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TALK

CECIL WILLIAMS

on his

JOURNEY IN AFRICA

★ ★ ★

JOHN GILD

on

**THE TOMLINSON
REPORT**

★ ★ ★

Articles by

The Rev. A. W. Blaxall.

Alfred Hutchinson.

Simon Zukas.

G. Mbeki.

★ ★ ★

BOOKS

A MONTHLY JOURNAL FOR DEMOCRATS

COMMENT

A WEEK UNDER STRIJDOM

THE Cabinet Ministers had a busy week-end last month answering Father Huddleston's scathing attack on them in London's Albert Hall and on the British television network.

WEEK'S WORK

Soapboxes, hastily pressed into service, enabled Eric Louw and Mr. Strijdom to tell the backveld and the world that no-one — but no-one — is more democratic, enlightened and humanitarian than the present South African Government. Having laboured, they returned to Parliament to prove the point.

Dr. Donges introduced a Bill to give himself powers to deport from South Africa any non-South African without prior trial, hearing or reasons given. Dr. Verwoerd introduced a Bill to empower any urban local authority to banish from the area — without prior trial, hearing or reasons given — any African whose presence it considers is "detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order." Dr. Donges moved a Bill to remove Coloured voters from the common parliamentary voting roll, and to abolish the right of Coloured men to stand for election to the Cape Provincial Council. Dr. Verwoerd moved a Bill to enable him — without trial, hearing or reasons given — to close down any private school for African children, whenever he considers it necessary. Dr. Donges introduced a Bill to enable the Group Areas Board to proclaim the African townships of Lady Selborne and Claremont in Pretoria "White" group areas, and move all Africans out.

Even by South African standards it was quite a week. But the Nationalist M.P.s sweated it out, uncomplaining, even though their plan to raise their own salaries had been scuttled a few weeks before by United Party opposition. A tough week of Nationalist struggle for Western democracy and the salvation of the White man. In all the dark week, only one ray of light — felt by them no less than us, even though for different reasons. Parliament — be thankful for small mercies — only sits for some six months a year.

"POLICE Fire on Rioters. Boy loses eye." These were the morning headlines in the Johannesburg press after a short night's clash between Africans and police in Johannesburg last month. But by evening, a senior police officer had put the whole thing back into its proper, South African, perspective. "It was only an incident," he told the press.

MINOR INCIDENT

Another incident. The week before there had been an 'incident.' There had been a boycott of the kitchens at a Germiston African men's hostel, a protest at the poor quality of the food, which had gone on for weeks. And then, an 'incident.' Police opened fire, 4 Dead, 6 injured. At Port Elizabeth, a church congregation singing in the Easter procession in the African township where all meetings had been totally banned. There was an 'incident.' Police opened fire. 1 Dead, several injured. In Welkom,

at dead of night, there was a house-to-house raid for home-brewed liquor, on the first night that a new prohibition on home-brewing came into operation. There was an 'incident.' Police opened fire. 1 Dead, 4 injured. And in Johannesburg? There was a swoop for tax-defaulters. Police sealed off the entrances to a municipal beer hall, and demanded tax receipts. Beer mugs and stones were thrown. An 'incident.' 27 injured. At Bergville, a police party went out on a twenty-year-old routine of searching out and destroying dagga fields. A bugle blows, an 'impi' gathers, armed with knobkerries. An incident. 5 Dead, many injured.

Terror breeds terror, and killing provokes killing. Nowhere is this truth more patent than in South Africa. The dead and injured, Black and White, bear testimony to it. A cabinet minister encourages his police to shoot without hesitation when trouble looms. The lesson sinks in everywhere throughout the land — might is right. Seek not the path of peace! It is no longer possible to probe each separate violent clash and ask: 'Who struck the first blow?' Violence calls forth violence, and brutality breeds brutality. They feed on the air of Nationalist-ridden South Africa, where the sten gun has become part of the tax-collectors' armoury, and the lash has become the mainstay of the administration of 'justice.' Where the police cross the path of the African people, there is the raw material of public violence. 'Who started first?' The question is no longer relevant. The seeds have been sown and the harvest is coming in, borne along by the use of force and the threat of force that keeps a hated minority government in its place of power.

There will be trials, and there will be verdicts. But they will change nothing while the conditions that bring forth terror remain themselves unchanged. A call has been made for a Commission of Inquiry. But the solution is not a matter of searching; it is on record, found by the people themselves from the wells of their own bitter experience. It is in the Freedom Charter: The People Shall Govern; "All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside; the police force and army shall be the helpers and protectors of the people."

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"PARLIAMENT has never been asked to vote substantial (let alone enormous) sums intended primarily to be of direct benefit to Africans. That is why the Tomlinson Report is already as dead as mutton," writes John Gild.

"THE White Paper tabled by the Government has rejected all the major recommendations of the Tomlinson Report — among them the ten year development plan for the African Reserves (to have cost about £104,000,000) and the industrialisation of the Reserves."

Press Reports.

To Heaven With Tomlinson

By JOHN GILD

I CAN'T get excited about the Tomlinson Report. The reason is not that I dislike reading blue books; on the contrary, I can claim to have read more of them in my time than the next man. That is really the beginning of my trouble. I have not only read innumerable blue books about the conditions of the African people but, having a long memory, I can't forget what I've once read.

This brown book of the Tomlinson fantasy not only has nothing new to say but it is painful to read. For one thing, it is written (or translated into) the worst English imaginable. Every page is packed with woolly words that fail to convey any clear meaning to the reader — if one charitably assumes that the writers had a clear meaning to convey. Secondly, crude economic, social and political ideas are all jumbled up together in an impossible fashion.

In a nutshell, however, the story is that the time has come to "develop" the reserves. The blessed word "development" occurs on every page and it means just about everything. In particular, towns and industries will, it seems, spring up at places marked on the maps. And everything in the glorious new "Bantu states" will be lovely.

Nothing New At All

I was not excited or even interested to read how and why a set of Nationalist professors — after brooding, at Government expense, over the matter for five years — have concluded that Something Should be Done about the reserves, and that the cost of Doing Something will run to £10 million a year for each of the next ten years. The fact is that we have heard all this stuff before; not once but at least half-a-dozen times in the last generation.

In 1932 the Holloway Commission said that the reserves were rapidly becoming deserts and that unless Something were Done urgently, disaster would overtake not only the millions of people living in these deserts but the country as a whole. In 1936 the promise made in 1913 to enlarge the reserves began slowly to be carried out. This was the compensation offered for the removal of the Cape Africans from the common voters' roll. At that time a White Paper officially described the reserves as "congested, denuded, overstocked, eroded, and for the most part in a deplorable condition." Hertzog undertook to get Parliament to vote £10 million to buy land to enlarge the existing reserves. It took just about twenty years, from 1936 to 1955, to get and spend that sum of money in annual instalments. The money was mainly used to buy farms from White farmers who were glad to

sell them at exorbitant prices. Fancy prices were paid because it was good (political) business to do so and because the Land Act of 1936 made no provision to expropriate farmers whose land was required. In 1936 Africans occupied seven per cent. of the land of the Union. By 1956, when the Hertzog scheme was virtually wound up, they occupied ten per cent. The figure of 13 per cent., which is the maximum allowed under the law, has not been reached; indeed, after 20 years of slow progress towards it, only one-third of the promised land has been bought.

Finding The Money

To enlarge the existing over-crowded reserves was, however, only the first part of any previous plan, a part abandoned by the Tomlinson Commission, which does not propose to buy more land. The second part of any plan always contemplated the improvement of existing conditions, an aim that requires expenditure equally heavy, if not heavier. But under Hertzog's plan barely half-a-million pounds has been voted annually by Parliament for this second purpose and even that sum now comes from the poll tax. Accordingly, the amounts available for water supplies, fencing, dipping of stock, afforestation, stopping erosion, and all the rest, have always been pitifully small. And by always, I mean always. The Union Parliament has never displayed any eagerness to spend money on improving the reserves. From 1910 until 1936 no less than £112 million was spent on helping White farmers. In the same period, to help Black farmers the magnificent sum of £750,000 was spent, or less than one per cent. of the amount lavished on Europeans. And that was in "the good, old years" when Afrikaner nationalism was far from triumphant, when "moderate" men like Smuts and Hertzog were in command of the country, not extremists like Strijdom and Verwoerd.

The Union Parliament has been perfectly consistent. It will grant money to be spent on the reserves, or indeed on any project ostensibly designed to benefit Africans, only when the project is deemed necessary in the interests of Europeans and when, in addition, most of the money spent will, anyhow, find its way back into White pockets. Parliament has never been asked to vote substantial (let alone enormous) sums intended primarily to be of direct benefit to Africans. That is why the Tomlinson Report is already as dead as mutton.

Only a simpleton could read the situation in any

TOMLINSON-ISMS!

"... where the continued existence of a people is at stake, purely rational considerations play a relatively unimportant role . . ." — Paragraph 21 (i), p. 104.

"Racial differences — and here we mean inherited biological characteristics which cannot be explained away, and also spiritual characteristics whatever their origin — are undoubtedly peculiar to particular social organisms and definitely give rise to tension and conflicts during the process of contact." — Paragraph 77, p. 10.

"Many Bantu indicated that they were content to conduct negotiations through the medium of the recognised system of the chief-in-council. At the opposite pole, the Commission made the acquaintance of the 'African National Congress,' cast in the mould of neo-western political organisations, and of the incipient trade unions seeking to attain their ends by revolutionary means." — Paragraph 23, p. 15.

"Despite propelling forces, which cause fermentations and frequently lead to explosions, the Commission found a strong feeling of dependence on the part of the Bantu towards the European, as the person having knowledge of the new and unknown." — Paragraph 27, p. 15.

"... on account of the large numbers of culturally backward Bantu, the small number of Europeans have

to bear the onerous burden of uplifting and serving them — a burden heavier than that borne by other countries with exclusively white populations." — Paragraph 28, p. 16.

"In the absence of discrimination, what would happen is that the foundations on which European civilisation rest, would vanish before the European himself disappeared." — Paragraph 9, p. 17.

"The male Bantu . . . apparently prefers to be an employee of the European rather than a real farmer and tiller of the soil. Owing to this attitude the migrant labour system and the hitherto almost unlimited demand for labour in the European areas, constitute very powerful factors influencing the chances of the Bantu ever developing a self-supporting and efficient agricultural class of their own." — Paragraph 12, p. 73.

"It is a normal practice to buy farm produce from the Bantu and to sell it back to them at a later stage. Here, too, there is a danger of exploitation, but also in this case the Commission could not draw a definite conclusion." — Paragraph 25, p. 91.

"That the European will not be prepared willingly to sacrifice their right of existence as a separate national and racial entity, must be accepted as the dominant fact in the South African situation." — Paragraph 20, p. 103.

other light: You can, if you like, regard the professors who wrote this Report as a set of simpletons. They may have deceived themselves but they will not deceive anyone else who is not already an apostle of apartheid.

Apartheid Mythology

The deception inherent in this precious Report has an obvious purpose. It is designed to produce a grand (theoretical) justification of a policy of apartheid that has already been practised in one way or another for the last 50 years. In these times when Africans, in common with Asians and Arabs, are waking up to the realities of racial discrimination, it has become more and more difficult to make the world, and even the Dutch Reformed Church, take apartheid at its face value. The need was felt for some impressive, detailed description of the highroad to a Bantu heaven on earth. So here it is, all decked out with alleged facts and alleged figures that it would take months to expose thoroughly. For that effort in reply there is fortunately no need. No one who understands the economics of the social system that dominates South Africa will be misled for a moment into acceptance of the mythology of Tomlinson's earthly paradise. For it is as plain as the nose on Professor Tomlinson's face that these Nationalist professors do not want to disturb the present arrangements of "Native policy." These arrangements are such as to ensure White farmers



The White Man's Burden in Africa

mine-owners and industrialists a supply of cheap, migrant African labour. Consequently, from the very beginning of South Africa's economic development, able-bodied Africans have been forced out of those rural slums called reserves to come and work for low wages in the towns. If these reserves ever ceased to be slums and, by some magic, began to flourish as "Bantu states," the first men to resist the transformation would be White employers who profit by the existing system.

The main emotion roused in me by ploughing through this pretentious Report was one of contempt — contempt for the intellectual cloudiness, the pseudo-scholarship and the blind political partisanship that are writ large on every page of this dreary document.

AFRICAN AWAKENING

CECIL WILLIAMS writes on his visit to five West and Central African Countries.

THE one unchanging feature of life is the fact that it is forever changing. And social systems change as certainly as night changes to day, winter to summer. I have just visited five West and Central African countries, and time and time again was fascinated to discover abundant evidence of progressive change. I noticed, too, that:

dissimilarities in the social patterns between one country and another merely indicated different stages of development; the various phases of social development I encountered were almost exact duplications of similar phases recorded in the history, for example, of Great Britain; a cycle of change which took, say, two hundred years in Britain's mediaeval history, is being completed today in Africa, in say, twenty years; the direction of change in all countries was the same, namely, progress toward complete sovereign independence.

The peoples of Africa are rapidly reaching different stages in the process of "standing up" — some are already practically standing upright: others are in a tensed position, readying themselves for the final push-up. None of the people I saw were on their knees.

And all of the people I spoke to were well-informed on the racial oppression in South Africa; all bitterly resented it; some spoke of what they will be able to do to help smash racialism in South Africa and elsewhere; all were keenly aware of, and proud of, their brotherhood with the African people in the Union.

The repercussions of the social changes that are taking place in West Africa are inescapable, however much South Africa tries to insulate itself against them. And, mark my words, those repercussions are going to be powerful and swift. Whereas during the last decade or so South Africa has been regarded as the dominant power in the African continent, one can foresee it becoming more and more isolated and impotent as the newly rising African states make their influence felt in world and Commonwealth councils.

In Senegal

Dakar, port of Senegal and capital of French West Africa, is an interesting *mélange* of the new and the old. Narrow streets with low buildings abut on to boulevards, dignified with imposing examples of modern French tropical architecture. Native styles of dress mingle with smart clothes from Paris. Cinemas, bars and restaurants know no colour-bar, though I discovered that low wages and high cost-of-living allowed only a few Africans to dine in the high-class establishments.

Gabriel d'Arboussier, busy lawyer, former deputy to the French Assembly, showed me the city and its environs and introduced me to numerous members of the community. The Sengalese are a politically-developed people, because for over sixty years they have used their democratic franchise to send two deputies to the French

Assembly. In addition, they exercise the universal franchise in national assembly and municipal elections.

Gradually supplanting many diverse parties and bringing a unity to the independence movement, the *Rassemblement Democratique Africain*, a progressive party, is emerging as the expression of the people's will for independence and as the instrument for gaining that independence. The most significant fact about the RDA is that it is growing by leaps and bounds, not merely in Senegal, but throughout the eight territories that comprise French West Africa. I met a chemist, a teacher, a doctor, a trader, a landowner, a shopkeeper, and found an extraordinary confidence in themselves and in the RDA. There seemed to be an absence of the more furious emotions which often accompany a national liberatory struggle. Instead I found a realistic appraisal of what the struggle entails, systematic political education and organisation, and, above all, this quite extraordinary calm confidence, almost as if their sovereign independence had already been arranged and nothing remained but to sign. Of course, in a way, that is true.

Abidjan, the capital of the French Ivory Coast, is going to be a beautiful city. The fine modern buildings, domestic and public, the new bridge that is being thrown across the lagoon, the evidence of artistic townplanning all indicate for the future one of Africa's most attractive cities. I was far more conscious in Abidjan of the French colonials than I was in Dakar. The restaurants, the shops, the merchandise, the blocks of flats seemed much more exclusively for the French than for the Africans. Yet again I was strongly impressed by my African companion's deep assurance when we were looking at some delightful French-occupied villas. There was no haste or envy or rancour in his voice as he said, "We shall be living in them before ten years are up."

African Statehood

Accra, capital of the Gold Coast, presents yet another contrast: naturally so, since the Gold Coast has reached a different stage of social development. The signing of its independence is expected this year or next, despite the internal conflict that has developed among the parties contending for political power.

In Accra I felt I really was in an African state (as in Istanbul I felt I was in a Turkish state, in Shanghai in a Chinese state), despite the fact that certain big foreign enterprises still control the cocoa industry and a large share of commerce. But from the Black officials at the airport, the bank tellers, the taxi-drivers, the shop assistants, the civil servants, the members of parliament in session, a visitor can draw but one conclusion — this is their country and they are running it. Of course, there are still several White specialists in the country and the Gold Coast does not hesitate to engage White experts for particular projects, such as building the new port at Tema, investigating the damming of the Volta river for hydro-electric purposes and the mining of bauxite.

There seem to be two major internal conflicts in

the Gold Coast. The African Chief, who up to the present has exercised enormous power within a comparatively democratic system, now sees, with the introduction of the universal franchise, every Tom, Dick and Harry, as powerful politically as he is. He is, therefore, strongly opposing 'party' politics. Here you witness the last struggle of the feudal nobility to retain their privileged position.

The Convention People's Party, with Kwame Nkrumah at its head, forms the present government. The party is accused of planning to hold on to power by dictating the new constitution *after* independence has been achieved. Dr. J. B. Dankwe, formerly a deputy and a leading figure in the CPP, explained to me that the Opposition are demanding the formation of a fully representative national government or constituent assembly to frame the constitution *before* independence, new general elections to be held immediately thereafter.

The political opponents of the government have opportunistically, as it seemed to me, allied themselves with the reactionary chiefs to form the National Liberation Movement party. These conflicts have to be resolved.

There have been pessimistic predictions in Britain, of course, that "the Africans are not ready," "there'll be civil war," "there will be economic breakdown." No new state can come into existence without experiencing all sorts of difficulties. But, whatever they may be, they cannot, in my opinion, justify the withholding of the people's final liberation and independence.

Nigerian Weekend

The long Easter week-end found me in Lagos, capital of Nigeria, still short of final independence. Again I found an African country and nowhere, not even in China, have I met greater friendliness. It was remarkable to walk along a street and to be greeted by almost every passer-by, men, women and children, with 'Good morning' or 'Hello' and a smile. I could hardly believe it. A railway constable at the main station took an hour off to tell me all about Lagos; as evening service was about to start in the Congregational church, a man came out and invited me to join in the service; a bus conductor was thrilled to point out the sights to me as we drove through the crowded streets; in the hotel lounge an accountant and a hospital nurse, who had just come from the races where they had handsomely lost, invited me to have a drink, over which we discussed cost-of-living, betting, religion and world peace.

The big problem in Nigeria is how to achieve national unity so that independence can be gained for a united Nigeria, instead of for three federal states. Some people I spoke to were convinced that the splitting of the country into three federal states was a British stratagem to postpone the granting of independence. It is true that there is great diversity of 'tribes,' languages, levels of social development, but, as Gogo Nzeribe, a trade unionist, pointed out to me, these differences have not in the past prevented unity of organisation and action in many spheres of national activity, such as the All-Nigeria Trade Union Federation, the main liberatory party, the churches, etc. Two months ago the progressive forces of Nigeria formed the Nigerian Labour Party, which is committed to achieving independence on the basis of the 'unitary' system.

And they will succeed, for the desire for independence in the hearts of the African people will overcome all foreign and domestic disruptive tactics.

Congo Colour-bar

It came as a surprise on reaching the Belgian Congo's principal airport at Leopoldville, to find the immigration, health and customs officials all white. Africans carried our luggage and drove the bus. At the hotel the African staff were dressed in those insulting cotton uniforms. There were no Africans sitting in the boulevard cafe. How quickly one sensed the different atmosphere — there was a whiff of the Union about it. After a while, of course, I discovered that, although progress in the Belgian Congo is travelling along different lines from those of West Africa, yet the system differs from the South African pattern as chalk from cheese.

Mr. Bomans, the Deputy Director of Native Affairs, devoted a morning to detailing the Belgian Congo's schedules for educational, industrial and social advance. Later he took me on a tour of African housing estates, factories, a school for turning out physical training teachers and a sports stadium.

Colour bars exist in the Congo. For instance, although Black and White children are admitted to the same schools, a certain 'standard-of-living' test is applied in the more select schools, which obviously must exclude many Africans, since African workers are not paid the 'expatriate' allowance, which White workers from overseas receive. Likewise, an African may enter any cinema he chooses, providing he can show his 'matriculation' card. The same card must be shown when an African wishes to drink spirits in a city bar. Of course, in the African areas, he is free to drink beer and wine at will and to enter the cinemas.

There is no residential colour-bar, although the lack of capital keeps Africans out of expensive city areas. There is no colour bar at the university level of education and Black and White students work together at the Kimuenza University College outside Leopoldville and will do so at the University of the Belgian Congo, opening at Elizabethville in October.

The Belgian Congo authorities have for some years now been pressing forward with the development of artisan and technical training, so that today in textile, engineering, shipbuilding, soap and furniture factories Africans provide practically all the skilled labour, handling machines of the greatest complexity and delicacy.

Politically, however, there is very little advance on the part of the Africans. There is no franchise. Even in African townships the members of the board are nominated. Trade unions are 'government-sponsored.' The Congo sends no representative to the Belgian Assembly. I met no one who could tell me about a liberatory movement.

Thinking back on the interesting visits I have made to the five African countries, I recall the words of Assane Seck, professor of Geography at the University of Senegal. Referring to the total suppression of apartheid in the Union and the paternalist system of the Congo, he said: "One must admit that from the White rulers' point of view, those systems have more logic in them than the French or British systems in West Africa. All the same," he added, "no matter how logical or illogical the White men's system of suppression, African liberation throughout the whole continent is upon us here and now." That crystallises for me the impressions I gained on my African journey home.

Presidential Peas in a Pod

"P IS FOR POD and for Peas in a Pod," says the Grade One reader, and it might well add: "And P is for President and President Prospective." For this year's puddle-full of U.S. presidential candidates are alike as peas in a wormy pod and just about as attractive.

You get some idea how much alike the Republicans and the Democrats are when you realise that compared with them the United Party and the Nats seem different. The most liberal Republicans are just as liberal as the most liberal Democrats, the most reactionary Republicans are just as reactionary as the most reactionary Democrats, and the most in-between Republicans are just as in-between as the most in-between Democrats.

It is true that on national issues — except the vital issue of racial equality — the Democrats tend to be a little more enlightened than the Republicans, and have therefore the backing of most of the trade union movement, but on international policy the Democrats are as effective warmongers as anything the Republicans can produce. A Democrat was in the White House when the U.S. started the Korean war — and it was Democratic candidate Stevenson who attacked Eisenhower for his 'weakness' at Geneva.

Progressive Pressure

It is because there is little to choose between the presidential prospects of the two big parties, and because the left considers itself too weak to put up its own candidate without isolating itself from the current of political activity that develops during the election campaign, that progressives are concentrating not on backing any particular candidate, but on building up irresistible pressure for the policies of peaceful coexistence, racial equality and democracy which are gaining ground in the U.S.

The majority of progressives consider that the greatest possibilities for success lie in mobilising the most militant trends within the Democratic Party to exert pressure on the Democratic leadership to bring about substantial changes in the policy of the Party, and thus indirectly to force the Republican Party too to modify its stand.

Negro Votes

A factor which will be of greater

significance in this election than ever before is the fight that has developed for equal rights for Negroes. Led by the National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People (NAACP) the Negroes have been waging big battles on many fronts — most world-famous of which have been the fight by Miss Autherine Lucy for admission to the all-White University of Alabama, and the 9 weeks-long bus boycott in Montgomery where the Negro leaders now face criminal trials.

SPECTATOR, of NEW AGE, on the U.S. Presidential Elections.

In the past the Democrats in the North have had the support of a substantial number of Negroes, in spite of the racialism of the Southern Democrats. But this situation has changed rapidly. Negroes are no longer satisfied that there should be one policy for the North and one for the South.

Matters have been brought to a head by the election by the Democrats of Senator Eastland as chairman of the powerful Senate judicial sub-committee. On a cutting reporting this news, which the NAACP has sent me, there is printed in red pencil: "Eastland is the Strijdom of the United States!"

At a big national civil rights convention last month NAACP Washington director Mr. Clarence Mitchell declared bluntly: "Tell those Democrats that if they keep a stinking albatross like Senator Eastland round their necks they can kiss our votes good-bye."

So there is every chance that the votes the Republicans have lost by their brink of war policy have been balanced by those they have gained from the Democratic South's apartheid policy, for the Republicans who have never had much strength in the south have felt safe in pretending to take a strong anti-apartheid line, and have made much of the fact that Chief Justice Warren, who delivered the important anti-segregation judgment ordering all Southern schools to get ready to open their doors to Negro children, is a Republican.

Republican Rating

With all hopes pinned on Eisenhower, and fingers crossed that he'll stay alive until election day, the Republican emphasis is on the vice-



— just take your choice...

presidency. The fascist wing is backing Nixon, and it would be a tremendous victory for the extreme right if the men who run the Republican Party were able to foist this corrupt, rabble-rousing, red-baiting, war-mongering typical gauleiter on to the American people. But it is a sign of the upsurge of the democratic forces that the Republican leaders seem well aware that Nixon would be too much for the people to stomach, and in spite of the enthusiasm of the capitalist press — spearheaded by the New York Times, New York Herald Tribune and Time magazine — for Nixon, there is every sign that the nomination will go to a man who is not so clearly branded as a thug — someone like Dewey, twice the unsuccessful candidate.

Eisenhower seems to be doing his best to torpedo the myth that he is a peaceful, reliable middle of the roader. With remarkable tenacity he has been championing Nixon, in spite of the urgent pleas of party leaders to let the vice-president fade into the background. Said Eisenhower fiercely last month: "If anyone ever has the effrontery to come in and urge me to dump somebody that I respect as I do Vice-President Nixon, there will be more commotion around my office than you have noticed yet.." (Time, March 19.)

This attitude, combined with Eisenhower's open association with Dulles' "brink of war" blunder that enraged the U.S. is sure to have a serious effect on the Eisenhower candidacy, and the fact is that in spite of the Gallup poll build-up, Eisenhower's support is greatly overrated, as was strikingly illustrated by the fact that he was barely able to beat Kefauver in the primary elections two weeks ago in one of the states which is overwhelmingly Republican. Nor is his health going to be kept out as an election issue. The Democrats are gradually warming up with more and more

U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

open references to the implications of Eisenhower's physical incapacity.

Democrats' Deal

It is among the Democrats that the most interesting presidential struggle is taking place — and if voting trends continue as they have been in the past three years, it will be the candidate of this party who will be the next president.

From right to left the three top candidates are New York Governor Harriman, former candidate Stevenson, and Estes Kefauver.

Harriman, who has little popular support outside New York, is a multi-millionaire who controls one of the biggest U.S. Railroads, Union Pacific, and has enormous banking interests. He has the backing of the powerful and corrupt New York Tammany Hall which is able to pull strings among the most influential Democrats all over the country.

Harriman's strategy is to lie quietly and hope Stevenson and Kefauver will batter each other to death. Then Harriman with his solid New York support is to step in and pick up the pieces.

While Harriman sits observantly on the sidelines, the actual ideological struggle is being fought by Stevenson and Kefauver.

Now Kefauver has not got any chance to win. He has no support from big business and can't even afford to buy time on television for election addresses. For this reason those Democrat liberals who are scared of a Harriman victory are urging that progressives forget about Kefauver and make sure of Stevenson.

But progressives are adopting no such defeatist policy. Kefauver is no left-winger. Nor is he a man of principle. But his very opportunism has made him realize, as no other candidate has, the immense demand in the U.S. for a policy of peaceful co-existence and for an end to McCarthyism. He has to a large extent adopted this policy — and he has won widespread popular support despite the united opposition of the Democratic leadership.

Progressives, while not endorsing Kefauver, are winning great support for their peace policies — and if Kefauver (as is increasingly happening) is prepared to adopt those policies, that is all to the good.

Kefauver's Campaign

The success that the progressive movement has already had is most heartening. In California, Kefauver received a far more enthusiastic welcome than did Stevenson, and when his expressed support for the total abolition of apartheid in the U.S. won rounds of applause, Stevenson, who had been silent on this vital issue, was forced to express similar views. While Kefauver did not displace Stevenson in California, it was as a result of the campaign around him that a "civil rights" Democrat, who had actually signed a brief for a Communist legal appeal was almost unanimously chosen as candidate for the senate in the place of a MacCarthyite.

Even more striking was Kefauver's runaway victory over Stevenson in the Minnesota primary election, which showed the direct appeal of his policies to the electorate.

The press was unanimous in forecasting, right to the last moment that Kefauver had been trounced in Minnesota. Time (March 19), only two days before Kefauver's overwhelming victory was announced was sneering in its most nauseating manner: "Kefauver never got off the ground . . . Stevenson's campaign went well . . ."

Muddling Along

Kefauver's record is a classic one of muddle and opportunism.

During the Korean war he advocated the bombing of China. But he opposed going to war over Quemoy or Matsu, though, of course, he favours continued intervention in Formosa against China.

He opposes "Socialised Medicine." He opposed a bill to outlaw the Communist Party, but supported the Smith Act in terms of which Communists are imprisoned for advocating Communism.

He supported Truman's "loyalty programme" but attacks "McCarthyism." In the 1952 campaign he did not come out squarely for civil rights and against apartheid.

But this year Kefauver has sensed the change in the times, and because his only ambition is to be president, he has adjusted himself quietly.

Attacking Dulles he declared bluntly: "It's time we started talking for a change about peace. We should put in a deep dark closet all Secretary Dulles' bellicosity."

Against the College Colour-Bar

A letter to the Negro woman student who challenged the Alabama University Colour-bar.

Dear Miss Lucy,

It could have happened in this race-blighted country — at any of the colour-bar universities — Frenoria, Stellenbosch, Potchefstroom. And now I wonder if such an incident as took place at the University of Alabama were to happen here, would it go without protest, without an outcry?

It is as a comrade-in-arms that I write to you to say that we were deeply shocked to read of your treatment by the race-mad students of Alabama University. It is as a comrade-in-arms that I write to say how very sorry we are that you could not stay at the university. We are proud of you and admired your determination to continue at the university. In more ways than one you have dealt a blow to the monster of racism and advanced the struggle for freedom by yet another step. Being a South African, and a Black South African at that, such things are not unknown to me.

We had welcomed the Supreme Court decision declaring unconstitutional segregation in public schools as a great victory for the cause of freedom in your country — crowning long years of struggle by the Negro people and their organisations. And now I ask: how could a thing like this have happened? How was such a decision floated and disheoured? By your decision to stay at the university, at great risk to yourself, you upheld every word of the decree. You did not betray it — the racialists did.

I need not tell you that education in our country is segregated, unequal,

He toured the Socialist countries last year and smiled at everybody.

Above all he has committed himself completely in the fight against racialism. He described the Till murder as a "horrible and terrible thing" and supported the Supreme Court decision on desegregation.

But whatever the rank-and-file support for Kefauver, the chances are that it will be Stevenson who will get the vital votes — the dollars behind him will see to that this time just as they did last time.

And Stevenson — in spite of veiled criticism of apartheid in South Africa — is a man about whom progressives



Alma Berrill in *Continuity*, Motion City
Racism in Alabama.

qualified. Except for the Universities of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town there is no meeting of Black and White in the same classroom. Today the freedom of these universities to admit Non-White students is seriously threatened. The wolf of "Apartheid" is prowling at their doors. The students at the universities have strenuously resisted the imposition of segregation, and continue to do so.

A new brand of education has been manufactured, an education stamped with ignorance and inhumanity — Bantu education. This education seeks to teach the African child that he is an inferior type of human being and to make of the African people slaves forever.

Today many children are out of school; today many teachers have been

have no illusions.

He is as uncouth as any Republican. Asked to comment on criticism in India of American racialism following an insult to an Indian diplomat at a U.S. airport, Stevenson replied in the best Eric Loure style: "It is poor grace for the people of India to criticise the U.S. when India's caste system is the worst segregation system in the world."

Last time he ran, Stevenson played a double role. In the North he acted anti-racialist, in the South he acted racist. The result was that the North was so angry with his South speeches that he didn't win a single electoral

sacked; prosecutions, intimidation, bitterness have come in the wake of Bantu education. It is indeed a bitter day for education in our country. The people have met this threat with an unprecedented determination to fight and defeat it.

You can well imagine the parlous condition of African schools. I imagine that Negro schools in the Southern States are a fitting counterpart: tumble-down buildings, huge, crowded classes, hungry, badly-clothed children, underpaid teachers . . . and the government complains that too much is being spent on African education, when the disproportion between the money spent on a European child and an African child is harrowing; when only one-third of African children of school-going age are in schools! I am a teacher and these things rattle and I have been bitter many times.

But there is no cause for despair. Perhaps that is why this letter is not written to console you. And, if I may, it is meant to exhort you and the youth of the United States to take up the fight for equality with redoubled effort! It is written to say that we are with you every inch of the road — thorny though it be.

Our hope now lies in the Freedom Charter. Perhaps you heard of our Congress of the People held in June last year. At that historic gathering of the people of South Africa — Black and White — a charter of freedom was adopted, drawn up from the nearest and dearest demands of the people. It is only under the sheltering wing of the Freedom Charter that

majority in the North, and the South was so angry with his North speeches that he even lost 5 states of the solid South. This time Stevenson is taking no chances. He is talking to the South only, and the Southern Democrats have already made it clear that they are satisfied with him. The South will vote for Stevenson. But, as the Minnesota vote has shown, the North won't. And faced with a choice between Stevenson on the one hand and Eisenhower and Nixon on the other, American Negroes and progressives will have little to be enthusiastic about.

But even if, this November, the electorate is faced with so dismal a

Southern Gentlemen

In gentle Alabama
The mobsters take delight
In guarding southern women —
As long as they are white.

In regional politeness
They find a guiding light:
They honour southern women —
As long as they are white.

But if a southern woman,
Whose colour is not white,
Seeks equal education,
These gentlemen take flight.

A woman's not a woman,
And country's not right
At the U. of Alabama —
Unless her skin is white.

A. Bowman.

education in our country will take root and grow into a flower of light and happiness — not of darkness and despair. For the Freedom Charter declares: The doors of learning and of culture shall be opened!

There are brave men and women in our countries. The fires of freedom are alight. In my country the struggle for liberation, led by the Congress movement, is daily growing and the day of freedom is not far off. Today the cry for freedom is urgent, compelling: Freedom in our life-time! The brave wind of freedom is blowing — the wind which must destroy the house built on the shifting sands of inequality, hatred, suspicion and prejudice. Everywhere new suns are rising and, comrade-in-arms, our dawn cannot be far away.

Yours sincerely,

Alfred Hutchinson.

choice, it may well be that the new forces for progress which will have been created during the course of the campaign will be justification of the policy adopted, among others by the Communist Party, of concentrating attention on an alternative programme rather than as alternative candidate. The nomination of a Third Party candidate might have cut the most militant Americans off from the mainstream of the election campaign. Their participation may create the conditions where the electorate is so disgusted with the choice it had that the mass demand for a Progressive Party will grow and prove irresistible.

Northern Rhodesian Africans Fight the

COPPER-BELT COLOUR-BAR

By Simon Zukas

A few months ago agreement on a slight relaxation in the industrial colour bar was reached between the mining companies and the European Mineworkers' Union on Northern Rhodesia's copperbelt.

These agreements — there were two — are certainly an advance on the South African situation and could, if pushed further by African trade union action, pave the way for real African advancement in industry. It is, however, essential to realise how limited the new openings are and to understand the uses the mining companies are trying to make of them.

As a result of the agreement, 75 new jobs have been opened to Africans in the mining industry as a whole — jobs previously done by Europeans. However, some 24 of these jobs, those usually referred to as "identical", were already being done by Africans on two of the mines for many years — with nowhere near "equal pay" of course. Most of the semi-skilled jobs transferred fall into this category. Overhead crane drivers, for instance, were Africans on the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of mines and Europeans on the Anglo-American owned mines. With the Africans getting only one tenth and one twentieth of the Europeans' basic and gross pay respectively this was far too glaring an example of equal work for unequal pay and had to go.

Some of the jobs like "concrete mixer attendant" were already being done by Africans throughout the territory; others, like parks and gardens attendant, and two police jobs are of little significance from the point of view of "African advancement in industry" — the phrase bandied about by the mining companies.

Undermining the Union

While implementing the agreements, the companies are doing their level best to undermine the African Mineworkers' Union whose strength was not only responsible for the companies' "initiative" in pressing for the "advancement" but is bound to ensure that African hopes for a full share in the industrial development of their country are not frustrated either by the Chamber of Mines or by the European Mineworkers or by a combination of both. Sixty-two of the

new jobs, the Companies have classified as "staff jobs". On these they are not prepared to negotiate with the African Mineworkers' Union. A Mines' African Staff Association was set up by the companies for this very purpose and was until recently, when the African Mineworkers Union outmanoeuvred the Companies, led by official "personal officers" and "security advisers".

The highest paid jobs have been put into this category and a more blatant attempt to weaken the African Mineworkers' Union could hardly have been fathomed. Here are some of the new "staff" jobs: sub-development cleaner, underground pipelayer, brick supplier, concrete mixer attendant, trench digger . . . While they were being done by Europeans they were all daily-paid jobs and not staff.

Although the agreements specifically stipulate that wages and conditions of service for the transferred jobs shall be negotiated between the companies and unions representing the African workers, the companies have ignored this and so far negotiated not even with the Mines' African Staff Association. This has led to a change of leadership in the Association and joint protest action between it and the African Mineworkers' Union on the new wages and conditions of service.

Pay Rates

A recent leading article in Union News, organ of the European Mineworkers' Union declared that "the acid test of the protestations by the mining companies that they sincerely wish to advance Africans will be embodied in the financial returns those Africans will get for performing 'advanced' jobs". The new rates of pay vary from £12/7/6 (per month) for an "anode take-off attendant" to £31/2/6 for a "sub-development cleaner". The former represents less than one-eleventh of the basic wage previously paid to the European (less than one twentieth of his gross wage); the latter compares with a basic wage of £72/3/0 and a gross wage — with copper bonus — in the region of £180 per 26 shifts. An "open pit heavy equipment driver" is to receive £25 per 30 day ticket whereas the basic wage of the Euro-

peans who previously did the job was £66/19/0 for 26 shifts (gross wage about £150).

One could hardly expect the companies to have offered "equal pay" at an early stage, but they are determined not to do this even after the African has proved himself fully capable to perform "equal work". This was made clear during the hearings of the Forster Commission.

Mr. J. Thomson: If after five years, we find the African who can do the same quality work as an European, he should have some more advanced wage related to the African wage structure.

Mr. H. J. B. Vieyra, Q.C.: "Not the European wage structure?"

Mr. J. Thomson: "No, because of the dual society".

(Evidence before the 1954 Board of Inquiry on the Advancement of Africans in the Copper Mining Industry in Northern Rhodesia, Mr. J. Thomson is the senior general mine manager on the copperbelt, a director of several Rhodesia Selection Trust copper mines and chairman of the Chamber of Mines. Mr. Vieyra was appearing for the European Mineworkers' Union.)

Clearly, however loud the Northern Rhodesian Mining Companies may be shouting for African "advancement" on the copper mines, their reasons are anything but humanitarian. "Advancement" is to take place, but not even when the African's work is equal to the European's is he to get equal pay. And why? Because of the "dual society".

The Excuse

In other words, the existence of a general colour bar, the caste system, is to become the *open* excuse for cheap labour when that can no longer be defended on the grounds of African technical inferiority. No doubt, the mining companies can be relied on to strive to maintain the "dual society", but the existence of a strong, mature and militant African Mineworkers' Union and recent developments in the African Staff Association are grounds for hope that the mining companies will not succeed in their aims for very long.

(Continued on next page)

Talking Out of Turn . . .

By the Rev. A. W. Blaxall

RECENTLY, while listening to the evening news, my wandering attention was caught by an announcement to the effect that the Government had agreed to subsidise a new school for blind Natives (I use their terminology when quoting them, although in private practice I try to discipline myself to correctness). The news was confirmed in the paper the next morning as a secondary item; that is to say, it was given a modest paragraph with a single column caption. The place approved is Klipspruit; the sponsors of the effort one of the committees of the Dutch Reformed Church; the subsidy promised is that usually accorded to such institutions under the Special Schools Act, and — so stated the paragraph — provision is to be made for 50 children.

Now Klipspruit is on the motor road going up from Middelburg to Sekukuniland: I believe the other end of the motor road is Potgietersrust, but that I cannot say with certainty. In any case it is not terribly easy of access if pupils are to come from far, so I conclude it is mainly for local

COPPERBELT COLOUR-BAR

At present the African Union and Staff Association have formed a united front to combat the companies' attempt to pass over Africans with years of experience by insisting on academic qualifications — standard eight in most cases. They have stated they are not prepared to accept the gross discrepancy in pay between that offered to "advanced" Africans and that previously paid to the Europeans doing the same job. But above all, the African mineworkers insist that the battle for advancement has only just begun; that "it is time Africans were consulted on the matter", and that "what is needed is the advancement of the African mineworkers as a whole, not just a handful".

In the past the companies tried to use the question of "advancement" as a diversion from demands for civilized wages for all mineworkers. The African Union was not deceived then, and having seen the meagre fruit, are now more determined than ever not to be side-tracked.

children. As such I rejoice greatly because when it comes to humanitarian work it is of secondary importance who does the job so long as it is done by people with the requisite knowledge and experience.

Then I sat down and did a little thinking — call it reminiscing if you like.

My mind went back to the year 1942 when the late Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr was Minister of Education. For several years previous to that I had been with others to see him and his departmental heads on the subject of the inadequate provision for deviate children of all categories and racial groups in our country. In 1942 came the announcement that an inter-departmental committee had been appointed under the chairmanship of Dr. Louis van Schalkwyk, whose knowledge and experience in all types of work for handicapped people is probably unrivalled in the Union. In due course — in 1945 to be precise — the report of the committee was published: an enormous volume, splendidly printed and bound, but (and I recall now how my heart sank at the time), the total survey, and all the recommendations, applied only to the section of the South African public commonly called European. However, my bitter disappointment was somewhat relieved when a promise was received that the volume released was merely the first part of the committee's work, and they would continue their labours into the field of so-called Non-European work.

Once again Time went marching along, picking up in its stride all the changes created by the vagaries of the human race. At long last the second volume of the committee's report appeared in January 1950. This time it was a bound volume of roneoed pages, 162 in all (including the indices) of which 123 covered the field of Coloured and Indian children, leaving five pages for Africans, and 12 pages of recommendations. In the latter occurs this significant paragraph:

"As regards the Natives, it is only protracted research on a country-wide basis which will in any measure determine the extent of deviation under each of the categories"

I well remember that when this report was considered by the National Council's dealing with work for the handicapped, I persuaded them to point out that if we were to wait for a nation-wide survey we might as well give up any idea of education and training. In the meanwhile suffering untold would continue. We urged that there was sufficient information available through the researches of missionaries and others to indicate the areas of greatest need.

Argument of that weight cannot be ignored so — believe it or not — someone, somewhere, had a brain-wave! Let us start with one category of handicapped children, namely the blind, and let us set up a new inter-departmental committee to study where such schools should be sited, and other relevant matters! The Minister of Education, Arts and Science managed to persuade his colleagues of kindred portfolios to agree, and in the fullness of time a committee was appointed. Once again the round of writing memoranda, giving personal evidence, and what have you.

But not everyone was able to wait. People were stirred by alarming figures produced from surveys carried out by the Bureau for the Prevention of Blindness. It is now apparent that some people who are members of the Dutch Reformed Church were anxious to make their contribution to alleviate the situation; they acquired a farm at Klipspruit and started building up a fund — all very laudable.

The other side of the mountain from Sekukuniland, in the domain of Chief Chunie, someone else was stirred. The Reverend Father A— of the Roman Catholic Church had had some blind friends in his home country, so when he saw little blind African children living in all the misery which accompanies total darkness, his heart was moved. He collected them together; he wrote to his home friends and got some equipment; he gave of his own time and love to teach them the way along the road to light of the mind and joy of the spirit. The news spread and others arrived. The good father was hard put to for accommodation and so on. He appealed to the Government for help and was told that they only consider suggestions endorsed by the national organization. He went to the Council for the Blind, but all they could get from the Department concerned was: the report of the Special Committee on the siting of schools of blind "Natives" is

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JEBE'S CAUSE LIVES ON

G. MBEKI ON POLICE TERROR IN THE EASTERN CAPE

FOR years prior to the Defiance Campaign, Port Elizabeth was known as the city most liberal in its attitude to the Africans. There were sporadic incidents such as the Masabalala shootings, but this was the city where African National Congress meetings were opened by the mayor of the town, where there were no pass laws, and whoever cared to hold an open air meeting did not as much as advise the superintendent of New Brighton Location. Port Elizabeth was the "friendly city" boasted its Councillors, and the Africans echoed the praise.

Then the African National Congress decision to defy unjust laws aroused the people to the fact that the "friendly city" was, if friendly at all, only friendly to those who did not live in it. In 1952 thousands went to jail because they had come to realise that even in liberal Port Elizabeth there were as many unjust laws as in the harshest of cities.

The awakening of the people brought about a changed attitude in the City Council. For the first time it started to rigorously apply the Urban Areas Act and all its regulations that make life for an African in an urban location ever anxious and unbearable.

TALKING OUT OF TURN . . .

awaited; until their recommendations are known no steps can be taken to assist any venture.

It is now 1956: fourteen years since the first start in 1942. Only through the press do those who are intimately interested learn that one school is to be approved. So far it is 'a school in the air'; there is not a child being taught or a brick in its place. The other side of the mountain nearly two score children are being taught in poor buildings with a minimum of equipment — are they to be recognised for subsidy? I do not know so I had better not say. These are the facts as I know them, and I repeat that with all my heart I rejoice to know that there is at last to be a school in Sekukuniland, a place known to have an incidence of blindness higher than anywhere else in the Union, and probably as high as anywhere in the world. Yes, it is something to be thankful for, BUT may the screaming needs of the others not be forgotten.

From 1953 open air meetings were prohibited at New Brighton, and systematically applications for the use of municipal halls for meetings were turned down until a Congress meeting at New Brighton was an unheard-of thing.

But the authorities had underestimated the determined forward-surge of the people. In 1952, the year of defiance, thousands of men and women had slept in cold jail because at a railway station they had sat on a bench marked 'Europeans Only,' or entered the post office through a door not marked "Non-Europeans." Denial of permission to hold meetings in municipal locations was not enough to dampen the enthusiasm and principled determination to fight for "freedom in our lifetime."

The law did not prevent the holding of meetings on privately owned property. So little Veeplaats and Malatsky square in Korsten became the freedom fighters' open air rallying places.

A New Chapter

Then on March 2 this year, in a brief sentence of fifty-six words, the Government, through the Governor-General, shattered the myth of freedom of assembly. By one stroke of the pen it was decreed that not again were meetings of more than ten Africans to take place without permit in the magisterial areas of Port Elizabeth and Humansdorp. Although Uitenhage is outside the jurisdiction of these two areas there, too, the authorities have clamped on meetings. At Humansdorp and Hankey, at Kirkwood in the Sundays River Valley, at Grahams-town and Peddie, everywhere in the Eastern Cape Nationalist police rule has created a state of emergency.

In the towns Special Branch detectives nose around buildings where they suspect meetings of more than ten may be held; in factories they check up during breaks; they intimidate employers in "private enterprise" to dismiss workers who are "undesirable" according to police standards; the Labour Bureaux co-operate by endorsing such people out of the area — thus the police would determine the very livelihood of the people. Location superintendents eject people from houses; churches are investigated thoroughly before meetings in churches,

even women's meetings are disallowed; uniformed police and municipal police in locations pounce upon peaceful people in their homes to find out if there are no meetings in progress.

Hounded

Farm workers in the farming area are hounded out under the Squatters Act. Only protracted legal cases in Hankey have so far temporarily saved the leaders of the Congress from having to move with their families along roads that lead to nowhere. In Kirkwood some Congress leaders have been ejected. The police are forcing the hand of municipal authorities and Divisional Councils to use the meanest means to crush the people. In the reserves at Peddie, trucks and vans carrying armed police are a commoner sight than the ordinary car. Women and children are subjected to probing questions about meetings of which they have no knowledge.

The entire Eastern Cape has become one vast concentration camp whose administration is, for all practical purposes, run by the police. In the history of the liberatory movement this marks the opening of a new chapter: the forces of authority are at work to break the back of the liberatory movement.

Resistance

But the attempt to muffle genuine opposition to nationalist rule has been fiercely resisted by the people. The Government decreed that there shall be no meetings of more than ten people. But the people were determined that the Congress, the spearhead of the liberatory movement, would continue to guide them along the road that leads to the realisation of the common man's aspirations as written in the Freedom Charter.

In the Government's action to deprive them of the right of assembly, the people saw the growing strength of their organisation and the sign of weakness of their rulers. Those who had before regarded the Congress with indifference began to ask why the Government should decide to deny ALL the African people the right to assemble. The blanket ban took all and sundry under it. Even a government supporter requires a permit to hold a meeting and he would have to convince those in authority that it was not a Congress meeting, but he could not exclude from his meetings individuals who are Congress members and supporters.

Anxious to enforce the new decree,
(Continued on following page)

books

FAITH OF A PARTISAN

"IMPARTIALITY is either a delusion of the simple minded, a banner of the opportunist, or a boast of the dishonest."

Professor Gaetano Salvemini.

TREVOR HUDDLESTON is a man of many gifts. But none so impressive as his ability to slice through unessentials, to brush away side issues, and come directly to grips with the heart of a problem. It is this gift which he has used with such devastating effect in "Naught for your Comfort," the book which has set South Africa talking about itself and its future as never before. There IS a central core to the problem of this country's future; unlike so many other well-meaning writers about our country and its people, Father Huddleston puts his finger—better, his two fists—squarely on that core: citizenship! "As a Christian, I cannot believe either in the right or the possibility of a Government (particularly when that Government is a minority group in its own country) directing and planning the destiny of a whole people and enforcing a pattern of life upon them for all their years." This is the heart and core of the Huddleston attack on the laws and customs of South Africa, just as it is the heart of the Freedom Charter—"The People Shall Govern."

It is not to be wondered at that this book has drawn such fire and outcry

from amongst the White supremacists of all parties, where better documented, more scholarly but less pertinent treatises have slid by unnoticed. "He does not tell his readers or his audiences what has been done, and is being done for the Bantu in the way of education, social and medical services and agricultural training," accuses Eric Louw in a public outburst. But this is precisely the point of Father Huddleston's message to South Africa. "What I shall try to avoid," he writes in his opening chapter, "is that most common and persistent error — the attempt to be impartial. By this I mean that I shall write this book as a partisan" And then again: "It is always possible, I suppose, even in the most vicious enactments of the most vicious governments to see elements of potential good. But Wilberforce would never have succeeded in abolishing slavery if he had listened to the arguments of kind-hearted but wrong-headed slave-owners." Father Huddleston is not interested in an impartial, scholarly weighing up of the good and the bad of South Africa. He is engaged in a campaign against slavery; there is in him neither the opportunism, the dishonesty nor the simple-mindedness to raise in his own defence the banner of "impartiality." His book is the testimony of a partisan who has taken sides.

And in sparing no punches, Father Huddleston has understandably aroused the ire and condemnation of the most pig-headed and self-righteous of the White supremacists.

But it must be said that his book has also disappointed some of those who are his stoutest protagonists and

allies, some of the members of the Congress movement. "He is defeatist," they say of Huddleston's conclusion that he sees little immediate hope for the salvation of South Africa except by pressure exerted from abroad. "He underestimates the potentiality of the Congresses," they say. Perhaps so. But Huddleston is not a politician; he is a priest who is not afraid to pursue truth into the political meeting-houses. Others — politicians — have written and will write more profound analyses of the trends and perspectives for political struggles of South Africa. Politicians will write the treatises that will rear a generation of great political campaigners against race-discrimination and apartheid. But Huddleston and "Naught for Your Comfort" will do more to batter down the ingrained layers of prejudice amongst the White citizens of this country, to shake them out of the dead unthinking acceptance of apartheid and injustice, than any political treatise yet written. "Between the Christian view and that of the totalitarian — racialist — nationalist, there is an unbridgeable gulf," he writes. There is. And no one will read his book and fail to be aware of it. It is written not for the politicians, but for the ordinary, decent citizen, who up to now, has stood by while "politics" has built the police state. It is a powerful plea for them to act; it is a call to battle, written with all the power and faith of a man whose name has become a household word in the good fight for the rights of men.

"Naught for Your Comfort," by Trevor Huddleston. (Published by Collins, 15/-.) L. Bernstein.

(Continued from previous page)

the police have interfered with even the peoples' social activities. The decree had not been thirty days old when the police in their hunting expeditions for illegal meetings and processions shot Nangoza Jebe dead and wounded several others. This unfortunate incident gave the people an opportunity to demonstrate on the one hand their disgust at the fascist horror, and on the other their determination to march relentlessly forward to freedom. As over 30,000 men and women, old and young, marched slowly and silently behind the tricolour banner of the Congress at half mast, for a time one forgot about the young Volunteer who lay mute in a coffin draped in Congress colours. The mood of the people was not sorrowful, but reflected a studied determination to carry on Nangoza's fight so that "The People Shall Govern."

EXPLOSIVE EPISODE

NEVER was the sobering lack of real writing talent more apparent than in recent years when South Africa hit the literary limelight; when good, earnest people were sending carefully-folded manuscripts to overseas publishing houses in an effort to extract the most saleable picture from a country brimming over with dramatic situations. Our modern novelist has still to learn that for his novel to be good, he not only has to tell the truth — he has to tell it well.

Harry Bloom tells it well. His *Episode* breaks through the spider's web of mediocrity like a well-aimed punch. Admirably, he has managed to concentrate the whole complex machine of South African race politics into half-a-dozen streets of a Native Location in a little Transvaal dorp he calls Nelspoort. All the national ingredients we know so well — apartheid, oppression, political double-talk, hatred, resistance and the fear that turns men into beasts — all these are

reflected in their correct proportions by the characters who inhabit the story.

There are many such characters. The European administrators, the municipal intriguers, the police, the location lackeys, the "good-boys," the Congress people, the ordinary people, all play their parts in the episode, the race riot, either actively or passively. Mr. Bloom, who is no stranger to these situations, avoids the double-dyed villain and the cardboard revolutionary. Du Toit, the sensitive superintendent, Ngubeni, the "good-boy," Nkomo, the fearless schoolteacher, Swanepoel, the police officer, Sarah, the shebeen queen, and, above all, Andries Gwebu, the interpreter, with his poker face and educated malice, are all robust characters whose existence is undeniable. The last-named, incidentally, provides the book's only humour, the dearth of which I found an unfortunate and unnecessary shortcoming.

The role of Walter Mabaso, the central character, is less satisfactory. He has undoubted qualities of leadership and moments of real greatness, but as the instrument for linking the Location riots with the nationwide defiance campaign he is ineffectual and rather pathetic. In the subsequent violence, he is merely a helpless spectator and his end at the hands of the police is somewhat theatrical.

At the other end of the dramatic scale, Du Toit is a curious mixture of hard-hearted officialdom and a highly-developed, almost naive set of scruples. It is precisely these contradictions that make him a living, feeling man and not just a symbol.

But it is in his description of the riot that Mr. Bloom excels. The reader is transported to this place of destruction and given a ring-side seat. Here the electric atmosphere hangs like a pall over the Location inhabitants until it finally breaks into a frenzied eruption of murder, arson, rape. The indiscriminate shooting by the fear-crazy police and the vengeful retaliation which it brought forth from the tsotsi gangs is a piece of descriptive writing which I shall not easily forget.

In the final chapter Du Toit decides he has had enough, and prepares to go. If that were all the riots achieved, they would have been meaningless, and mob outbursts, although senseless, are never meaningless. They are motivated by something considerably more than lust or vengeance and their consequences are usually more far-reaching than the participants realise. Here we find Du Toit reverting from an individual to a symbol — a symbol of White supremacy at its most jittery; at its least supreme.

Episode is much more than an episode. The tale it tells is part of a pattern with which we are all familiar, but which we seldom bother our heads about. That is, until something like this novel comes along and we receive a nasty jolt. There can be no question but that everybody who reads this book will react to it, either sympathetically or with hostility. Harry Bloom richly deserves the praise which has greeted his work, and I have no hesitation in endorsing it.

J.P.

EPISODE, by Harry Bloom. (Published by Collins.) Price 13s. 6d.

LETTERS from READERS

Three readers answer Patrick Duncan's article (*Fighting Talk*, April issue) which argued that the Liberal Party was the only organisation which has: (1) made no concession to the colour-bar; (2) not "aligned itself with the Russians and Chinese in the Cold War; (3) "no desire or plan to get control of the A.N.C.; and (4) is "absolutely opposed to discrimination of any kind."

Sir,

Patrick Duncan displays confusion of thought. He criticises Congress for siding against America. Surely it is natural for Africans to look with admiration to Russia and China where racial equality is complete in practice as well as in theory. Is it merely "anti-American" to support China's claim to a seat in UN? Is it anti-American to demand that Portugal leave Goa, or must we agree with Mr. Dulles that Goa is "a Province of Portugal"?

The weakness of the Liberal Party lies in its complete failure to make any effort to formulate a policy on world affairs. Once it attempts the task, Mr. Duncan and his new friends will have to tell us where they stand on a variety of issues which they now prefer to avoid.

Mr. Duncan really has no right to say that the ANC has "ceased to be a body of Africans led by Africans." What he really means is that he, in common with most liberals, resents the influence which some White socialists

are supposed to have on some Congress men. But if this influence is a fact, why should not Africans learn from White socialists as from White liberals? Surely Mr. Duncan does not want to keep educated Africans apart from anyone they choose to consult.

Really, Mr. Duncan should think twice before starting a red witch-hunt. This is a dangerous game for Liberals to play. Our common enemy, the Nationalists, do not distinguish liberals from socialists or even from militant Christians. When the Liberal Party was formed certain Nationalist M.P.s believed that it was only the former Communist Party in disguise! In his present mood, Mr. Duncan stands on the edge of a slippery slope. Those of us who respect him because he went to prison (after breaking the law in the good company of Congress), hope that he will yet turn out to be a true liberal and not a fellow-traveller of Mr. Swart's.

Yours faithfully,

"Socialist."

Sir,

Mr. Duncan's letter illustrates how much easier it is to jump to conclusions than to prove them. In fact, he scarcely takes the trouble to attempt any proof. He bases his conclusions on a quotation of alleged Communist aims, which has been torn from its context, and carefully shorn of everything that does not bolster his case. From this he decides that the character of the African National Congress has been magically adapted to fit the quotation. And then — 'presto' — the ANC has ceased to be a body of Africans controlled by Africans. The act is as neat as any magician's pulling of rabbits from a hat. And just as deceiving.

I cannot vouch for the validity of the quotation. I imagine that Mr. Duncan has taken it not from an

original copy of the Communist party report, but from the place where I found it — in the report of the Select Committee which deprived Brian Bunting of his seat in Parliament. Such documents can scarcely be taken as authoritative on the subject of communism, as anyone who has troubled to read them will know. But in quoting from even this dubious source, Mr. Duncan omits the sentences which follow directly on the one he has chosen; namely:

"Such a party would be distinguished from the Communist Party in that its objective is national liberation, i.e., the abolition of race discrimination . . . In this party, the class-conscious workers and peasants of the national group concerned would constitute the main leadership." (*My emphasis.*)

If we are to assume, as Mr. Duncan assumes so blithely, that everything in the statement has come to pass (and Mr. Duncan gives no grounds for such assumption), we can only conclude that the ANC remains what it always has been, an organisation whose "objective is national liberation, i.e., the abolition of race discrimination." And we can conclude further that the main leadership of the ANC rests securely with "the national group concerned," i.e., with Africans.

Perhaps, however, Mr. Duncan's real quarrel is with the concept of "class conscious (African) workers and peasants" as the leading force of the African struggle for liberation. If so, it would do him good to ponder the fact that, while the workers and peasants have always been and still are uncompromisingly opposed to apartheid, some sections of other groups in African society — some

traders, school teachers and chiefs — are beginning to succumb to Verwoerd's wooing, and are trying to cut themselves in on the spoils of race discrimination via Bantu Authorities, Group Areas and Bantu Education.

Mr. Duncan's argument, therefore, seems to me to fall into the category of gratuitous mischief-making, from which the ANC has long suffered. The statement that the Liberal Party does not seek to get control of the ANC, does not undo the mischief, even if it is so intended. By now it should be clear to everyone that the ANC is not available for "capture." It is not up for auction to anyone. It has been built by Africans for their own liberation, and despite Mr. Duncan's allegations to the contrary, they are able and willing to carry on building and controlling it for themselves.

Yours faithfully,
L. Bernstein.

Sir,

The Liberal viewpoint which Patrick Duncan attempts to defend would be a valid one if it conformed with the political realities as they exist in the Union today. Not only does that viewpoint not conform, but Mr. Duncan's defence of it is based on a failure to appreciate the nature of the fascist-type rule of the government and the means whereby it can be destroyed.

Fascism in South Africa arose as a direct result of the discriminatory and oppressive laws, which, ever since White colonisation began, have denied the Non-White peoples their rightful place in running the affairs of the country and at the same time debarred them from making their full contribution to South African life. It must be obvious therefore that fascism — which has been defined as "the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital" — can only be smashed with the successful conclusion of the Non-White peoples' struggle for liberation.

This is the objective of the Congress movement with its five basic organisations: the A.N.C., the S.A.I.C., the S.A.C.P.O., the S.A.C.O.D. and the S.A.C.T.U. No better proof of the soundness of this objective need be offered than the mighty Congress of the People held at Kliptown in June last year, which culminated in the drawing-up of the Freedom Charter. The constant police surveillance and intimidation under which members of the Congresses have to work is another example of the threat national liberation holds for fascism and those who live by it.

The organisation of the peoples, through their national bodies in a united anti-Nationalist front, with a programme based on the Freedom Charter serving as its fountain head, is a valid policy. It not only allows for the better mobilisation of the national groups into a common struggle,

but it also makes for the complete routing of the racialists in the various groups — as witness the drubbing received by the "Africanists" at the Special conference of the A.N.C. held in March at Orlando, when the Freedom Charter was endorsed.

The problem Patrick Duncan poses for the Congress of Democrats is therefore a purely hypothetical one, for although C.O.D.'s ranks are open to all who support its aims and objectives, its task is not to "recruit African members" but to win White support for the liberatory struggles of the Non-White peoples. It was the A.N.C. itself which called for a White organisation, that would fulfil this task, to be set up — a call which is daily proving to be historically correct as the Nat. onslaught on the people's liberties and rights increases in intensity.

Mr. Duncan states that the Liberal Party "is the only political party — which has in fact made no concessions to the colour-bar." This does not alter the fact that it is still a White man's party, whose officers are almost one hundred per cent White, and whose policy is drawn-up as White men think it should be drawn-up. It need not be considered surprising therefore if the few Non-White members it has recruited should not only find themselves in a minority position, but in a position of inferiority. Of course, this is not the intention of the Liberal Party, but it is the inevitable outcome of its refusal to ally itself with the Congresses. Mr. Duncan's reservations about the foreign policy of the A.N.C. — so effectively answered on the same page by a "leading member of the A.N.C." — is but one example of the wide gulf separating the Liberals from the aims and demands of the people to whom it has offered and is still offering membership.

I offer, in conclusion, without apologies, this paraphrase of Mr. Duncan's final paragraph: "If the Liberals were to make a declaration of partisanship in the struggle

This South Africa!

"The word 'baasskap' had been twisted in overseas propaganda and the word 'baas,' which had a kindly significance in Afrikaanism, became misrepresented to mean 'the man with the whip.'"

—Mr. P. B. Bekker, M.P. (Sapa report).

"Skin colour is not the sole factor involved in colour feeling . . . There was, and still is, such features of a physiological and anatomical character, as, for example, body build, shape of countenance, form of hair and body odour. It is these differences which, in my opinion, lies far more at the basis of the apartheid urge, as far as the great mass of the European community are concerned, than the colour differences." — Prof. A. C. Cilliers.

"Two men will leave Johannesburg on April 10 on a 20,000-mile research trip for one of the biggest firms of spark-plug manufacturers in the world to find out if people living in remote parts of Africa are getting the best out of their spark-plugs." — Star, 27/3/56.

That some of our Afrikaans professors are now beginning to allege that apartheid is unchristian is simply incomprehensible to us simple folk. Apartheid seems to us like an eternal thought emanating from God.

If apartheid is unchristian then there is nothing in the universe that is Christian — so it seems to us stupid people.

— A letter in "Die Transvaler."

Dr. J. C. C. van Loggerenberg, for the Roodepoort-Maraisburg Town Council, told the Group Areas Board:

"The municipality also plans to build a road which will go through New Monteleo to Industria West, by-passing the existing main road. If a Coloured township is established in New Monteleo people will not want to use this road."

— The Star, 2/2/56.

for the Freedom Charter, they would find the Congress movement fighting shoulder to shoulder with them in the fight for liberation." If the Liberals were to do this, then and only then, would their protestations about "votes for all" assume a meaning, and one incapable of placing them in "positions that are hard to defend."

Yours faithfully,


V. GOLDBERG.

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