, there too consumers could not fail to take sympathetic note of the struggle. Such a boycott would have more than an unsettling effect on the country's economy. It could have a tremendous revitalising effect on the country's politics and hasten the defeat of Nationalism. And the Nationalists will have asked for it.

The legal battle initiated by the Rembrandt Company is now over: it has ended without the Congresses having altered their original decision about its cigarettes in any way. Whether the Company was influenced by a reconsideration of the merits of its case, or by disquieting thoughts about the effect which the defence evidence might have on its sales, one does not know. What is clear is that a new chapter has now opened in the boycott campaign.

INDONESIA

Communist Parties (8½ and 6 million votes respectively at the 1955 elections) would easily master such a storm; it has weathered worse storms in the past. But these are not normal times. The tremendous, short-period nationalisation of the Dutch concerns — meaning, in fact, the overnight nationalisation of the decisive sectors of the economy — has brought huge problems in its train. Dislocation of trade brought much of the economy to a standstill — temporary perhaps, but still severe. There was a run on the banks; with trade paralysed,

food prices soared. Hoarding assumed dangerous proportions, food shortages developed in several areas and famine conditions were proclaimed in 30 areas of Java — the island which has always needed to import food from its neighbours to support itself. In this period of crisis, martial law was proclaimed and the constitution suspended. It is against this background of desperate economic crisis that the Sukarno Government faces the "rebels" of West Sumatra, backed from abroad, aided by the enemy within the gates — American oil concessionaires.

And its own forces? In the main they

consist of the consciousness and the morale of a people which has already sacrificed much for its independence, and is not likely to let the ship founder now when it is within sight of port. And backing those forces, the people of Afro-Asian Conference countries — 1,800 million strong, who proclaimed from Cairo, at the very time when Indonesia was taking back its own, their belief that ". . . the continued existence of imperialism is not compatible with the new era the world is passing through." If that declaration is true, there can be only one outcome to the crisis in Indonesia.

WEST AFRICA

PROMISED LAND

by REV. A. W. BLAXALL

At Jan Smuts air-port we came out from our respective waiting rooms, and together we entered the K.L.M. plane that was to take us for a month into another kind of world. We were a mixed group of South African churchmen set for West Africa where, together with 200 fellow Christians from all parts of the continent, and beyond, we were to compare experiences, pray and plan as one family, because we believe that the will of God is the fullness of life for all men, everywhere.

In this short article I do not intend to write about the two conferences — ten days at Accra in Ghana and ten days at Ibadan, West Nigeria — that will be done by various members of the delegation in the March issue of the Christian Council Quarterly (obtainable on application from P.O. Box 672, Johannesburg).

This is merely an attempt to share with readers of *Fighting Talk* some general thoughts which came to a simple South African living for a few weeks in what can only be regarded as another world.

My friend Zeke Mphahlele vividly described in an earlier issue the rapid sense of change which comes the moment one starts to walk through the various official departments at Kano air-port. Later I had the joy of lunching with him and his family at their home in Lagos and found him even more enthusiastic than ever as he settles more and more into his new found mental freedom.

Some things which impressed me may appear of secondary importance, but are in fact of considerable significance; for is it not the little things of daily life, as lived by ordinary men and women, which indicate the health of a nation?

My first immediate impression was of the ease and naturalness with which people in all walks of life mingled with each other. During our ten days in conference at Ghana University our physical needs were cared for by a delightful crowd of domestics — all Ghanians, of course — who talked with professors, doctors, bishops, and what have you, without the slightest trace of servility, and yet many were carrying out most menial tasks. The bank officials who came out to change our traveller's cheques were efficient and polite. Down in the city it was the same: post office clerks, store keepers, market sellers, everyone was entirely at home with everyone else and yet there was no

slackness or off-hand dealing. One day I found myself with the Rev. Z. K. Mahabane in some Government offices: all around were clerks, and senior officials, most of them Ghanians with a few White people here and there. Looking round my veteran South African friend remarked: "Everyone here obviously knows his job, and does it well."

That leads to another impression, which was confirmed in several conversations. Where overseas technicians, or experts in some branch of administration, are still working they do so with a happy ease of relationship which can only be due to one thing: as a young engineer put it to me "I just don't seem to be conscious of differences between myself and those I work with."

Are there no tensions? No signs of suspicion and mistrust? How many times have I been asked these questions since my return. I can only say that I found no more than one would encounter in any country of the world where people are honestly striving to make a success of the democratic way of life.

While we were in Ghana the Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, was unexpectedly married which certainly proved rather bewildering for a day or two, but it passed off as less than a seven day wonder, and then no one bothered to talk about it.

In Nigeria it was impossible to avoid noticing that there is a good deal of healthy anxiety as to just what sort of freedom is to be realised in 1960, but I cannot say I found any evidence that the new party which makes a lot of noise about wanting postponement has anything of a following.

In both countries the dominant note struck me as being **determination to progress**. Everywhere people are conscious that a great deal will have to be done to raise the living standard all round, but no one questions their ability to do it.

This sense of confidence in the future, combined with great vitality, impressed me more than anything else. The reason probably lies in the fact that it stands out in such marked contrast to the sense of fear of the future which seems to dominate so many minds in South Africa. Not once did I hear the question so often asked among ourselves "What is it all leading to?"

Another common feature of South African life which I found entirely absent was the habit of constantly refer-

CHINA

JADE IN

To visit the jade carvers of Peking we left the broad streets, green-lined with locust trees, and drove Westwards from the Gate of Heavenly Peace. Here the streets narrowed, often becoming lanes, with low, black brick buildings — as shinningly clean as is all the city. There were crowds of people, almost anonymous in their blue shirts and trousers, but joyously alive. And children — running, shouting, jumping, laughing, calling to us; solemn little girls with pig-tails standing out like tiny horns, little boys with their heads shaven except for a short fringe at the back; an entirely naked three-year old climbing a lamp-post. We drove past an umbrella mender beating his gong; a seller of live crabs; pedi-cab drivers sitting in a circle on the pavement on stools no more than six inches from the ground, drinking tea served to them by an old woman tea seller.

A big laughing man, in a black shirt and black shorts was waiting outside the jade carvers' co-operative to greet us. He introduced himself as Ho Yung, an 'old artist' and then introduced us to Liu Te Ying, another old artist, though neither was more than 45. The building was three-storied, built round an open court-yard, with delicate paintings on the walls. As we walked into the first room, now serving as administrative offices, the entire staff stood up to applaud us, and my Canadian friend and I, having learnt Eastern courtesy, then applauded them in turn.

We were then taken through to a waiting room, which also serves Ho Yung and Liu Te Ying as a bedroom and were immediately served with china tea and cigarettes. It now requires an effort of will to remember that Mrs. Chi Ten

ing to past history, as if that alone can determine future development.

It is true that as we moved about we were frequently shown relics of the bad old slaving days, or graves of early missionaries who died victims of malaria and yellow fever.

But people are not concerned with these events as having any real influence on present day life, let alone trends for the future.

Ghanians and Nigerians do not dread the world into which their children will grow up, they look forward to that world as the Promised Land which they, under God, are making, and which their children will inherit.

A HOUSE

by
PHYLLIS ALTMAN

Jun, our interpreter, was with us, for Ho Yung and Liu Te Ying were so pleased to have us there and we so pleased to be with them that in retrospect it seems that we talked directly to them. While we drank cup after cup of herb tea they told us the history of their co-operative and displayed jade carvings for us, so lovely that we could only exclaim in delight — a bird in flight in white jade, a dolphin which had the feel of the sea in its lines, a bowl of rare dark green jade with an intricately carved lid, a vase, unadorned, its beauty in its simplicity and severity of design. It is so easy now to understand why the Chinese have for thousands of years regarded jade as the most precious of all stones, "the many coloured jewel of heaven" and endowed it with many virtues.

In 1931, Ho Yung told us, there were between 7,000 and 8,000 jade carvers in Peking. By 1948 there were only 400 left; the majority had died, either in the Japanese or Civil wars, or simply from starvation and poverty. Of those left, none was young. Pre-liberation they had worked individually, or in



were astounded. "How can the Government tell us what to carve? We must look at a piece of jade for a long time, feel it, consider the shape, the colour, before we decide what to carve . . ."

From the start, this co-operative has taken apprentices who study for three years. They are required to pass a qualifying examination in Chinese lan-

men have become jade carvers.

I cannot list the carvings we saw emerging from the stone; the figures, flowers, birds, animals and vases in which this co-operative specialises. They were carved not only in jade, but in coral, agate, turquoise and amethyst as well. Ho Yung, an artist in figures, asked us if we wished to see a carving of three figures in a lotus dance which he had designed and of which he seemed especially proud. To see it, we walked to another workshop, half a mile away. Outside, in the streets, under a bamboo shelter, sat two young pigtailed girls, co-op members, sawing through an enormous piece of jade rock. Our artists teased them as we walked by and they laughed so much that one fell off her stool, the saw waving above her head.

Finally, we saw the coral carving — the three figures in a lotus dance, each about 12 inches high, with exquisitely carved hands, draped and flowing skirts, with the line of a thigh showing as though in the movement of the dance. It was so lovely that one need never look at anything else, for one could spend a lifetime contemplating it.

Then back to the waiting room for more tea and we were now asked for our suggestions and our criticisms of the work we had seen. I think we were both humbled by the modesty of our

(Continued from page 11)

through the Koran and classical poetry) is the common denominator. Modern journalistic Arabic is now the common tongue of the Arab world, being carried through radio broadcasts to the most remote villages of Arabia.

Arab nationalism goes back more than a century to the underground Arab societies formed during Turkish rule. After World War I it was developed during the course of the open rebellions and revolts that marked the struggle against French and British colonial rule.

How progressive is Arab nationalism today?

Dr. Clovis Maskoud, a leading figure in Lebanon's Socialist Party, says: "For the Arabs nationalism is a movement for unity and independence together. Nationalism is the movement by which the nation regains its natural constructive existence, its purity and its liberty . . . It is progressive when its aim is to liberate the nation".

Against Imperialism

From the point of view of the worldwide anti-colonialist struggle, there can be little doubt that Arab nationalism is striking powerful blows against imperialism. The Middle East has today become the central battlefield of the anti-colonialist struggle.

The importance which the Afro-Asian nations attach to the Arab liberation movement was shown by the fact that the latest Afro-Asian conference was held in Cairo. Moreover, it was decided to shift the headquarters of the secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committees to Cairo, the geographical and political bridge between the two countries.

Arab nationalism in its modern form is also playing an important role in the social and economic advancement of the people of the different lands of the Middle East.

New Leaders

The change in the character of Arab nationalism is well illustrated by what has happened in Syria. President Kuwatly of Syria belongs to the old school of Arab nationalism. Coming from the feudal aristocratic class, during World War I and after he led the national movement which fought for freedom from colonial domination, but without socially progressive aims.

Today Kuwatly is little more than an elder statesman, being pushed now forward now aside by such sons of the city industrialists as Baath Socialist Party leader Akram Hourani.

Similarly General Tewfik Nizam-ed-Dine, son of one of the wealthiest Syrian landowners, was forced to step out as Army Chief of Staff, in favour of another son of the middle class, General Aziz Bizri.

The new middle class leaders of the Arab national movement, whether they be in Syria, Egypt or Jordan, are striving for the planned industrialisation of their countries.

The new Arab state, having come into existence in the struggle for national independence, can guarantee its continued life against strangulation by British and American efforts to cut them off from their previous markets for their wheat and cotton. Agreements to trade with the Soviet Union and socialist sector of the world not only do this but also make it possible to modernise their countries and overcome their heavy legacy of poverty. There is an alternative to pressures to conform to the Eisenhower doctrine: technical aid without strings and conditions.

In the Arab countries where the Left is persecuted (and the Communist Parties are illegal in all Arab countries, including Syria) it points out that the struggle to be free from foreign domination, and the great national effort required to build industry and modernise agriculture demand the democratic unity of the whole people.

This is well on the way to being achieved as Arab nationalism approaches its goals of political and economic independence.

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