

FIGHTING TALK

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THE PEOPLE versus THE FASCISTS

WHETHER the full ignominy and brutality of fascism are experienced in South Africa depends entirely and only on the PEOPLE, all twelve million of them. And the aggregate of twelve millions is made up of you and you and YOU.

With the passage of the Public Safety and Criminal Law Amendment Acts, we might say that all the machinery of fascism for South Africa are to hand, ready to be used. So far, the Government have merely tested out their machinery. They have suppressed one newspaper; they have thrown out of Parliament one M.P. They have taken the powers to ban one political party; they have gagged only a dozen trade unionists; they have attacked only three bishops; they have removed only a score of non-European leaders; they have withheld only two or three dozen passports; they have issued only a handful of Proclamations and Decrees.

And the machinery worked well, the results of the tests were satisfactory. One trip of the master-switch and every piece of the vast and complicated machine can be set in motion simultaneously.

And when the signal is given, this diabolic, modernised juggernaut will seek to crush everything and everyone that stands in its way.

Then disappears entirely the already emasculated parliamentary Opposition; then the newspapers are shut up; then the trade unions are bound; the universities are controlled; the bishops are imprisoned; the ghettos are built; the courts of law are supplanted by the 'courts' of the skietcommandoes; the police pull on jackboots and prowl forth with truncheons and guns; you lose your vote, your language, your liberty.

If, if, if, if, if

That machine can never work, never destroy us, if we, the people, knock away the hands itching to throw the switch, if we use our hands, hearts and heads to smash the infernal machine to smithereens, so that not a part of it remains to terrify a single one of us.

And we can smash fascism! We shall smash fascism!

Consider the facts. The introduction of the Public Safety Bill is the most blatant admission of fear, panic, of weakness that any Government could have made. No Government that is sure of itself would ever introduce such legislation. And yet that is what the Broederbond has done. It has confessed its weakness; the bully's strength has turned to water, his bluster to a squeal. And no wonder!

Condemned throughout the freedom-loving world,

threatened by the freedom-seeking Asiatic and African countries, resisted by the thousands of white democrats at home, belaboured by parents determined not to surrender their parental rights, accused by the churches, thwarted by the democratic courts and judges and, above all, defied by ten million Africans and Indians and Coloureds intent on justice . . . the Broederbond and its parliamentary front quake and quail before the indignation of the people . . .

The only trouble with the people is that we do not know our strength.

Only casually acquainted with the inner meaning of democracy, we cannot persuade ourselves that we are the sovereign people, we are the possessors of the land. There is no South Africa without us, only a wilderness of monkeys. Governments exist because we create them; the state power is for our protection; for us and by us the courts of law, the provincial and municipal councils. Nothing can overwhelm us, conscious of our power.

But we people in South Africa have been blindfolded too long by the rags of racialism. What fools we have been! We have tolerated five years of growing tyranny, because cunning politicians have thrown slogans at us . . . apartheid! white supremacy! white civilisation! the purity of the race! And as we have stooped to pick up the gawdy baubles, the louts have knapped us on the head with their clubs.

But the rags are slipping from our eyes, the vision is clearing. More and more white South Africans are seeing that their own salvation, the preservation of peace and progress for all, can be assured only by the unity of the people, white, black, brown, against the handful of Nationalists who threaten to bring our country down to ruin.

As this realisation spreads, our courage will return and we shall vindicate our manhood.

The ministers and senators and members of parliament depart for the general election. The next round is coming up for the people. In the election campaign it is our duty to fight every inch of the way, to fight ourselves and to draw our friends into the canvassing, the propaganda work, the clerical and transport jobs. The work must be undertaken with the consciousness that here is another opportunity to rid the country of the architects of its ruin, to sweep away fascism and to rebuild democracy.

And if this round is lost?

The fight goes on . . . the new life must break through.

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OUT OF YOUR POCKET

THE decision of the official Opposition to fight the Government on the cost-of-living issue might have been considered a very good one — if the Opposition had anything very vital to say on the question.

There is none, it is safe to say, whom this issue does not concern, be he black or white, rich or poor, young or old. Even the wealthiest capitalist is vitally concerned with the prices of basic commodities, because upon these prices depend the wages he must pay, his cost of production, and hence the size of his profit.

Yet it is a sad reflection on the political and economic poverty of the U.P. that it has very nearly succeeded in making a very vital issue into a dead one. It has drained the question of all its real significance and left us with a few dry, meaningless slogans.

And the reason for this is that economics and politics are inextricably tied together. Since the U.P. political objectives are essentially the same as those of the Government party, it is incapable of formulating an economic policy which can solve our cost-of-living difficulties.

First of all let us be quite clear on this point — which seems to be the main debating point between the parties — that when Mr. Louw says that our inflation is imported and Mr. Harry Lawrence replies that it is generated locally, they are both right. The cost-of-living index moves up or down in all the capitalist countries more or less together, for the capitalist economy is one and indivisible. In the economic field there is no such thing as autonomy or isolationism. To a lesser degree the British Chancellor of the Exchequer or the American Secretary of the Treasury might claim with some justification that their inflation is imported — in part—from South Africa.

Consider a small example: The S.A. Government resolves to spend an extra ten million pounds on defence. The order is placed in the U.S.A. United States firms produce the arms. But arms are dead goods that cannot be consumed by ordinary men in their daily lives. Yet the ordinary man, through wages, dividends etc. receives the money as income. But if incomes are increased without a comparable increase in the volume of consumable goods prices must rise.

Thus South Africa has contributed its mite to American inflation and that inflation, leading to an increase in price of goods imported into South Africa, reacts in an upward direction upon our own cost-of-living.

It is this senseless debate as to whether inflation is imported or local which has in fact reduced the vital issue of the cost-of-living to the flimsy debate it has

become. Both sides strike attitudes and say nothing of real causes.

What is the real cause? The answer is waste. Colossal, senseless waste which is much greater than the spending of a few thousands of pounds on a mealie-board there or a subsidy here, although these two items are essential parts of the stupendous whole.

First of all, the waste of the colour bar. The cheap labour policy is wasteful because it is inefficient. It results in two — or ten — men doing one man's job. The relatively skilled European tags along so many unskilled Non-Europeans in his wake. For example, the carpenter with his host of tool carriers. If the carpenter carried his own tools and his tool carriers were each allowed to become partners in their own right — each doing a skilled job — waste would be eliminated, houses would be built, rents would come down and we would all live more cheaply, despite the fact that the erstwhile toolcarrier now earned a skilled wage. For in the long run labour is cheap or dear not according to what it receives in cash but according to what it produces.

Thus our so-called cheap labour policy is in reality by far the most expensive labour policy in the modern world.

Secondly the colossal waste of our semi-feudal agricultural system, a system whereby each farmer is induced to do his worst not his best; a system whereby farmers without the means or knowledge to farm, aided and abetted by hosts of totally unskilled, unlettered squatters, ravish the soil, produce goods of an inferior quality, at a yield per acre which would make any mediocre French or British peasant blanche with horror. And his inefficiency is not only countenanced — it is actively encouraged by means of the subsidy. Food subsidies, you see, are a double edged sword with the edge that kills far sharper than the edge that shields you. Food subsidies are paid for in taxes, but this is a secondary matter. Who would not pay an extra 1d. in the £1 income tax rather than buy dear foods? The cost to you must be coun-

tered in other ways. For the subsidy protects the enriched potato grower in his totally uneconomic labour far more than it protects you against dear potatoes. The Government that will say — we will do away with subsidies and bring you cheap food by means of efficient farming — that is the Government that will deserve your support.

Thirdly, waste through gold mining. Perhaps you retort, "the gold mines are not wasteful; they are South Africa's greatest asset." And there you would be wrong, for they are no asset. They are our country's greatest curse.

Point one: The Gold Mines are a wasting industry. There is just so much gold and it grows less with every ounce extracted from the earth. And a wasting industry always tends to operate marginally. Thus, whatever the price of gold, it will mine ores which are only just within the pay limit. The product never varies. Whether it is extracted from ores of high or low value, it is always just gold. Hence the low-grade ores are mined first in order to extract the largest possible percentage of gold in the ore-bodies. This has the result of minimising the yield and, therefore, the revenue per ton, and the Gold Mines, in order to offer shareholders competitive dividend returns, are compelled always to minimise operating costs. Thus, it must pay its workers the least possible wage and it must maintain the highest possible ratio of unskilled to skilled labour. Likewise, it must adhere to a policy of migrant labour and perpetuate the reserve system in order to ensure that the African labourer will suffer sufficient poverty to come to the mines for any wage the industry cares to offer, while leaving his family with an alternative source of income. In these circumstances, he will accept a wage below even the classical "subsistence" level.

This is waste: Waste of human resources — the fountain head of all typically South African economic waste. It is the inspiration of our colour bar, our cheap labour policy, of the vast complex of racial laws designed to perpetuate near-slavery.

Point two: Into the insatiable maw of this parasitic industry is sucked vast quantities of resources — factors of production — which would otherwise feed

(Continued on page 14)



The World Today
TRUST-BUSTERS
by Ben Giles

IN the good old days, a treaty was a solemn and binding obligation, upheld by nations as a sign of honour and trust. Those days have passed. Adolf Hitler set the new tone in political morality, by denouncing treaties as "scraps of paper", to be torn up when they could no longer be comfortably kept.

The new morality had its disciples. Some of them went down with the Reichstag; some of them stood trial at Nuremberg for crimes against humanity; one of them became the 1953 President of the United States.

It has not taken Eisenhower long. Just a few short weeks from the carnival inauguration to the denunciation of America's solemn treaty obligations. America's treaties forged in time of war against Nazism, as weapons indispensable for victory, have been denounced. "Secret agreements" Eisenhower called the Yalta agreement, the Moscow, Cairo and Potsdam agreements which were signed, sealed and publicised by Franklin Roosevelt for the U.S.A. "Congress has never approved them; they do not and will not bind us."

PRINCIPLES.

It sounds all right if you read it fast. It sounds like a declaration of fine democratic principle that Congress shall be the arbiter in everything affecting the American nation; that no one man shall have the power to commit the country to any obligations. But read it again; and this time read it all. 'We do not repudiate the treaties in toto' runs the Eisenhower line; 'only those parts which do not serve the cold-war policy of anti-Sovietism.'

And yet they say that it was Sam Goldwyn who coined the aphorism: 'Those are my principles gentlemen. But if you don't like them, I've got others.'

And who makes the denunciation of these "one-man" treaties? The senate? Congress? No sir. This is America, home of the fast-talking ad-man and the confidence trickster. The denunciation is made by Mr. Eisenhower.

FACTS.

The first of these sinister sounding agreements was reached at a three-power conference in Moscow in October 1943, to which the Government of China also subscribed. Britain, China, America and

the U.S.S.R. issued a solemn declaration that "their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies, will be continued for the organisation and maintenance of peace and security"; that "after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other states except for the purpose envisaged in this declaration;" Such a 'treaty' cannot but be denounced by the Eisenhower clique which prepares for anti-Soviet war.

There was the Crimea Conference in February 1945, whose declaration is signed by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin. "We are determined to disarm and disband all German armed forces, eliminate or control all German industry that could be used for military production; bring all war criminals to justice and swift punishment; remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public offices and from the cultural and economic life of the German people." Denunciation of the agreement comes well from those who compensate Krupp and release Kesselring.

But there is more. "The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding . . . must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated people . . . to create democratic institutions of their own choosing." This is treason to the new Eisenhower creed of "liberating" the people of Europe from the socialist democracy of their own choosing.

"The three heads of Government consider that the Eastern frontier of Poland should follow the Curzon line . . . They recognise that Poland must receive substantial accessions of territory in the North and West." This too is treason to the new U.S. policy, issued through the claims of its West German mouthpiece, for Germany's borders to be pushed East of the Oder Neisser river,

IN BERLIN.

And then there was the July 1945 meeting of Truman, Stalin, Churchill and Attlee in the full flush of victory at Potsdam. All the declarations of the Crimea agreement are strengthened, amplified and clarified. Not one American President but two had thus appended their solemn signatures to the agreements — the "secret" agreements which Eisenhower now denounces.

The treaties now become scraps of paper, to be used as Hitler used those scraps, to light the flame of world war. Not without reason that the repudiation of the treaty of obligations of America came simultaneously with the incitement of Chiang Kai Shek to spread the war to the mainland of China under the watchful strong-arm squads of the U.S. Seventh Fleet.

Not accidental either that the day after the Eisenhower declaration, the Japanese Prime Minister laid claim to the Soviet Kurile islands and the Sakhalin peninsula, returned to the Soviet Union by these "secret treaties", after forty years of Japanese occupation.

Not accidental that Syngman Rhee calls for a march on Peking and a blockade of Vladivostock; that U.S. Senators and generals call for a naval blockade of the China coast. For the tearing up of treaties is a sign that the stage has been set for aggressive war. And all the war-mongers are taking their line from the big shot.

Ike's fingers may be itching on the trigger. But he should bear in mind that the man who set the fashion in treaty-tearing lies buried amidst the rubble of the German capital, hated and despised by the whole of mankind.

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BOTH COPS and ROBBERS

REPLYING to a question in the House of Assembly recently, the Minister of Justice stated that, during 1952, 141 policemen had been convicted of crimes of violence, 41 of crimes against prisoners in their charge, 7 of perjury and 543 of "other offences", a total of 732 convictions. Of those convicted, 94 were dismissed from the force.

The picture presented by these statistics is not a reassuring one. No doubt many of the "other offences" were mere breaches of regulations; but even these should not reach such high proportions unless there is something wrong either with the personnel or with the regulations. This is, however, a comparatively unimportant matter. The figures for

crimes of violence and crimes against prisoners are more alarming. They mean that, on the average, every second day throughout the year a policeman committed an assault or similar offence under such circumstances that he was prosecuted and convicted as a result. When we consider the readiness with which the authorities condone violence on the part of the police, it must be clear that these cases represent only a part of the total picture of police violence in South Africa. The 141 men convicted of crimes of violence do not include, for example, the men who clubbed women to the ground at the Garment Workers' meeting. If 141 cases were so indefensible that the authorities were forced to take

action, what must be the total number of cases which an impartial investigation would bring to light?

Various reasons are suggested from time to time for the unsatisfactory standards of discipline and restraint which characterise the South African Police. A reason which is often put forward is the low pay which the police force offers. This certainly leads to the recruitment of an unsatisfactory type of man into the force. Men of little education, men who have failed in other jobs, tend to gravitate into Government service, including the police. Recruits come mainly from the platteland, which means that they have no experience of city life and its problems.

These factors explain inefficiency and poor discipline, but by themselves they cannot account for brutality and violence. Other reasons must be sought for this particular failing of our police force. These reasons are not difficult to find. They lie, firstly, in the attitude of arrogance which the Nationalists are continually fostering among the white population as a whole, and secondly, in the continual encouragement towards violence which the police are receiving from the highest authorities.

Every issue of every Nationalist newspaper contains propaganda intended to make their readers hate the African, hate the Indian, hate the Englishman, hate the "unnational" Afrikaner. Is it a matter for surprise that those who find themselves in positions of power give practical expression to these carefully fostered hatreds? This natural tendency towards the abuse of power should be checked by discipline and a tradition of the impartial administration of justice. But this discipline and tradition such as they ever were in the S.A.P., are being undermined from day to day by the Minister of Justice himself and his cabinet colleagues. They are continually encouraging the police to act "strongly" and "drastically", to "shoot first and talk afterwards". Such talk must inevitably have the most disastrous effects, directed as it is to the members of a poorly disciplined force of men who have been taught to hate the majority of the people they are supposed to serve. If the South African Police is to be brought back to its proper function of the impartial maintenance of law and order, the first essential is that Nationalist incitement to violence should cease to be the dominant factor in our national life.

"The Change is Coming" Says Patrick Duncan

FIGHTING TALK has been privileged to interview Mr. Patrick Duncan, son of one of the great men in South African history, and leader of the first group of European volunteers to participate in the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. We publish below Mr. Duncan's replies to questions put to him by our reporter shortly after the court case in which he was sentenced for his activities.

Do you foresee any change coming about as a result of the Campaign against unjust laws?

We have got to be ready for great changes in our country. White domination of our fellow-citizens cannot last. The people who preach *apartheid* know this. If they did not, why should they want such revolutionary changes, for the type of white South African who believes in *apartheid* has built a little paradise for himself.

It cannot last, and will be replaced. We must all exercise our intelligence to see that the change comes in a manner that will profit, not ruin our country.

What is your alternative to the policy of apartheid?

Mr. Duncan: There are only two paths ahead of us — *apartheid* or common citizenship.

Legislative *apartheid* has failed, and there is now only one way that *apartheid* could come — as an act of robbery on a colossal scale, and as an act of war. To want this is to admit complete failure. To achieve this will, in the end, produce from the African continent a reaction that will annihilate the white community in the southern tip.

Is there then any prospect of peace and security for European South Africans?

Mr. Duncan: Only if we build a state which regards all its members as of value, a state in which the colour of a man's skin is an irrelevancy, will the future be made secure. This state cannot be built by any one group, not even by the white group, acting alone. It can only be built by a co-operative effort by South Africans of all races.

Do you see any signs of such co-operative effort?

Mr. Duncan: I have found such co-operation and comradeship in association with the defiance campaign. The leaders of the campaign have given the few whites that have so far joined a most wonderful welcome.

THERE'S A NEW LIFE A-BUILDING....

WE left Vienna on a warm summer's evening in late August—a group of excited British, Australian and South African students, bound for an international student camp in 'the great unknown' that was Rumania to us. There were four of us from South Africa — an Indian, a young Afrikaner, and my husband and I.

Due to the excitement and the subsequent sleeplessness, I witnessed an interesting little scene at the Austro-Hungarian border an hour later — the Austrian emigration official making a neat list of all those of us bound for the other side of the so-called 'Iron Curtain'. Perhaps this was due to the solicitude of the Austrian Government — a socialist government — to inform our next-of-kin if we did not return!

We slept peacefully later in a well-upholstered second-class compartment, from which an irate conductress chased us at 5.30 the next morning — we had third class tickets, not second, and we had only paid half the full fare for them, a privilege extended to all students in the People's Democracies — now here we were taking advantage when we were really favoured. Duly chastened, we returned to our hard wooden benches just as the train began to fill with farmers and peasants on their way to Budapest. Everyone was very friendly, and they were as eager to hear about our countries as we were to hear about theirs. Our halting French was supplemented by a great exchange of cigarettes, and much smiling gesticulation.

AND NOT A DROP TO EAT.

Arrived at Budapest we had no time to look at anything, but had to go straight off in another train — thank goodness at the last moment some panicking students arrived with parcels of food for us. We surveyed the bread and trolley thankfully as we were only due



at our destination the next morning, and of course we had no Hungarian money with which to eat in the dining saloon. During the morning one of the friendly people in the passage — a middle-aged Jewish man who was very happy at his work in a government department — discovered our plight and insisted on taking me to a meal.

Late that afternoon we arrived at the Hungro-Rumanian border. While we waited for the engines to change, my husband was soundly beaten at chess by a poorly dressed young lad who was squatting at the station with his chessboard in front of him — this to the great delight of all the onlookers — students, Hungarians, and Rumanians. We were to find later that chess was a

national craze in Rumania, played by everyone from five to a hundred and five — and they all proved to be much better than any of us.

At the first Rumanian station we received a great welcome from a group of students, which included a picnic supper and dancing on the platform. There were a number of peasant women in beautifully embroidered dresses there, waiting for the train to move on. For them ballroom dancing was something quite new and strange, and when the men tried to get them to join in there was great merriment at their shyness.

'CAMPING' DE LUXE.

The next morning we arrived in our 'camp' in the lovely mountain village of Sinia, to find that instead of being under canvas, as we had expected, the Building Workers' Trade Union had lent us their own holiday hotel, with all facilities. We settled down to an exciting time, meeting students from every corner of the world until eventually in all a hundred and twenty-five of us were assembled.

Then began a wonderful programme of visits, of discussions, and of entertainments — the days were filled with activity, and the evenings with fun. Besides going out on picnics, for swims and walks, we visited some of the workers' holiday homes, an apprentice school attached to a factory, churches, the ex-King's palace, and a former prison for defiers of the old regime which is today a national memorial. (Shades of our own concentration camps!). We found the churches open to all, even to the extent that the padre's salaries are paid by the government. The same was true of the synagogues.

We met scientists, youth leaders, workers and artists. When I learnt of the conditions under which these people live and work I was astounded. For example, all painters belong to a union which not only helps them to find commissions, but advances them money to live on until the work is completed. And not only that, but while they are busy

working, they discuss their work, not only with the people for whom it is intended, but also with the other artists, who help them with constructive criticism. A poor, out-of-work artist is something that doesn't exist in Rumania. We found that this spirit of co-operation and mutual help existed in all fields of endeavour — the Stakhanovite workers helped the ones who did not have the same qualifications as they did, the third year students helped the first years, and always the experienced helped the less experienced. When no one fears unemployment because of competition, when there is more work to be done than people to do it, then can real co-operation and mutual aid exist, and then does rivalry become friendly and not cut-throat.

In the evenings we enjoyed many social functions — one evening it would be a dance, the next an impromptu concert, the next a film about student life, the next a concert arranged by the local peasants and workers, and so it would go on, with something different every evening. The people who cared for our needs, our waiters, the cooks, the maids, all would join in when their day's work was done. One of the loveliest things which we saw at some of the concerts was the Rumanian folk dancing. Dressed in gay, beautifully embroidered costumes, the young people twirled and whirled, now fast and now slow, to the pulsating music.

STUDENT PROBLEMS.

During our stay in Sinia our many long discussions with Rumanian students taught us many things — how their lives have improved in the last few years, and how devoted they all are to their new way of life, which has given many of them opportunities for studying which were quite out of their reach before. In addition, our talks with the representatives of the International Union of Students at the camp made us realise how bad the conditions for students are in most parts of the world, and the extent to which the I.U.S. is working to try and help improve those conditions.

After a very happy fortnight in the mountains we drove in large buses via Ploesti, the big oil-centre, to Bucharest.

★
*Beata Lipman tells
 the tale of a
 student visit to
 Rumania*

★
 The city was bedecked with flags in honour of the I.U.S. Congress taking place at the time, and we were all made to feel like honoured guests. We lived in a student hostel which had formerly housed the Kings' courtiers, and from there we sallied forth daily to participate in I.U.S. functions or to go visiting places of interest in the city. Our visit to the children's Pioneer Palace (what we would call a play centre) stands out very clearly in my mind. A large well-kept building standing in beautiful grounds, it contained everything to entertain and educate a child, from wire-leses to paints, and chemistry laboratories to ballet facilities. In the grounds were playing fields besides an attractive garden, and a small exhibition hall to house the children's achievements.

Perhaps the place which remained one of the greatest favourites with my husband was the agronomical institute of the University, a department which is today four times the size which it was before the war, and which covers many acres of ground. After the students and professors had shown us the laboratories, the machinery, and especially the experimental vineyards, they asked us to sample the various kinds of wines which they were producing. Discussions about genetics, Lysenian and Mendelian, ceased forthwith (their Professor was a Mendelite, most of the students were for Lysenko) and for an hour we all drank many varieties of wines and consumed enormous quantities of sweet, juicy grapes.

PRIVILEGED.

After a most enjoyable week in Bucharest we were very sad to leave. We felt that we had seen something very new to us that was bringing the people security and a fresh joy in life, and that their zest for new endeavours in developing their country was equalled only by their great desire for peace and friendship with all. We felt also that we had been privileged to be able to take part in the I.U.S. camp, which had developed our knowledge and understanding of students everywhere, and helped towards a greater friendship between students from both East and West.

THE MARTIAL LAW BILL—

IT MUST NOT PASS!

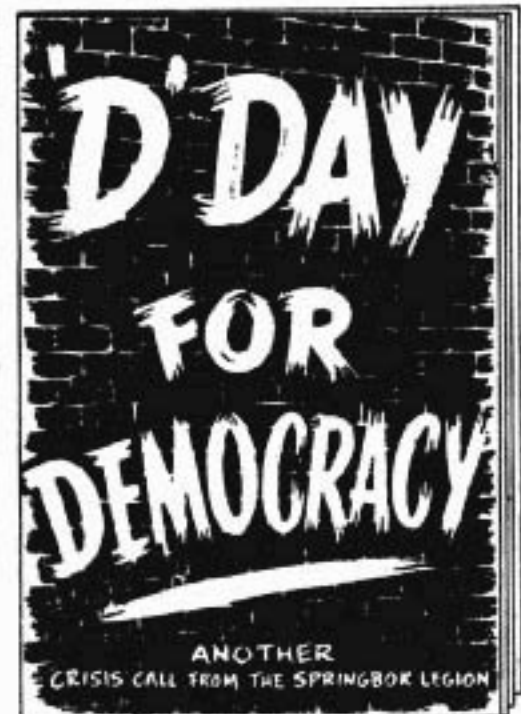
THIS is the title of the new Springbok Legion pamphlet. It is now available to members and will be available to the public and interested people shortly.

The pamphlet deals with the "Public Safety Bill" and the "Criminal Law Amendment Bill". It places these measures in their proper perspective — against the background of all that has gone before. Against the background of the Nationalist Party's record and legislative programme to date, these measures are shown up for what they are — the Nationalist Party's bid to legalise both their method of seizing power and the actual seizure of that power.

Over the years at various times the Springbok Legion has tried to arouse South Africa to the dangerous situation that is developing. It has tried to point the way to action that could arrest this horrible process. In 1946 the pamphlet "The History and Policy of the Springbok Legion" attempted to rally the democrats for a struggle against the threatening process of fascism. It tried to make the people conscious of the possible victory of the fascist forces in the 1948 Election. Earlier, in 1944 or 45 there was the pamphlet "Meet your Enemies" an exposé of the Broederbond. "Will we be Banned for this?", a pamphlet published at the time of the introduction of the Suppression of Communism Act, again demonstrated the Legion's political foresight. Have not events since then proved us right? There followed "Action Stations" at the time of the Constitutional Crisis. This pamphlet demonstrated the folly of a purely parliamentary struggle. Pointed to the need for the mobilising of all democratic people, white and non-white, in some action that would demonstrate clearly where power lies and the will of the people of South Africa for democracy and progress. Again events have vindicated the Legion.

"D Day for Democracy", another of our pamphlets, published in the latter part of last year, is relevant to the present development. Inevitably, the new measures will present all democrats who value their democratic rights and liberties with the challenge "Defy Unjust Laws or submit to Tyranny." These new laws will bring into common understanding the political reality that all men, irrespective of race or creed, who fight for freedom are brothers.

And now there is the new pamphlet "It Must Not Pass"! Read it! Get your friends to read it! Send in a contribution — a Special Contribution — so that we can print many more. Tens of thousands more — hundreds of thousands perhaps. Send in your cheque or postal order — **SEND IT NOW.**



CONSPIRACY IN KENYA

KENYA has a knack of getting into the headlines. For half a century this East African colony has been the stormy petrel of British colonialism. The literature about it is large and controversial, and it has probably been debated more often and more hotly in the House of Commons than any other country.

One reason for this interest is that Kenya settlers have been well organized, closely linked through leaders like Lord Delamere with the British ruling class, and able to obtain publicity for their views well in excess of their merits. In the last analysis, however, Kenya is notorious because it is a glaring example of the discrepancy between the theory of British colonial policy and its practice.

THEORY AND PRACTICE.

Britain has never officially approved of race discrimination or bantustan in her colonies. Her declared policy is to prepare them for self-government and, in the meanwhile, to treat the interests of the non-white populations as "paramount". She has been able to take significant steps in this direction in the Gold Coast and Nigeria, where there is an entrenched white community to offer strong resistance. In Kenya and Rhodesia, however, the imperial government has preferred to identify itself with the settlers.

The disparity in standards of living, privilege and power between the Europeans and the African masses is even greater in these territories than in the Union. There, as elsewhere on the continent, the Africans are pressing for higher living standards, wider freedoms, and a share of political power. They want to close the gap, whereas the settlers are determined to maintain it. The present crisis in Kenya has grown out of this clash and the sense of frustration, injustice and economic hardship engendered among the Africans.

KIKUYU LANDS.

As in the Union, white settlement in Kenya involved a loss of tribal lands, and pressure on the Africans to leave their homes and work for the colonists.

The Kikuyu bore the brunt of this invasion. There are about a million of them — one-fifth of the Colony's African population — and they live for the most part in the Central Province, the home of the great majority of Kenya's 26,000 whites and 85,000 Indians. The extent of land hunger in Kikuyu reserves can be gauged from the large number of the inhabitants who have been forced to live in the European area: well over 100,000 on the farms as resident labourers or "squatters", another 40,000 in Crown forest lands, and over 30,000 in Nairobi.

Of the 225,000 square miles of Kenya,

only one-third, most of which lies at altitudes over 3,750 feet, is agriculturally productive, though of very uneven quality. The 2,500 white settlers and their families hold about 40 per cent. of the best land; 4 million Africans share the rest.

Sir Philip Mitchell, a former Governor, wrote in 1947 that "if there is any single cause to which the land difficulties of the African people can be ascribed, and these are very serious difficulties, it is their astonishing rate of increase" and that the Kikuyu "are by far the most prolific of the Kenya tribes and have bred so freely as to be seriously congested in their own areas". Malthusianism cannot justify, however, the enormous discrepancy between European and African landholding, nor will it explain why after 50 years of colonial rule industries have not been developed on a big enough scale to absorb the landless African population.

POLITICAL AWAKENING.

The overcrowded, landless Kikuyu have been affected most by white settlement, play the most important part of all the Kenya Africans in its economy, and are the most alert in demanding a redress of grievances. In these respects they closely resemble the Xhosa-speaking people of the Eastern Cape, who have made the biggest contribution in the Defiance of Unjust Laws campaign.

As far back as 1921, in the confused and turbulent post-war period, there appeared a Young Kikuyu Association whose leader, Harry Thuku, was deported without trial. After the outbreak of the second world war, another of their organisations, the Kikuyu Central Association, was declared a "subversive" organisation and banned together with its affiliated bodies, the leaders suffering the same fate as Thuku 20 years earlier.

The Kikuyu reacted by forming the Kenya Africa Union whose president, Jomo Kenyatta (former General Secretary of the Kikuyu Central Association)

is now on trial for alleged Mau Mau activities.

The return of 60,000 African soldiers to civil life and the post-war economic difficulties brought a new political outlook to large numbers of Africans. Social tensions increased in Nairobi and Kikuyu reserves, opposition was organised in some areas to stock limitation, cut-the-dipping and control of grazing, and there were strikes. Religious sects (of the kind known in the Union as Separatist Churches) were proscribed and in some instances clashed with the police. On one such occasion in 1949, three police-

men and 20 members of the sect were killed or died as a result of the fighting.

MAU MAU.

It was about this time that mention was made of the Mau Mau, described in the official reports as "another subversive and anti-Government organisation", alleged to have originated in 1947 as an offshoot of the prohibited Kikuyu Central Association. In 1950 it was declared illegal, and large numbers of Kikuyu were put on trial on a charge of taking or administering illegal oaths.

The authorities and the settlers paid little attention to Mau Mau, however, until March, 1952. Indeed, they felt so secure that in December, 1951 they sent the 3rd Battalion of the K.A.R. to fight the people of Malaya, and at the beginning of 1952 the Administration spoke with satisfaction of the "generally good relations that exist."

Shortly afterwards signs appeared of serious tension in Kikuyu-land: arson on a large scale — mostly in the form of burning of huts belonging to unpopular headmen associated with stock culling measures — communal fines imposed on residents of reserves where the burning took place, the prosecution of Africans charged with participating in illegal oath ceremonies, increased powers of punishment given to district officers, and a growing volume of stock theft, burglary and assaults on European farms.

In the press and Legislative Council, and at settlers' meetings, the Kenya whites wrote and spoke about "subversive crimes", more and more in connection with Mau Mau. But it was like the elusive Scarlet Pimpernel: no one knew precisely what it was or even whether it existed at all!

The Attorney-General complained to the Legislative Council, as recently as November, 1952, that the Government had been able to get only "general information" about the organisation, and "this led to conjectures only." Experienced officers had not been able to decide if the Mau Mau had receded or if a new wave had started. He lacked specific intelligence of the kind that would inform him if "a particular person had gone to a particular place and administered the oath, acting upon instructions from someone from headquarters, and . . . the number of cells actively being carried on for the purpose of this society."

IS IT AN INVENTION?
Actually, the Government has never

produced — or even attempted to produce — evidence that a secret society really exists. Mau Mau was a name invented by the whites, and, as for the organisation itself, the four African members of the Legislative Council were probably correct when they said (Sept. 10th, 1952) that "the existence of Mau Mau might be true but only in so far as it is considered to be a localized organisation of a few irresponsible gangs".

The widespread belief in Mau Mau stems, firstly, from the crime epidemic, and secondly, from evidence of oath-taking ceremonies. As regards the first, in no case has there been definite evidence that the perpetrators were members of a secret society; while the administration of oaths is a common feature of East African tribal culture and has received official sanction for a variety of purposes.

EMERGENCY LEGISLATION.

Whether a reality or a myth, the Mau Mau has resulted in the virtual abrogation of civil liberties for the African population.

Under the guidance of security experts like Sir Percy Sillitoe and pressure from settlers like Colonel Grogan ("This is obviously rebellion and the proper punishment for that is to be hanged by the neck and dead"), the Government has placed the Kikuyu under military control: a network of 80 Kikuyu locations, curfew restrictions, restrictions on road transport, a systematic round-the-clock combing of the reserves, and provisions for the seizure of cattle and vehicles, control of the press, the prohibition of meetings and large-scale deportations of Kikuyu from European-owned farms.

FUTILITY OF REPRESSION.

Thousands of Kikuyu families have been ruined, hundreds of innocent persons have been imprisoned. Repression has intensified race feeling, and further stimulated unlawful action and political unrest. The Solicitor-General, an official recently transferred from Malaya, warned the Legislative Council against the misuse of the "most dangerous, double-

edged weapon" of collective punishment. The mistake made in Malaya was being repeated "of establishing a fear in the reserves greater than that established by Mau Mau. This had proved completely unprofitable."

His advice to "win the hearts and minds of the people" has, however, fallen on deaf ears.

The settlers, who rule the roost, are fully aware that they will have to surrender privileges and monopolies in order to "win the hearts and minds" of the Africans. Not being in the least way inclined to follow this course, they have chosen the alternative course of applying brute force.

PEASANTS' REVOLT.

But the basic movements remain: land scarcity, hated tilling and grazing regulations, the exactions of government hoodlums, restrictions placed on the large-scale cultivation by Africans of the coffee and sisal (which, with pyrethrum, form the basis of the white settlers' prosperity), low wages and hard living on many European farms.

These are by-products of the agrarian revolution through which the Africans are being forced by the settler economy, and which is giving rise to a peasants' revolt. Colonial rule and colour bars have at the same time fanned the flames of African nationalism. The resultant of these forces is a struggle for political and economic rights which, like the parallel struggle going on in the Union, will not end until the European have learnt that there are no black, brown and white people, but only men and women.

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Don't look round now . . . but

SOME years ago in 1942 or '43, it might have been — a distant relative of mine, whose income is reputed to be in the five-figure class, said to me: "You know, my boy, we're all Communists now."

Of course, the truth is that the dear old soul scarcely knew a Communist from Sir Percy Sillitoe. Nonetheless, I feel that his statement was and still is — of the utmost significance. In those days — do you remember — the Red Army was busy knocking gigantic holes in the myth of German invincibility; you and I and everyone else were starting to talk about the future — about what would and should be done about the days to follow when the war was over. In the mind then, — of the old gentleman above-mentioned — the word "Communist" was synonymous with the Red Army, which in turn was associated with the act of breaking to pieces the bad old world of the 30's, with its depressions, Hitlers, Franco's and diplomatic umbrellas. We were all convinced in those days that whatever the future brought it would not be the Status Quo with its Jack Boots, senile Prime Ministers and bread-lines. We *all* wanted a *new*, a *free*, a *democratic* world. And thus, in 1942, within this broad meaning which the old man applied to the word, we were all Communists.

And be it remembered, too, because *all* of us wanted these things — our Governments, our ministers, our peoples and our neighbours — we were in those days marching in step with progress all over the world. We were all in step with the peasants of Malaya and China, the workers of Persia and Africa, the sheep farmers of Australia and the Gold Miners of the Rand.

Thus, in those days there was no need to ban organisations, compile black-lists, ban books, sack Trade Union leaders and confiscate passports. We were *all* thinking brave thoughts: hence a brave thought was not yet an act of treason.

Now it is very difficult to remember exactly **WHEN** brave and noble thinking became treasonable. Who was it — and where — who first conceived that the word "peace" was a bad word? Certainly, during the war to dream of peace was not criminal and to talk social-security, equality, freedom while yet chaos reigned about us was considered pretty good morale.

Yes, it's hard to say exactly when it happened, but somewhere along the road from 1943 to 1953 "Uncle Joe" became "Mephistophiles" and the Un-American Activities Committee was born.

PHENOMENON.

A strange phenomenon, this Un-American Activities Committee. It is a Congressional Committee. It is something like a court of law, in that it may summon anyone to appear before it on sundry charges of subversion. The case against you is presented by a prosecutor and you may brief counsel to defend

THE UNAMERICANS

you. It is presided over by a judge. And yet it is not a court of law, because it need not corroborate the charges it leads against you; it is not bound to verify the testimony; it need not submit witnesses to cross-examination nor even disclose their names; it need not even disclose the nature of the testimony in its possession. It need merely charge that for certain reasons undisclosed the Committee has reason to believe that you are a disloyal citizen and that you have been engaged in activity calculated to undermine the security of the state, or that you have acted in collusion with a foreign state to the detriment of the United States. And it calls upon you to defend yourself. At all times you are guilty until you have proved to the utmost satisfaction of the Committee that you are innocent. And, since you don't know *why* you are deemed guilty, your innocence is damnably hard to prove.

Now, amidst the vast uncertainties of the present day, one thing we know for sure. Whatever we may have been in 1943, in 1953 we are *not* all Communists. In 1953 we are *none* of us Communists — unless we want a price upon our heads. Damn few of us are even pale pink if we know which side our bread is buttered. For you see, the whole aim and object of the Un-American Activities Committee — and its spawn in many lands — is to charge as many of our American brothers as possible with being Communists. It is amazing how easily an American may earn this title. Gathering evidence to show that you are one has become a vigorous industry in the States.

It starts with the F.B.I. and the State Department. Any member of the F.B.I. or the State Department may run you to earth in your home or your class-room, your office or your workshop and ask

you questions. Among the questions he may ask you are:

What is your profession? Who are your relatives? Who are your friends? Do you belong to any organisation — clubs, fraternities, charitable organisations, political parties. What films do you prefer? What TV programmes do you listen to? Who are your business or college associates? What do you do with your spare time? — And so on.

And they may go on to ask you other questions: What do you think of American Foreign Policy? Do you favour Socialised Medicine? Do you belong to a Church? What organisations have you

EVER belonged to? and your friends and associates? and your wife and children? — And so on.

Let us assume, now, that you are a patriotic American Citizen. You don't give a Blackie Swart for Civil Liberties. You think the F.B.I. and the State Department are doing a fine job of work and, if any Bolshies are caught in the drag-net, serves them right.

BUT WAY BACK

And then — wait a moment — you remember that way back in 1943, along with buying Liberty Bonds, you signed a membership form of one organisation called "Medical Aid for Russia". You joined it because your President — Franklin D. Roosevelt, it was in those days — told you it was the patriotic thing to do. Yes, and in 1936 didn't you sign a stop order for the "Friends of Democratic Spain" or some such organisation because you didn't like what the Nazis did to Barcelona? And, come to think of it, you thought quite highly of Roosevelt's New Deal, and, when the Labour Government introduced Socialised Medicine in Britain, you said to someone or other, "Something like that over here would do a world of good to my bank balance." And — oh my God! — over there in that cabinet is a stack of Paul Robeson's records! And . . .

But why go on? The fact that you supported Medical Aid for Russia and the Friends of Democratic Spain and that you like Paul Robeson records mean simply that you are or have at some time been a member of what are dubbed "Red Front" organisations, and this makes you a disloyal element. Henceforth you keep your trap severely shut and await summons to Washington.

Very well. Maybe it will end with waiting, or maybe you will go to Washington and the powers that be will deli-

berate over your misdeeds and find you not guilty of subversion, or Red Front affiliations or disloyalty or what have you. Whether or not you go to Washington, whether or not the U.A.C. finds you guilty or innocent, life is going to be mighty hard for you from now on.

You see, in its panic hunt for "security" the U.S. Government has spewed forth a whole host of acts calculated to make things difficult for you. Besides incurring the personal animosity of Senator McCarthy, you are likely to fall foul of one or other of the following Acts:

the Taft-Hartley Act, if you are a Trade Union member;

the Hatch Act, if you are a civil servant or engaged in any way in the service of the State: e.g. if you are an American on the staff of the United Nations;

the McCarran Act if you are an immigrant or a citizen by naturalisation;

the Smith Act if you are a college professor or a teacher or professional man;

a host of other local state acts compiled by local authorities.

All these acts, you see, require either

ARE WATCHING!

oaths of loyalty, or screening and even certain specific acts of "patriotism", like telling on your neighbours. And, though you may fulminate as loudly as you like NOW against the Bolshies and that "Monster Stalin", it may not help you at all. What you said and did in 1942 and 1932 and 1922 may count against you just as much as what you did yesterday, for the powers that be dig deep into your record and all these acts are retroactive.

But, you might say, if the U.A.C. and other agencies have plumbed the depths of your soul and conscience and have found you not guilty, what have you to fear from all these acts?

Well, I said a while back that Witch-Hunting in the U.S.A. had become a major industry. There enters "private enterprise", towards the protection and sanctification of which all these shenanigans are directed.

"CONTROVERSIAL".

You see, the mere fact that you have been interrogated — whatever the outcome of the interrogation — means that you are what is called "controversial". All sorts of people in the U.S.A. are "controversial". There are famous film actresses like Joan Crawford and Judy Holliday and actors like Charlie Chaplin and Larry Parks: there are famous caba-

ret artists like Gypsy Rose Lee: film producers like Dmytryk: trade unionists like William Green and Phillip Murray (one can hardly suppress a chuckle here!): scores of lawyers who had the temerity to defend men like Howard Fast, Ring Lardner, Albert Maltz and the rest of Hollywood's '10' scriptwriters.

Being "controversial" means that publishers will reject your MS., TV. networks will drop you from their programmes, editors will say, "No" to your articles. Bertrand Russell (heaven help us! Bertrand Russell!) will be refused a lecture tour and J. B. Priestley's books will disappear from bookshelves!

The trouble is that your difficulties do not end with officialdom. The devil's fork and the barbed tail can prod you from other directions too.

Firstly, there are such organisations as the American Legion and the Guild of Loyal Women. The former, originally an ex-service organisation, has now donned the hood and cloak. It specialises in snoop and smear. It publishes a journal called "Counter-attack". In it you will find your past history — all of it that you know and much you never dreamt

of. Your name will be in its pages, if you so much as employ or befriend a man or woman whose name is in the Legion's Black List. And once your name does thus appear, you may be booted from your job or relegated to minor duties or find — if you are workless — that the personnel manager whom you interview will show you the door.

The Legion's latest pastime is picketing "controversial" films and plays or plays and films in which "controversial" artists are billed: burning books — like "The Grapes of Wrath" and "The American Tragedy" —: Jew- and Negro-baiting. Talk too loudly about minority rights and they'll come gunning for you.

The "Loyal Women" specialise in scrutinising school textbooks and the shelves of local libraries: watching over teachers' morals (you see, it's not so much the immorality of sleeping with the headmaster — it's that sleeping with the headmaster makes you a 'Red'); censoring school plays and 'investigating' visiting lecturers.

A panel of U.S. teachers, who conducted an investigation into the political temperature on various college campuses throughout the States, reported as far back as 1948 that pupils of the schools, college students, teachers, lecturers and professors alike were reluc-

tant to discuss "doubtful" issues in or out of classrooms, to join debating societies or student bodies, for fear of incriminating themselves; that education had given way to indoctrination, and that the atmosphere in United States schools was tense with fear and foreboding. Teacher could not trust pupil, nor pupil teacher and that the college had become a machine for mass-producing stereotypes.

"RED CHANNELS".

The tale is not quite ended. Enter finally the American Business League. This is a private outfit, run by one Kirkpatrick, an ex-member of the F.B.I., who, it is said, still has access to F.B.I. files and enjoys semi-official backing. Some while ago he produced a neat little volume called "Red Channels", giving the world the low-down on the Red conspiracy.

If your name is in that little book, you might as well hurl in. The American Business League is a private detective agency, specialising in the 'red menace'. For a suitable fee Kirkpatrick will give you the loyalty rating of any member of your staff, your professional institute, your college fraternity, your friends and relations and their friends and relations. He is on very easy terms with men like Howard Hughes and 20th Century's Skyras Skouros (remember he visited our shores recently) and Senator McCarthy.

There you are. It started with putting a little portable Iron Curtain round Paul Robeson and has ended up . . . ?

It has not ended. The men who hounded John Garfield to his death now have thousands in their clutches. The stink-business is booming and tomorrow thousands more will get the smell in their nostrils.

Why? It is no longer a question of avowed commies. All and sundry await their turn.

The answer, Citizens, is clear. When a country like the United States runs counter to the currents of world history, it fears the future — and Fear is the father of the concentration camp.

Somewhere along the road from 1943 to 1953 Uncle Sam took the wrong turning. And now all the millions of his citizens who once dreamt a dream are vulnerable because . . .

Well, because "we were all commies" — in 1943.

P.S. Let me reassure you. The facts stated above are not culled from Tass News Report, but from the pages of that sober American Journal, the 'Nation'. You can quote them without fear, brother — or can you?

CATCHING THEM YOUNG

DESPITE the determined opposition of parents, teachers and educationists throughout the country, Christian-National doctrines of education are being imposed on all our educational institutions. The Education League is so deeply concerned about these encroachments that it has decided to issue this summary in order to present a complete picture of the present position. Enacted legislation and proposed legislation is compared with the doctrines enunciated by the *Instituut vir Christelik-Nasionale Onderwys* (I.C.N.O.) in their pamphlet published in 1948.

THE POSITION IN THE TRANSVAAL.

There has been widespread and consistent opposition to the 1949 Language Ordinance. The enforced separation of English and Afrikaans-speaking children has had serious consequences and has caused actual hardship in individual cases. Despite this, the language provisions are re-enacted in the 1952 Draft Consolidating Ordinance. Dual-medium and parallel-medium schools will no longer exist in the Transvaal.

Compare this with the Preface to the

I.C.N.O. Pamphlet.

"The dual medium struggle has opened our eyes, and there is going to be a struggle about the realisation of these ideals. We want no mixing of languages, no mixing of cultures, no mixing of religions and no mixing of races. We are winning the medium-struggle. The struggle for the Christian and National School still lies before us."

At a well-attended public symposium arranged by the Education League in August, 1952, parents and teachers, both English and Afrikaans speaking, voiced their protest against the language provisions of the Draft Ordinance. The League reiterated these protests in its evidence to the Select Committee, appointed to consider the Ordinance.

However, in the Report of the Select Committee, tabled recently, only the wording of the contentious language clause is altered. The basic principle remains the same. The decision as to which is the home language rests, *not with the parents*, but with the officials of the Education Department. The Report states: "In the event of a parent thereafter still feeling aggrieved at any such decision, he will have the right of a final appeal to the Administrator-in-Executive Committee". From the decision of the Administrator, of course, there is no appeal.

In order to enforce the tenets of Christian-National Education, the Ordinance gives autocratic and dictatorial control to the Inspectors, Director and the Administrator.

THE POSITION IN THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

The Report of the Provincial Education Commission of Enquiry, 1951 recommends:—

- (a) Only single-medium schools for the province, with the mother-tongue as medium of instruction in all standards of public and private schools up to and including Standard VI (Our emphasis).
- (b) Compulsory Religious instruction in all schools. In Afrikaans-medium schools this is to take the form of instruction in the dogma of the three Afrikaans churches. Parents must make formal application for exemption.

Compare this with Article 9 (2) of the I.C.N.O. Pamphlet:

"We believe that (the training of teachers) can and will succeed only if, after proper selection, they are placed under the guidance of men and women who themselves are of a convinced Christian and National life-view and were trained as such. Therefore, we wish to see the institutions for the training of our teachers as Christian and National." (Our emphasis).

Consider also Article 9 (1) of the I.C.N.O. Pamphlet.

"Being a substitute for the parent, the teacher does the parent's work as the parent himself would do it were he able. Unless, therefore, he is a Christian, he is a deadly danger to us." (Our emphasis).

The Conscience Clause in all our educational institutions is under attack. The University of Potchefstroom is already exempted from its provisions and an attempt was made to have it deleted from the Bill granting full University status to the Orange Free State University College. It is not only the Jew and the Agnostic who may be debarred from teaching posts in our schools and Universities. The Afrikaans teacher who does not subscribe to the dogma of the three Afrikaans churches may soon discover that he, too is not a "Christian."

If the recommendations of this Com-

Christian National Education— as seen by the Education League

mission are adopted, the struggle against Christian National doctrines will have been lost in the Free State.

THE POSITION IN THE CAPE PROVINCE.

An insidious and disquieting attempt is being made to introduce Christian-National doctrines into Cape educational institutions *through the back door*.

The Cape Education Amendment Ordinance (1952) recommends that Standard VI should be transferred from the primary schools to secondary schools. As mother-tongue education is compulsory up to Standard VI, this would have meant the extension of compulsory mother-tongue instruction to the secondary schools.

An amendment was therefore introduced to limit mother-tongue education to Standard V (which would become the final standard in the primary schools). This amendment was bitterly contested and the reasons are very obvious. If mother-tongue instruction continues up to Standard VI (now the first standard of the secondary schools) it will be found necessary to extend it, for practical and administrative reasons, to Std. VIII and possibly to matriculation. In this way, parents' choice of medium in the secondary schools will be effectively destroyed. In fact, the Administrator, during the debate, asked leave to introduce a motion extending mother-tongue education to Standard VIII, but this was refused. Finally, the Ordinance was passed in the following form:

Chapter 1: Acceptance of the proposed increased salary scales for teachers.

Chapter 2: Miscellaneous—including the transfer of Standard VI to the secondary schools and limiting mother-tongue education to Standard V.

The fact that the majority in the Provincial Council voted for the Ordinance in the above form would lead one to expect that the move to extend mother-tongue instruction to the secondary schools had been defeated. But a new and unforeseen development took place. In a manner quite unprecedented, the Governor-General-in-Council gave his assent only to Chapter 1 of the Ordinance. Assent to Chapter 2 had been withheld.

It is clear that a determined effort is being made to extend mother-tongue instruction to the secondary schools, whatever the opposition and whatever the cost, both ethical and financial.

The struggle against Christian-National doctrines is at its height in the Cape.

BANTU EDUCATION.

The Report of the Commission on Native Education (U.G. No. 53/1951) is riddled with Christian-National doctrines. In the factual part of the Report the Commissioners state that:—

"No evidence of a decisive nature was adduced to show that as a group the Bantu could not benefit from education or that their intelligence and aptitudes were of so special and peculiar a nature as to demand on these grounds a special type of education." (paragraph 60).

In their recommendations, however, the Commissioners ignore this statement and suggest not only that Bantu education should be entirely separate and different from the education of other groups, but that the Bantu themselves should be split into still smaller groups, Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, etc., and that each group be educated in its own vernacular. How this is to be achieved in urban areas is not made clear. This recommendation is in keeping with Christian-National belief that every language group is an 'ultimate diversity'.

English and Afrikaans are to be taught "in such a way that the Bantu child will be able to find his way in European communities; to follow oral and written INSTRUCTIONS; and to carry on a simple conversation with Europeans about his WORK and other subjects of common interest." (Our emphasis. Paragraph 924).

This is not education, but the indoctrination and moulding of a group to play a specific rôle in the community; and the rôle is that of an uneducated labourer, denied all knowledge of western culture and all opportunity of attaining citizenship.

University education in this Report receives less space than gardening. The emphasis is on the necessity for preserving tribal institutions and Bantu culture. In other words, the urbanised Bantu are to be forced back into a disintegrating tribalism and the rural Bantu are to remain static, with no opportunity for development.

The Language Ordinances of the Cape and the Transvaal concern every parent and every teacher in South Africa. The recommendations of the Free State Education Commission and the Native Education Report concern every South African.

Christian-National doctrines must be opposed in the school committees — on the school boards — in the Provincial Councils — in Parliament.



BY the time this appears in print, that somewhat grisly document, the Union Statute Book, will contain two additional samples of native Fascism—the "Public Safety" Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act. Of course one is no longer surprised at anything the Nats. produce and no-one ever listens to their excuses any more.

What shakes me, however, is the stupid, blundering way in which the United Party has placed its head on the block by accepting these two measures with hardly a squawk! At the first reading they announced their support of the Public Safety Bill "in principle" but would insist on "certain safeguards". At the second reading they repeated their demand for safeguards. At the Committee stage their "safeguards" were thrown out *en masse* with a contempt which the Minister of Justice took no trouble to conceal.

One would logically expect, therefore, that at the third reading the U.P. would oppose the Bill, since their amendments were not incorporated. But no! One by one their spokesmen stood up and accepted "with regret" the Bill almost as it was originally drafted.

Good Heavens, whom do they think they're fooling?

GREEN LIGHT.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, I'm afraid, is labouring under the misapprehension that the whole world is as gullible as his American electorate. He imagines that by showing the green light to Chiang Kai-Shek he is unleashing an army that is eager and ready to attack the Chinese mainland.

The truth is of course that the Generalissimo could no more launch a major

attack against such a formidable foe on his own than fly to the moon, and everyone knows it. The American leaders are keen on a world war and they hope by these means to provoke an incident with China.

BALLAD OF READING BILLS.

Thrice he made his forthright statement:

I will fight without abatement

I have seen the sign

None shall offer *me* dictation

I stand here before the Nation

Hurling wrath and protestation

I'm a lion.

Some may challenge my intention

Call my outburst pure invention

May they catch the pox!

Of course it's true that men will suffer,

Freedom's dead; I'm not your buffer,

Do you take me for a duffer?

I'm a fox.

Some were weeping, some reviling,

Some were heard to murmur smiling

"Poor old Strauss".

Then the heavens burst asunder

Gaped in horror at his blunder,

Then bellowed in a voice of thunder,

You're a mouse!



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Film Review

TOM BROWN'S SCHOOLDAYS

I AM very much afraid that the high standard achieved by British film-makers in transforming literary classics into screen presentations, has deteriorated somewhat in recent years.

Of course, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, the film under review, is by no means a poor film — far from it. The acting is excellent, the scenery authentic and the atmosphere of the stately old school of Rugby marvellously captured. But the adventures and tribulations of a slightly-brighter-than-average schoolboy through Rugby school over a hundred years ago is a more involved and painful story than Noel Langley would have us believe — especially if the schoolboy happens to have a mind and personality of his own.

In other words, where Thomas Hughes had created a work of art in his wonderful descriptions of his school-days, script-writer Langley has simply written another school story with all the stock characters that inhabit most school yarns from Greyfriars' Billy Bunter to Mr. Chips of "Goodbye" fame.

The House Captain is one of the de-centest of decent fellows, while Flashman, the fifth-form cad, is so thoroughly rotten that one almost likes him. All the traditional attributes of a school cad have been heavily ladled out to him — bullying, cowardice, deceit, treachery and lechery. The Doctor, on the other hand, is a charming, shrewd and generous old "Beak" who always manages to say the right thing at the right time. I have an idea that Robert Newton, who usually receives villainous roles, was given this part especially to offset the type of criticism I am making. Tom Brown himself, played admirably by John Howard Davis, is a prodigious little blighter who takes everything Flashman can dish out with stout British fortitude. Eventually he knocks the bully down.

I would recommend this picture as good entertainment, but only to those people who haven't read Thomas Hughes' immortal story on the same subject.

"J.P."

Out of your pocket...

(Continued from page 3)

industries producing real wealth. It permits the growth of secondary industry on its own terms—terms of inefficiency which it must preserve in order to secure its own labour market. These terms it can enforce because it is the largest buyer of secondary products.

Thus, it is an industry which can exist only on condition that the country as a whole remains poor, the people remain primitive and the industrial potential of South Africa underdeveloped.

That these primary sources of waste be eliminated is a basic necessity, if our cost-of-living is to be appreciably reduced. That is to say that a low cost structure in conjunction with a high standard of living can be achieved only by means of a drastic change of economic and political policy and objective.

In various ways this is true of the Western World as a whole. While capital and other resources are increasingly monopolized by the arms industry, the C.O.L. will remain high. In Britain, the U.S.A. and Europe, too, the C.O.L. can be reduced only by political decision, the decision to produce butter instead of guns, to open the gates to unfettered East-West trade.

These two poisonous plants, South African racial oppression and the Western Arms race have grown from the same seed — the preservation of profit and privilege.

Of course, if you are so wedded to the colour bar on the one hand and Uncle Sam's "strong-arm" policy on the other that you prefer them to Economic Welfare, then you are faced with two alternatives: either to take the C.O.L. as you find it or to reduce prices at the cost of drastically reducing wages and incomes, and creating large pools of unemployment so that purchasing power falls so low that prices fall for lack of demand.

And that in the long run is a decision which rests quite as much with you and me as with the official Opposition or the Government.

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CAPE TOWN.



Dear Sir,

I could not believe it when the United Party announced its intention of supporting the Public Safety Bill. When I got over the shock I felt sick to the stomach. God! we seem to have reached the bottom as far as moral principles, democratic principles, even common-sense are concerned. I really am disheartened.

Senator Heaton Nicholls' speech was admirable. He could not have stated the case more plainly than when he said, "By tomorrow South Africa will virtually be a police state . . . But here, where Ministers are imbued with a police state mentality, who have developed the desire to destroy the authority of Parliament altogether, this bill is particularly dangerous to the maintenance of the democratic life."

And then he said, "And yet in spite of this abject surrender by Parliament of its authority at the behest of a Nationalist Government, the Opposition has agreed to support this measure."

How could the Senator and his party so far betray their principles and the people who are their supporters? It beats me.

Yours etc.,
Johannesburg. R.L.

Dear Sir,

. . . We here are naturally always eager to hear news from the Union and always scan the papers for whatever

news they carry about home affairs.

It seems that it has been a hectic year in S.A. with more still in store. The Legion, I suppose, is all geared up for the election and I wish you every success in your efforts. Never in its history has the Legion had a more important role than at the present. With the conflict developing more acutely daily, South Africa has need of every fighter for decency and democracy. The Legion stands today, as it has always stood, at the forefront of the fight. Keep up the good work and may you soon have your reward.

Yours etc.,
London. M.F.

Dear Sir,

A short note to try and express my sincere gratitude for all the Legion has done for me.

That day I phoned you I was desperate and, apart from the trials and tribulations that I was yet to face, it seemingly appeared as though I would lose my personal belongings. You were most kind and sympathetic and your quick acceptance of my request for aid is an incident I shall never forget.

Cheerio and good luck.
Yours etc.,
Pretoria. D.K.

Dear Sir,

I am sorry I'm so late with my sub. I enclose 5/- postal order. I wish you luck in the dark days ahead of us. It is a pity the United Party has not a little of your courageous attitude, as far as the Nats. are concerned.

With best wishes,
Yours etc.,
Northern Rhodesia. C.L.

Towards A New Style Rally At NUREMBURG

JUNKER BRASS.

"The Bonn Treaty must be ratified immediately," stated nazi Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, convicted mass murderer recently freed by the British forces in Germany.

"The danger from the East does not permit a single day's hesitation in ratifying the treaty," he told a reporter for the Associated Press.

"I am convinced that a future German force, based on a nucleus of experienced East-Front soldiers, will show the same fighting spirit against Bolshevism as the Wehrmacht," he said.

SIEG HEILI

"To answer in advance a question which is often raised, we must state this is not a Jewish firm." (Circular advertising letter sent out by the West German stocking firm of Otto Schoenfisch, Bad Woerishofen, Germany).

SIEG HEILI!

"They are false Christians who say that Christians must not kill . . . We'll reconquer Breslau and Koenigsberg . . . Denazification was the biggest swindle against the German people. The U.S. is our guarantee of victory; the Americans are the Romans of our century . . . We shall go on fighting to vindicate the honour of the Waffen S.S." (Speech by leader of the nazi Federation of German Youth, Oct. 1952).

SIEG HEILI!!!

"I hope and pray that the moment will soon come when either I or some other American commander will turn this fine Air Base over to some German Wing Commander with the beginning of Germany's new Luftwaffe.

"You saw first that the great threat to civilisation was to the east, with the Communist Soviet Union. I wish that we had had the foresight then in 1945 to understand that.

"I impatiently wait with you for the day when we will stand shoulder to shoulder as friends and brothers to resist the threat of Communism." (Col. R. Scott, U.S. Army Air Force, addressing German newspapermen.)

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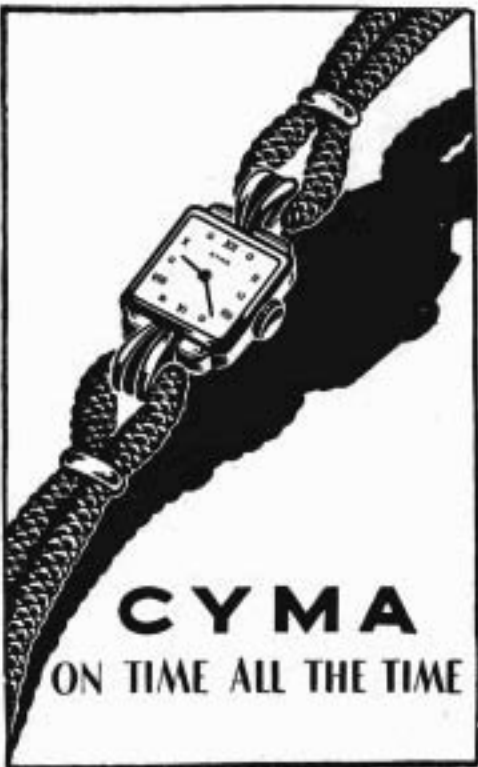
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Unless otherwise stated, J. Podbrey, 5 Somerset House, Fox Street, Johannesburg, is responsible for all political matter in this issue.