

FIGHTING TALK

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FRAME A FREEDOM CHARTER

THE Governor-General's speech from the throne was another, weary repetition of last year's Nationalist clichés. 'Intolerable meddling of UNO'. 'Indian interference'. 'The survival of the whites'. It was a fitting opening for a new session of Parliament, where every matter proclaimed solved by last year's Malanite majority reappears for face lifting.

Once again the bill to 'Suppress Communism'; the measure to curb the trade unions, to bleach the 'black spots'; to deprive the Coloured voters of a substantial, unsegregated vote.

And once again the pitiful, anaemic 'No Confidence' motion, moved by Mr. Strauss, which accuses the Government of failing to prevent the 'integration' of Africans into South African life, of 'lack of realism', of undermining white supremacy.

Once again, the rebels with their revolt-in-a-teacup, stoutly trying to keep one hand in the United Party election-fund casket, while reaching out with the other for the lucrative Government 'favours' which are showered on loyal party hacks and necessary fellow travellers.

The casual observer concludes that, in the South African Parliament, "the more things change, the more they are the same."

And yet there is a sinister difference. The topics, and the clichés in which they are discussed are the same, warmed over from the cold remains of former years. But the substance is different. Last year there was an Act to regiment African workers, to illegalise their strikes, 'to bleed their trade unions to death' as Mr. Schoeman graphically described it. That Act passed without the bitter opposition of the established, registered trade unions. A bastion has been lost; and this year there is a bill to cripple, hamstring and 'bleed to death' the registered trade unions of the European, Coloured and Indian workers.

Last year there was a decision to remove from Parliament Brian Bunting, M.P., Native Representative for the Cape Western Constituency. That decision passed without protest from the 'official opposition', without bitter struggle by the voters to maintain their right to choose their representatives. A bastion has been lost; and this year there is a Bill to automatically unseat any 'listed' opponent of the Government, and to declare elected a defeated candidate who polls even a minority of the votes.

This has been the pattern of every year of the Nationalist Government's reign in office. Year by year it has struck down one or other of our rights and liberties, one or other of the bodies that throughout the years of fascism have stood as the guardians of those rights and liberties. And each time it has struck, it has singled out one group only for its attack, in the hope that others would sigh with relief that their turn had not yet come, and would stand aside. Each attack has weakened the capacity of South Africans

to resist, to stand down one of the bastions of resistance, cleared the way for the next onslaught. Those who fail to stand together are cut down separately.

Even at this late hour, the old illusions survive, the old beliefs that the encroachment of fascism can be halted without all its victims standing and fighting together. Even at this late hour, the Torch Commando, Federal and Liberal Parties refuse united action with the Non-European people and their Congresses. While they talk bravely of fighting and resisting separately, each in their own 'field', they prepare the way for each and all to hang separately.

If this were the whole picture of South Africa, it would be a bleak, hopeless and despairing future. But Parliament and its doings are far from being the whole. When the bombast has been cleared away, South Africa's Parliament stands revealed for what it is — but the sounding board for the views and policies of a small minority of the South African people. The millions who built the country, pioneered the country, ploughed its soil, dug its mines and built its factories are outside, unrepresented. These are the makers of South Africa's history, now, as they have been at every stage of our existence.

Neither the Government nor the 'opposition' in Parliament speaks for these millions, nor with their voice.

Under the shadow of the 1954 session of the minority Parliament, they are preparing for their voice to be heard in a mighty "Convention of the People". Already, on the initiative of the African National Congress, the preparatory and planning discussions are under way, with the South African Indian Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the South African Coloured People's Organisation taking part.

For the first time in South Africa's history, elected representatives of the people — all the people — are to be summoned to deliberate together, to plot together the future course of South African progress and development.

It is here that history will be made; it is here that South Africans of all races and colours will re-establish their unity of purpose and their fraternity for the future; it is here that South Africa will turn its face away from the dark fascist age of Malan, towards the free future; it is here that South Africa will once again enter into the community of peoples of the world as a liberty-loving equal, not an outcast and a pariah.

The 1954 Parliament prepares for new, more draconic Nuremburg laws. But the Convention of the People prepares for a Freedom Charter. These are the two streams now flowing in South Africa's political life. And those who do not stand with the Nationalists on the Hitler road, must stand and work together with their fellows of all races for the successful summoning of the Convention, and for the winning of the majority of our citizens for the Freedom Charter.

“ . . . The task of resisting the Nationalists is being shifted from Parliament on to the democratic white and non-white bodies in the country . . . ”

PARLIAMENT THIS SESSION

THE Nationalists are preparing to fan the flames of racialism again this Parliamentary session. Another series of apartheid measures are to be launched by the Ministers of Native Affairs and Labour. It is becoming increasingly apparent that apartheid is incapable of being modified or soft-pedalled: it must proceed from one atrocity to the other. At the same time, it is sowing the seeds of its own destruction.

The prospects of the Nationalists meeting with strong opposition in Parliament are remote. The only real resistance comes from the Native Representatives and the Labour Party. The United Party, divided and bewildered, is compromising more and more. It is not prepared to take the one step that will enable it to survive as a political factor — oppose apartheid.

U.P. COMPROMISE

From a Parliamentary point of view, therefore, the chances of a united front against the Malan Government are almost non-existent. The apartheid measures will go through, the Nationalist grip on South Africa will be tightened further, and the United Party will sink deeper into the mire of opportunism. Increasingly, the task of resisting the Nationalists is being shifted from Parliament on to the democratic White and non-White bodies in the country. Nationalism is on the verge of achieving one of its major aims: the crushing of bourgeois White opposition.

Consider the measures now being polished up by the Nationalist racialists:

(1) *Black Spots Legislation.* Dr. Verwoerd has announced his intention of introducing legislation dealing with the Western Areas removal scheme. He is determined to make it a major issue. The U.P., with only a short time left in which to make up its mind, is in the throes of a policy struggle and is being pulled in various directions by special “Mentz report” committees and by its individual Members of Parliament. The pattern of thought in the U.P. is the old familiar one. There are the same three groups: One group wants to reject the Mentz report entirely; another wants to accept it; a third wants to both accept and reject it. It would be most

surprising if the final policy decided upon by Mr. Strauss and his tight-rope walking lieutenants is not the good old stand-by one of — compromise.

(2) *Industrial Legislation.* Mr. Schoeman plans to arm himself with further powers to destroy the trade unions. He may meet with some resistance from the United Party on the broad trade union aspects of the bill, but probably not on the provisions which will seek to prevent racially mixed unions.

(3) *Coloured Vote Bill.* There are signs that this measure will not be sprung upon Parliament as soon as it meets. It may be held over until later in the session. According to reports, the U.P. and the Nationalist members of the commission of inquiry into the bill have not reached a compromise. No purpose will be served by introducing the bill, having it defeated, and then re-introducing, say, the Appellate Division Bill. It looks as if the Government will hold over the coloured vote bill and try to split the United Party on some other apartheid issue.

(4) *Economic Council.* Mr. Louw has threatened to bring in this measure. It aims at setting up a council to control economic activities more rigidly. It is part of the Nationalist plan to convert South Africa into a corporate state, with the economic council playing the part that Mussolini’s Chamber of Corporations played in Italy. The U.P. no doubt will oppose it vigorously — it is a measure affecting its pocket.

(5) *Suppression of Communism Act.* Mr. Swart has declared he will close the “loophole” in this Act which allowed banned persons to address meetings. The U.P. is planning to resist amending legislation, but strictly on legal grounds — the right to a hearing, etc.

One thing emerges clearly: The U.P. is prepared to put up some sort of a fight, but not where it is on a controversial colour issue. Its policy on these matters is always one of—compromise.

This is the background against which Parliament is meeting this year. A further dose of apartheid is being concocted, but the U.P. refuses to put up a fight. Mr. Strauss is devoting all his efforts to maintaining unity in his party, although to what purpose it is difficult to see. Instead of standing firmly on certain principles, he is avoiding taking a stand in the vain hope that in this way he will be able to hold his ranks together.

INNER REVOLT

The election was no sooner over last year than a rebellion broke out in the U.P. It was suppressed, but that certainly was not the end of it. Clearly, there are going to be further attempts this year to split the United Party and to come to an understanding with the Government. And, this time, Mr. Strauss might not be able to suppress the revolt as easily as the last one.

This is the basic fault in the U.P.’s thinking: It imagines that it can preserve unity by avoiding policy issues, whereas events since the Nats came to power have proved conclusively that this is the surest way of precipitating the break-up of the party. The only way to bind the various U.P. elements, or at least to command their reluctant obedience, is to have firm policies, not ambiguous ones.

The session that lies ahead is likely to be a most important one. It will witness a further avalanche of apartheid legislation; it will witness further attacks on democratic rights; and it will witness an all-out attempt to destroy the United Party. The need for democratic organisations and individuals to be on their guard and to resist the Nationalist tyranny is more urgent than ever before. The country can no longer afford to look to the United Party as the spearhead of the attack.

Cracking the Colour-bar on the Copper-Mines

By John Gild

WILL the colour bar be cracked in the copper mines of Rhodesia this year? Events are moving towards a showdown on this issue. The African Mine Workers' Union is determined to obtain for its members the right to do skilled work. The European Union is determined to protect the existing vested interests as well as the future prospects of its members. These are familiar attitudes. What is new is the division among the mine-owners confronted with this situation.

There is a sharp difference of opinion among the mine owners. One group, whose spokesman is Mr. R. L. Prain in London, contends that the time has come to face, and if need be, to force the issue of the colour bar. As the cold war becomes a cold truce, the very high price of copper may keep falling, and so costs of production had better be reduced. Black labour is always cheaper than white. Moreover, Mr. Prain and his friends are shrewd enough to realize that Africans in industry cannot be kept permanently at the unskilled level.

MINEOWNERS SPLIT

On the other hand, there is Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, the spokesman for the other group of mine-owners. Sir Ernest and his son, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, M.P., have in the past enjoyed something like a reputation for being the "liberal" wing of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines. In fact they have rarely done anything effective to justify this reputation.

Even before the Nationalists were confirmed in power, Sir Ernest showed a clear tendency to win friends among them and to refrain from influencing people against them. In the evening of his life Sir Ernest wants peace and he, of all men, can afford to pay any price for personal peace, if not popularity. He would hate to see revived those cartoons showing "Hoggenheimer" smoking a fat cigar while up to mischief. To put it another way, non-Afrikaner capital in the Union is busy adjusting itself to economic life under Nationalist rule. To wage a campaign against the colour bar in neighbouring Rhodesia would alarm many Nationalists, as Sir Ernest's statement in December actually did.

A BLUFF

There was, however, no need for alarm

in the Nationalist papers. A careful analysis of Sir Ernest's statement reveals the truth. He does not really want to relax the colour bar. He simply wants to retain his reputation as a friend of African labour while not becoming an enemy of white labour. It is a difficult feat to perform in these times and in fact it can be accomplished only in words, not in reality. Sir Ernest, in effect, not only conceded to the white union the right to veto any plan to abolish the colour bar, however gradually; he went further and virtually invited the union to exercise the veto he kindly conferred on them.

But apart from the awkward differences among mine-owners in Johannesburg and in London (and New York), there are certain other questions involved in the coming struggle. The white unions may find it wise to adopt new tactics. Its first step has already been indicated. It will rely on the old slogan of "equal pay for equal work", i.e. it may concede to the mine-owners the right to employ Africans on skilled work provided that the Africans get the same wage as Europeans, which is often about £75 a month, if not more. As the average African wage, forced up by a strike last year, is still around 5/- a day, this possibility seems almost revolutionary. In fact, however, the white miners, who are all immigrants from the Union and Southern Rhodesia, know very well that if the mines have to pay Africans the same high wage as Europeans, very few Africans will in fact get the better-paid jobs. The colour bar will have been abolished on paper but not in practice.

OPPORTUNITIES

No realist should be taken in by the misleading slogan of "equal pay for equal work", suddenly and belatedly adopted by a white union with a bad

record. The slogan can be justified only in certain circumstances which are absent in copper mines. It could possibly be justified where a common union existed that included black and white workers, co-operating as allies against their common enemy, the mine-owners. Failing that situation, equal pay for equal work might also be justified if *equal opportunities* were afforded to black workers to qualify rapidly by training and by education for ever-widening entry into skilled work. Nothing like this has ever been contemplated. On the contrary, for the last twenty years, the colonial government, under the influence of white mine-owners and white trade unionists, exercised through a white Legislative Council, has taken good care to deny African access to technical education and even to ordinary secondary schools. Throughout this period, and to this very day, the Government has not only permitted but encouraged the entry into Northern Rhodesia of so-called skilled white miners. Is there any other country in the world where the skilled men are *all imported* while the indigenous people are refused all training in skill?

AFRICAN UNION

This is the situation that the British Colonial Office has bequeathed to the new Rhodesian Federation, dominated by white politicians dependent now on the votes of white miners. During the last 14 years, ever since the African strike and disturbances of 1940, the Colonial Office was urged by informed and enlightened opinion in Britain to relax the colour bar. It failed to do so in face of the reluctance of the mines to take firm action. But in recent years the rise of the African Mine Workers' Union has altered the whole situation. Whether this Union is now strong enough to challenge both mines and the white union before it has won a closed shop for itself, may be doubted. What is not in doubt, however, is the part being played by the white union. Even although its present members are offered and guaranteed protection against being displaced by black labour (as Sir Ernest implied), they will not open the way for African advancement in industry. The nod and the wink Sir Ernest has given them will strengthen their prejudice against the African and their traditional hostility to his progress. In this battle the white miners' union finds an unusual ally in Sir Ernest Oppenheimer; and the black miners' union will find their allies among genuine liberals and unafraid socialists all the world over.

British Tommy in Kenya

Second-Lieutenant David Larder was an officer in Kenya until unable to bear the horrors, he disobeyed orders by bringing his men back from patrol before time, and was dismissed from the army. He served in the First Battalion of the Devonshire Regiment.

Larder is 20 years old. Son of a building labourer, he won a scholarship to a Grammar School, and was a student actor at Bristol Old Vic. He now works as a bus conductor.

Of the war in Kenya he says: "It is inhuman that lads of 18 and 19 should be sent to Kenya to do this sort of thing to colonial people. I am utterly ashamed to have had any part in it. It is just Hitlerism. How can I ever make amends?"

We print below extracts from statements made by Larder on his return to Britain, and from letters he wrote home from Kenya.

"BEFORE I went to Kenya I had never seen a dead man. I shunned the thought of ever seeing one."

After taking part in a night ambush of two Africans on 26 June, 1953, Larder wrote home: (One African) "heard me preparing to fire, and ran. A burst of automatic fire from me, fired in front of him, caught his neck and shoulders, and he ran into my bullets. One bullet shot his left shoulder away. My corporal put one clean along the parting of his hair. There was a terrible scream.

"I went forward with my corporal, carefully shining my torch.

"The body was before us impaled on some cut bamboo. I fired another round and he was finished. I felt the pieces of brain spattered on my chest.

"We pulled him to his back. The blood was still pouring from his head and mouth. One eye stared at me.

"I could not quite believe that I was there behaving as if it was quite normal for me to shoot a man.

"We searched the bloody clothing and found raw potatoes, maize, honey, a piece of soap, a box of matches and two frontispieces from an African primary English reader with writing in Kikuyu on the.

"In the corner of one pocket, I found a text torn from a Swahili bible.

"I had no finger print kit with me, so I calmly chopped off his right hand with his pangi and having wrapped it in a sheet of newspaper, stuffed it in my pocket.

"Next day only one leg, knee downwards, one foot and the left hand remained. The rest was a raw skeleton left by the wild dogs.

"I had a photograph taken of me

shaking hands with it. What has happened to me?"

HUTS BURNT

This letter ends (Larder was only 19 at the time of this experience). "Today I burnt down a lot of native huts which had been used by bandits recently. What has happened to me?"

A few days later, again on night patrol, Lt. Larder suddenly turned his men round and brought them back to camp. At his court martial he refused to defend himself.

"I just couldn't bear it any longer. I wanted to be out of it."

BULLDOZERS

Larder related other incidents.

At Karatina he saw and photographed 80 men, suspected of having taken the Mau Mau oath, marched naked through the streets to the police station, their clothes in bundles on their heads.

At Kariobangi on April 24, 6,000 Africans were turned out of their homes in a slum covering two acres of ground and the shacks were levelled by bulldozers.

"They had 12 hours to take their goods from their huts. But each individual was not allowed to make more than two journeys outside the cordon.

"Screening was carried out under the glare of searchlights and some of the frightened people were beaten with rifle butts.

"The 30 chaps I had under me — mostly National Servicemen — were disgusted with what was going on.

"During the raid, I had a break and went into a tent where a high police officer was having some beer.

"I said how rotten it was, these people being turned out of their homes and he said: 'You musn't have any sympathy

with them. They are nothing but pigs'."

MEN IN CAGES

After this screening, the people were marched to already overcrowded reserves, mothers carrying their children on their backs. Seven hundred suspects were held like animals in wire cages.

Larder also accused the Kenya police of using violence while questioning prisoners.

"I have seen whole villages of people turned out by the police and taken to the site of a battle between the police and suspects. The people were marched past the dead suspects and told: 'The security forces will get you like this if you support the Mau Mau'."

HEAD PRICE

Larder confirmed reports of competitions between units in the killing of Africans and of cash awards.

He also told of a white settler beating an African with a whip for stealing milk, of a sergeant beating an African with a walking stick for stealing food, and of men imprisoned — one for six months for stealing a box of matches, and one for 18 months for stealing a loaf of bread.

He described the indoctrination of British troops in this way: "They try to build up a feeling that white men are superior and that the black men are dirt."

Larder said in Britain "Young chaps due for call-up have got to realise the terrible things they are expected to do — are made to do — out there.

"Any decent feelings they have will be completely broken down. They will do things they would not think possible, things they would never dream of doing to their own people at home."

AFRICAN ROUND-UP

Kenya's... War

IN November Britain's war against the Africans of Kenya was one year old. General Sir George Erskine announced that the security forces he commands had killed 2,208 Africans and wounded 699 (an extraordinary ratio of killed to wounded). They had also jailed 138,325 Africans of whom 82,065 were released. Fighting the Kikuyu in Kenya at this time were five regular battalions of the British Army, six battalions of the King's African Rifles, one battalion of the Kenya Regiment, a squadron of bomber aircraft, 12,000 regular and reserve police, and about 18,000 Kikuyu Home Guards — a total army of about 60,000. According to General Erskine, the number killed in combat on the British side during the year consisted of only 21 Whites, 11 Indians but 704 "Loyal" Africans.

U.S. Money

THE U.S. Mutual Security Agency has agreed to allocate 6,692,000 dollars for port improvements at Mombasa and Tanga in Kenya. This will be half the cost to provide for the transport and export of supplies of raw materials to the United States.

U.S. Censorship

A REPRESENTATIVE of the people of the Cameroons, Mr. Ruben Um Nyobe, sent to the United Nations to demand independence for his country, now divided under British and French trustee rule, managed to reach U.N. only after being kept under surveillance by the U.S. Embassy in Paris for 42 days. Protesting at this and attempts by the French administration to prevent him from reaching Lake Success, Mr. Nyobe said the colonial powers were trying to stop petitioners of whom they did not approve from being heard by the United Nations. One of the first cases of this nature was that of the Rev. Michael Scott who was at first refused visas to appeal to the United Nations on behalf of South West African tribes.

Paul Joseph reports on The Vienna World Trade Union Conference

I ATTENDED the Third World Trade Union Congress held in the city of Vienna in October of last year.

It was there that I met many of the world's most famous working class leaders. Among them were Christians, Moslems, Hindus, Socialists and Communists. They had come across many mountains, oceans, and lands and through many obstacles; they had braved police terror and victimisation — yet they came.

They came to this magnificent Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions. From 79 countries — 819 men and women in all representing 88,600,000 workers. This was the most representative gathering in the history of international labour ever held.

From capitalist, colonial and semi-colonial countries there were 613 delegates; from Socialist countries 150.

The workers of Egypt, Ecuador, Pakistan, Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Thailand were prevented by trade union repression in their countries from sending delegates.

AT Vienna we discussed frankly and fully our problems in the struggle for better living standards, democratic liberty and world peace.

There I saw international working class solidarity in the making. People with a diversity of religious and political opinions united against racial discrimination, the threat of war, reduction of wages and trade union splits.

I MET a delegate from Western Germany, Comrade H. W. who had been in a concentration camp for 12 years during Hitler's time. He had smuggled himself out to the Congress. Still determined and unwavering, Comrade H. W. continues his fight for the German working class against Adenauer's police terror.

Also from Western Germany came Walter Billing and Konrad Ertt representing 50,000 unemployed workers of Western Germany. Both men have been unemployed since 1949.

From Vietnam came guerilla fighters

Nguyen-Thi-Dieu and Do Van Quyen who walked from the occupied territories for 15 days to the free territory to come to the Congress. Both had been elected to represent their fellow workers living under French occupation.

From Trinidad came Pearl Branche who came near to tears as she spoke of the persecution her fellow women workers were going through.

AMONGST the 819 delegates were our own Frank Marquard, Cape Trade Union leader, who as a lad of eight worked on the farms under the tot system.

And Greenwood Ngotyana who knows well the hunger cries of children of the Transkei.

SOME of the most outstanding and internationally known leaders were Alain-Le Leap whose release from prison was secured as a result of the eight million-strong French workers' strike in last August; S. A. Danges, General Secretary of the powerful All Indian Trade Union Congress; Nicolai M. Shvernik, former president of the U.S.S.R., now president of the Soviet Trade Unions (34 million strong). Latin-American workers sent their powerful orator and leader Vincentes Lombardo Toledano. From China, came Lin-Ling I, Vice-President of the All-China Federation of Labour. From Italy came Fernando Santi, Secretary of the five million-strong Federation.

Above all there were the two human volcanoes Giuseppe D. Vittoria, President of the W.F.T.U. and Louis Saillant, General Secretary of the W.F.T.U. who were again unanimously elected to the Federation leadership.

THESE, then, were the men who had come to voice demands of the Rand African miners, the tobacco workers of South America, the sheep shearers of Australia, the tea pickers of Ceylon, the unemployed of Western Germany and the dock workers of France.

We left Vienna determined and inspired to continue the fight of the working people for peace and happiness.

BEHIND THE OVERSEAS NEWS

BACK TO BERLIN

By BEN GILES

CONJURERS, it is said, make their living by getting people to watch their right hands, while their left hands unobtrusively palm cards and manipulate rabbits in and out of hats.

Something of the sort is being tried by the press over the negotiations for a four-power meeting in Berlin. While the right hands grind out interminable words from typewriters — about Russian intransigence over a meeting place, about Russian intransigence over Chinese participation, and about Russian intransigence, — left hands prepare to deftly produce bombshells from a hat. The trick deceives few people; perhaps this time the audience is sitting too close.

ATOMANIA

President Eisenhower's rabbit-from-hat "plan" for atomic energy failed to bring even a timid round of applause from anyone except the paid scribes. Understandably, people everywhere recognised the "plan" as the warmed-up remains of last-year's hash. More politely titled 'The Baruch Plan', it proposes to leave existing stock-piles of atomic weapons intact, without any prohibition on their use, while turning over to an international agency a proportion of new fissionable material, to be used for peaceful aims.

The Soviet viewpoint on the Baruch plan has been forcibly stated and expounded in UNO Assemblies on more than one occasion. Firstly, the 'international' agency, set up by UNO would unquestionably today have a guaranteed American majority — and no veto right for minority views. Second, it would be a means of maintaining the real or alleged American superiority in atomic-bomb stockpiles, by outlawing new bombs while tolerating old. Third, it would hand to an American dominated agency a right to exploit other countries' sources of fissionable materials, and to direct or forestall their use even in peaceable fields.

WHERE WE CAME IN

Soviet objections to the Eisenhower-Baruch plan remain. So do the Soviet proposals for unconditional banning of the use of atomic weapons, the destruction of existing stockpiles of bombs and the establishment of international inspection agencies for atomic energy plants. Eleven times the Soviet plan has been put to UNO, and eleven times it has been vetoed by Britain and America. It is on the record: June, 1946; June, 1947; September, 1947; June, 1948; February 1949 (twice); September, 1949; November, 1950; December, 1951; November, 1953.

Also on the record are the decisions of the meeting in Bermuda from the 4th to 7th December. This was the Western caucus for the Berlin four-power talks; the American whips brought their members into line for the "free" debate which opens this month. Here, if anywhere, is to be found the real "Voice of America."

"If the danger of aggression now appears less imminent, we attribute this to the mounting strength of the free world and the firmness of its policies. . . . The Atlantic Treaty is, and will remain the foundation of our common policy . . . In the continuing development of a united Europe, including Germany, we see the best means of achieving greater prosperity, security and stability . . ." The communique can be stripped of its verbal flowers. 'We believe in rearmament, and pressing ahead with atomic stockpiles. West German rearmament is a fundamental policy.' This is the preamble to the Western appearance at the Berlin Conference.

NACH OSTEN

But there is worse. "We cannot accept as justified or permanent the present division of Europe." In this carefully drafted communique there are no idle, ill considered words. "The present

division of Europe" means what it says, the division between capitalist west and socialist east, the frontiers between peoples' democratic Czecho-Slovakia, East Germany, Hungary with North Atlantic Treaty Powers — West Germany, Austria, and allies Yugoslavia and Greece. Far fetched? Think back — it is almost a year behind us — to President Eisenhower's inaugural speech, to the denunciations of "secret understandings" about frontiers, which had been reached in war-time conferences between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. This — the threat to reconquer Eastern Europe by arms, to restore capitalism — this is the Western preamble to the Berlin talks.

There are things said — "We salute the valiant forces of France . . . fighting . . . to protect the independence of Cambodia, Laos and Viet Nam" — and things unsaid—China, and her rightful admission to the United Nations. These are on the agenda for Berlin, for they are the essence of the problems of peace and war.

INSIDE — AND OUT

A bad augury for the Berlin talks. But war and peace are not to be settled in Berlin alone. Outside there is life; and life asserts itself. While Bidault from Bermuda proclaims German rearmament and the North Atlantic Treaty, the people of France, through their representatives fight a bitter, long-drawn, almost stalemated struggle against the election of a Bidault follower to the Presidency. While Churchill from Bermuda proclaims the ideals of conquest of the socialist world, delegations of British business men leave for Moscow and Peking to negotiate trade deals which will restore the balance of Britain's slumping trade. This too — life, and the will of people everywhere for peace will force its way into the talks at Berlin. Neither press black-outs nor politicians' sleight of hand can keep it out. It may yet have the upper hand. If not this time, then certainly next.

trotsky on springbok radio—

open letter to bob crisp

Dear Mr. Crisp.

I have been listening to your radio play "Leon Trotsky" fortunately the end of a series, "Last Voyage" sponsored by the India Tyre Company on Springbok Radio.

There was a time, though I had never met you, when I had a high regard for you. At first this regard grew from the many enjoyable hours I spent watching you in the days when you were one of our country's finest cricketers. Since then, you have retired from the cricket scene.

Later, the regard grew from the honesty and truthful purpose of your reporting and writing. I remember you as one of the few journalists — perhaps the only one — to report truthfully and honestly on the strike of African miners on the Witwatersrand in 1946, recording the facts as you saw them, without the hysteria and wilful lying which characterised many of your colleagues. After listening to your radio play it seems that this regard might have been misplaced.

SLOW POISON

I would like to put you some questions on your play. I use the word 'play' colloquially; for this is no more play than Senator MacCarthy's slow poison against American democracy.

What basis is there, save your own imagination drawing on the fevered fabrication of professional anti-Soviet haters, for your scene of Stalin instructing the G.P.U. chief to kill Trotsky "or answer for it with his own life?" Why, if there be any tittle of justification for your tale of a painstaking G.P.U. plot to kill Trotsky did the Soviet Government voluntarily allow Trotsky to emigrate? What basis, save your imagination for your picture of Stalin, ridden by an obsessional fear of Trotsky as a rival 'leader of Russia', after years of overwhelming expressions of

undivided Soviet loyalty to Stalin shown in elections nationally and in the Communist Party? What makes the murder of Trotsky different from any other act of premeditated violence committed from time to time by people of unbalanced or crazed emotion?

And finally for what the poker players call the sixty-four dollar question. Do you feel, as I do, that this "type of imaginative — or shall we call it fabricated — slander serves to inflame anti-Soviet feeling, and thus assist the maniac section in the Western world who call for 'preventive' war against the U.S.S.R. and the peoples' democracies of Eastern Europe?"

WAR-MONGERS

You and I have both fought in one world war. We have seen what war is like, and what it does to the life, culture and prosperity of the lands it ravages; and no one who has seen, can easily forget. But have we ever asked ourselves what it was that conditioned the Germans to accept, even to welcome war with the enthusiasm of latter-day crusaders? Was it not, perhaps, the endless repetition of just such baseless, distorted imaginings about Aryan supermen, effete French and perfidious Briton and barbarous Russian as are now being served up to us by Springbok Radio, the Saturday Evening Post and every unscrupulous writer, novelist and propagandist of the holy, anti-Soviet crusade.

NOT TOO LATE

If you have not thought of these things, it is time you did. I have always regarded you as a responsible journalist, and no responsible journalist dare write today without thinking of the consequences of his acts. I know that even a writer has to make a living; and that, today, it is hard to live as a writer without singing to the tune of those great American corporations who have decreed that this is the "American Cen-

tury", and whose leadership of national affairs has produced the theories of the 'cold' war and the 'preventive' war. It is hard for any writer to serve the cause of peace, and heed the wishes of big corporations like, say, The Indian Tyre Co. at the same time. But not hard enough to deter a man who has the qualities of determination, courage and honesty you have shown on the cricket field and in the armed forces. Have you considered that it would be harder still to live regarded by your fellow citizens as Browning regarded his 'Lost Leader'.

*"Just for a handful of silver he left us
Just for a riband to stick in his coat.
Found the one gift of which nature be-
reft us,
Lost all the others she chose to devote."*

What has been done and said on Springbok Radio cannot be unsaid. But the damage can be undone, if there is honesty and responsibility. Probably this letter would never have been written, had I been able to say with Browning:

*"He alone turns from the van and the
freemen;
He alone falls to the rear, and the
slaves".*

You are not alone. There are many others, whose sins of omission and commission are more to be expected, more easily understood than yours.

But you can set an example and take the others with you. It is time to repair the damage, and take up again the lost threads of the good fight for honesty, and for peace. I trust and believe you are still capable of doing it.

Yours faithfully,

L. BERNSTEIN.

Apartheid Threatens The Universities

AWAY back in the eleventh century a violent battle was fought out in the hamlet of Oxford between "town and gown". It all began when a student was charged an exorbitant price for beer by the tavern-keeper. An argument started, a brawl broke out, students and townsmen took sides and soon a full-scale fight was raging, into which the whole populace and Royal army was drawn. For the students, the tavern incident opened the safety-valve of a deep-seated resentment at their treatment by the town authorities. They used the fight to express their discontent at the economic exploitation of the merchants and the political interference of the Council. In this they succeeded and as a result, the Mayor and Councillors of Oxford to this very day, attend the St. Scholastica Day service at the University instead of the city chapel, as a mark of penance and in recognition of the university's independence.

This incident was symbolic of what was happening all over Europe in the nascent university movement where students were rebelling against municipal and state control and demanding autonomy in their own affairs. One by one, the major universities wrested charters of independence from the towns, and their success in maintaining that status has assured the recognition of autonomy as an integral part of the university ever since.

The role of carrying this tradition has fallen to South Africa's two principal universities — Witwatersrand and Cape Town — who for thirty and forty-three years respectively, in the face of constant political molestation from outside have steadfastly asserted their right to determine who to admit, what to teach and who should do the teaching. They have admitted students, not on the basis of any political criterion, but simply on the basis of the students' desire and capacity for learning. And not unnaturally their refusal to draw colour distinctions as to who should receive higher education has incurred the odium of the proponents of white supremacy.

The segregationists have been particularly embarrassed by the atmosphere of racial harmony and co-operation which has prevailed at non-segregated institutions, flinging the lie of the necessity for apartheid back into their teeth. What has annoyed them even more is that the

examination results of non-European students, completely refutes theories of superior white intelligence, and indicates, in fact, that given equal opportunities, non-European students can match the results of their European colleagues.

Attempts have therefore been made during the Nat. régime to water down university independence and undermine academic non-segregation. Scholarships for non-European students were withdrawn, university text-books banned, inter-provincial study permits cancelled and continual public attacks made on the universities. If these were intended to intimidate the student bodies however, they failed in their purpose, serving to intensify opposition to the Nationalists.

It was partly because of the militant opposition of the students that the government has had to abandon its plans for direct intervention, in favour of more "subtle" means. The upshot has been the appointment of a commission two months ago, which will sit behind closed doors and without much fuss, to consider practical ways of demolishing the system of non-segregation.

Before we turn to the Commission,

however, it is necessary to consider why the Nationalists wish to destroy non-segregation and thereby establish their right to interfere in the universities.

A perfectly legitimate explanation of this assault is that it is part of the Nationalist blueprint for Fascism which is being implemented by crushing all democratic organisations. But the reasons in this case go a shade deeper. Physical suppression of your opposition is one thing, and to refute them intellectually is another. While the Nationalists may believe they are succeeding in the former purpose, they know they cannot succeed in the latter until the places where people are free to think for themselves and speak their thoughts, are bottled up. Significantly enough it is at these very places — the independent universities — that the opposition to the pseudo philosophy of apartheid is strongest.

Losing the battle for ideas outside South Africa the Nationalists are determined to win it within. And they are prepared to use the machinery of the state to do so.

The first stage of the attack is to tell the universities whom and whom not to

admit. Once this power is conceded to a Government, it is not a far cry for them to start dictating what should be taught. This is the experience of the fascist countries and there is no reason to suppose that the situation will be any different in South Africa. With their gargantuan appetite for power over men's bodies and minds, it would be strange indeed if the Nationalists resisted the temptation to convert the universities into instruments for the furtherance of the medievalist dogmas of C.N.O., had they the opportunity. If they are allowed to abolish academic non-segregation they will secure just the foothold they require.

Their tactics are quite simple. Born and bred into a race-bound society, most Europeans are ready victims to appeals to colour-prejudice and will sanction any attack on civil liberties provided they are told it is in the interests of white supremacy. The record of anti-democratic legislation which the Nationalists have been permitted to pass, bears this out. And so the sure-fire logic of "mongrelisation" has been introduced into the argument for mauling up the "Europeans only" sign at Wits, and U.C.T. It has got the public to con-

promise before, why should it not do the trick again?

And so the Nationalist Ministers and press have launched a smear-campaign to picture the "mixed" universities as monstrous institutions, steadily undermining the bastions of the South African "way of life" by encouraging miscegenation. The most leaneome yarns about mixed tennis, mingling at dances and what have you, have been put out.

A classic example is Senator van Rensburg's effort before a planeland meeting in August 1950. After beating the anti-mongrelisation drum with all his might with stories of mixed dancing and tennis, he demanded of his horrified audience, "And who can say that there was no kissing at the dance?" Quite carried away by his oratory, he then confessed, "My hair rises in my head when I hear of these things" — a quite unnecessary confession since neither "mixed" tennis nor "mixed" dancing take place at Wits, or U.C.T.

In the same crude vein, Eric Louw, speaking at Benoni in 1949, had no hesitation in labelling N.U.S.A.S., a 12,000-strong anti-apartheid student organisation, as "communistic."

At the Stellenbosch Graduation Ceremony in December 1952, Dr. Malan, warned that the non-segregated universities, which were a "blatant anomaly" out of step with "present state policy" were becoming blacker. The universities would have to choose: apartheid or social equality. Of course, the universities had already chosen, but this didn't deter the Prime Minister from imposing his own choice on them. A year later, almost to the day, and at the same place, Dr. Malan announced the setting up of a commission "to make provision in a purposive and just manner for the higher education of whites and non-whites APART FROM EACH OTHER . . ." This was, he explained, because the Government had decided to end intermingling as speedily as possible.

A week later the commission's terms of reference disclosed that it would waste no time on irrelevant matter of the merits of the case (presumably because of the "urgency" of the issue — the students' vacation would not last for ever!). It based itself on the pre-conceived assumption — yet to be demonstrated and in fact rejected by the majority of South African students — that segregated universities were more desirable than non-segregated ones. Not whether apartheid is advisable, but how it can be applied. The commission's terms thus expose it as a fraud — a biased instrument whose conclusions are predetermined, so that they agree with the Nationalist Party's policy.

The suggestion which has been made in some quarters, that evidence should be submitted dealing with financial aspects of the scheme, will, far from influencing the commission's conclusions, only serve to blur its true character in the mind of the public. Associating with its deliberations in this way, involves a tacit sanction of its existence AND ITS RIGHT TO EXIST, and, in some measure white-washes it as a competent and impartial body — which it is neither. IF WE WISH TO EXPOSE THE COMMISSION AS AN INSTRUMENT OF STATE INTERFERENCE WITH NO MORAL LEG TO STAND ON, OUR EVIDENCE SHOULD BE WITHHELD AND WE SHOULD HAVE NO DEALINGS WHATSOEVER WITH IT. The Commission should be boycotted by every democratic organisation.

CHARLES BLOOMBERG.

ADVISORY BOARDS AND THE NATS.

THE recent annual conference of the Location Advisory Boards Congress was undoubtedly a success from the point of view of attendance. There were 250 delegates at this conference, from all the Union's urban centres representing in all approximately 500,000 people. The Johannesburg Advisory Boards alone represented about 300,000 Africans in this city.

Given the right leadership and policy, this body could become a force to be reckoned with in the civic and political life of the community.

But, from the point of view of the mass of discussion at the conference, my view is that it was far from successful. On the contrary it was a failure, and two sets of factors contributed to its failure.

On the one hand there was, hanging above the heads of the delegates, like the sword of Damocles, the threat of the Minister of Native Affairs to a dele-

gation that interviewed him, that if they dabbled in politics, contrary to the purpose for which the boards were established, he would close their conference.

On the other hand there was evidence throughout the discussion of the three-day conference a lack of proper orientation.

With the exception of a few men, the majority of the members of the conference were quite obviously out of touch with the masses of people whom they purported to represent and they showed a clear inability to grasp the fundamental issues that are at stake at this moment in the country.

This latter was brought into relief during the discussions, for instance, of the Western Areas Removal scheme. While in the end a resolution opposing the scheme was adopted, there was a determined reluctance on the part of many of the members to discuss it. Even the presidential address was studiously silent

about it.

The presidential address further did not refer at all to the Draconian laws that were passed during the last session of the Union Parliament. It was proper that the President should stress the impossibility of drawing a line of demarcation between what is political and what is not, as he did indeed do. But to leave out any reference to recent legislation was a serious omission, and gave the Conference an air of anachronism in this time of crisis in South Africa.

Among the addresses read at the conference, was one by the Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations who gave a review of recent legislation. The reaction to his address was shocking. A member of the conference said that the conference should be careful about associating with a body whose Director criticised the government as he had done!

Somehow, one felt that the main con-

cern of the conference was to keep on the right side of the Gods and there is no doubt that such an attitude can do irreparable harm to the cause of the national struggle for freedom.

The general outlook of the members of this conference raised a very important question in my mind, namely whether a closer liaison should not be established between the African National Congress and this body.

There is the further question: Should the African National Congress not decide to contest Advisory Board elections, and influence voting in a more healthy direction? This course is essential if we are to avoid a clash between the leadership of Congress and this group of men who wield much influence in the towns whether we like it or not.

Readers are invited to contribute their views on the suggestions made by the writer of this article.

Robert Resha writes on the—

A.N.C. CONFERENCE AT QUEENSTOWN

THE 41st Annual Conference of the African National Congress held at Queenstown in December last, was indeed a mammoth conference and will go down on record as one of the most successful in the annals of the African National Congress. Three veteran Congressmen whom I interviewed at the Conference, who joined the A.N.C. in their 'teens and who have attended more conferences than they care to remember, regarded this Conference as the greatest in their memory.

Before the Conference there was an atmosphere of confusion, fear and suspicion in some quarters and it was not easy to predict the course and outcome of the Conference.

DECISIVE CONFERENCE

The Conference was clearly to be a decisive one. Firstly, it was the first conference after the suspension of the Defiance Campaign which was followed by a general lull in Congress' public activities. Secondly, as a result of the lull there had emerged a number of factionalists and splitters, who are shouting "action", accusing the leadership of cowardice and agitating (in private houses) for a change of leadership. Thirdly, the bans imposed by the Minister of Justice on the militant leaders of the people provided an opportunity to disrupters and careerists to sow dissension in Congress with the hope, in the resulting confusion, of enabling individuals more acceptable to the Government to take over the leadership of the organisation.

Fourthly, the visit overseas of the Secretary-General of the A.N.C., Mr. Walter Sisulu was being used by some to revive the Communist bogey. Mr. Sisulu's visit to the Soviet Union, China and Eastern Europe, they said, was embarrassing to A.N.C. policy.

Lastly, there was the new draft Constitution which Conference was expected to adopt. This constitution advocates far-reaching changes in the form of the A.N.C. and was expected to raise fierce debate. Again certain elements wanted to use this constitution to achieve their

own selfish ends. They aimed at elections immediately after the constitution had been adopted by Conference. The catch-phrase "purge the National Executive Committee" was often heard in private conversation.

PEOPLE NOT DUPED

With all these issues in the offing, Conference was expected to be a hectic one. Yet it was not.

The Conference showed that delegates were enthusiastic, yet sober, and they were not prepared to be blinded and swayed by Provincial whims and fancies and emotional appeals. Lobbying by factional groups was regarded with suspicion. Much of the confusion that seemed to prevail before conference was cleared away during debate. Conference soberly referred the Draft Constitution and the question of participating in elections to the Provinces to digest and report back at the next Conference.

1949 AND 1954

This Conference can perhaps be compared to that historic Conference held five years ago — 1949 — in Bloemfontein, when the African National Congress adopted a programme of Action which has not only established the reputation of the African National Congress throughout the world, but also made it the real mouthpiece of the African people in this country and the vanguard of the liberatory movement. Yet, while the discussions at the 1949 Conference were not always of the highest order because of emotional outbursts by delegates — the 41st Annual Conference was quite different.

This Conference was quite the most dignified I have ever attended. During the three days of the Conference I listened to sane and reasoned orations, both from leaders and members of the Conference. The speakers, many of them products of the defiance campaign, were cool and serious. Well-considered suggestions and proposals were put forward. This sincerity of thought and honesty of purpose among the delegates can be attributed largely to the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign which

brought about a high political consciousness among the African people.

THE RIGHT DIRECTION

Taking stock of the Conference, the presence of 300 delegates and about 200 ordinary members of the A.N.C. and observers, who came from various parts of the country and represented people in all walks of life was impressive. There were peasants, industrial workers, businessmen, chiefs, herbalists, doctors, lawyers, journalists, teachers and ministers of religion. Everyone present at the Conference whether delegate or non-delegate, man or woman, educated or illiterate, was free to discuss. People were all of equal status. To me it was a Peoples' Conference: and was a glimpse of what South Africa will be like when freedom and democracy have been achieved.

One of the most striking features of the Conference was the faith and confidence the people have in Chief Albert Luthuli, Mr. Walter Sisulu and other leaders. Another important thing worthy of mentioning here, is the sincere friendship shown by delegates to people of other racial groups. The Indian and the European fraternal delegates who brought greetings of solidarity from the South African Indian Congress and the S.A. Congress of Democrats, were treated like members of the A.N.C.

This showed very clearly that the African National Congress is a true liberatory movement and therefore accepts people of different races and beliefs so long as they are resolved and determined to fight for a free and democratic South Africa for all.

At this Conference it was made clear that the African People have dedicated their lives to the struggle for freedom and democracy and neither hardships nor privation will subdue their spirit for freedom.

The most important event in the African National Congress 1954 calendar, as reflected in the Conference resolutions, is the People's Convention, where representatives of all races will draw up a People's Charter expressing their aspirations.

THE SABRA CONFERENCE IN REVIEW

“Cash and Concessions”

A FARMER would give his native worker an uppercut if he muddled his work, but if his family was ill, he would do anything in his power to help them. It was difficult to assess this concession in terms of money.” Thus Dr. C. J. Neethling of the Division of Economics and Markets of last month’s SABRA (S.A. Bureau of Racial Affairs) Conference, held in Bloemfontein.

Nevertheless, the gallant doctor did his best to assess the farmers’ “concessions” in terms of money. The average annual income for a native farm labourer, he told the Conference, was £16 cash. To this he added “concessions”, land £43 19s. 2d.; grazing, £6; ration £11 10s. 11d.; extras £8, making a total of £85 10s. 1d. a year. “This” he explained “did not include a free house, fuel, water and water privileges, which could be valued at £6 per year.” To this grand total of cash and concessions” must be added that earned by his wife and children, in most cases more than £20 a year.”

AN ENVIABLE LOT

Added together, a grand total of just under £9 per month per African family on the farms, of which less than £1 10s. is in good hard cash. “The facts,” as the good doctor so truthfully remarks, “show that the wages and economic conditions of Natives on farms are good and healthy, in spite of what the Michael Scotts and the United Nations through India, try to tell the world.”

But a farm labourer’s lot is still a happy one. “It would be an exception”, Dr. Neethling assures us, “to find a farmer who did not give his workers presents. At least one khaki shirt and pair of trousers were given as a Christmas present, and on many farms it was the custom to give two of each.” Do not pity the farm labourer and his family on their £9 a month — five-sixths concessions. They have at least one — sometimes two khaki shirts and trousers a year.

“Shocking as it may sound, Natives on farms, with rare exception, deserved

no more than they were paid.” Mr. S. P. van Wyk of the same Division of Economics and Markets reassured the troubled SABRA consciences. “They cost the farmer much more than their wages, because of their unsatisfactory and unreliable work, the injuries they caused to cattle and damage to machinery through their negligence and inefficiency.” Pity the poor farmer and his golden act of philanthropy in employing the downtrodden though it cost him more than his tax concession and government subsidy combined. After all, in the stirring words of Dr. Neethling: “The Afrikaner regards himself as the guardian of the Native”. The cost is heavy; but they bear their burden with a stiff upper lip and a new fluid-drive Buick.

PSEUDO-SCIENCE

But guardianship has its strain and stresses along with its dividends. The new scientists of SABRA meet the strains with cold, impassioned logic, with scientific South-Africanism. “The Native was already a permanent member of the European community,” warned Dr. W. T. H. Beukes, former head of the faculty of Native Administration of the Pretoria University. “Unless there was a positive development in another direction, the European might as well get accustomed to the process of integration.” Perish the thought! “We will have to strengthen our European element and gradually remove those natives who have been integrated into our economy,” said Mr. J. P. Jacobs, setting the tone. “A parting of the ways was urgently necessary,” Dr. P. G. Coertze of Pretoria followed. “The Native should gradually be removed from the national structure. To continue with integration would be fatal.” No-one, it seems, paused to consider that the opposite of integration is disintegration.

Not even the Administrator of the Free State, Mr. G. C. Fouche, who opened the Conference. His tortuous logic made him feel at home at this gathering of scientists of racial affairs. “A policy of gradual integration would not only mean the destruction of the European race,” he said, “but would be

fought to the limit by the White man. The Non-European would then remain in an inferior position for generations and dissatisfaction and strife in the country would continue.”

From the Administrator of disintegration to the head of the Department of Economics and Markets, Mr. S. G. de Swardt. “The present trend is towards closer economic integration between European and Native,” he declared. “Many natives were now doing skilled work, and occupying positions involving considerable responsibility. It was time that the social and other implications of this trend received the required attention.”

UN-AFRIKANER

No-one can claim that SABRA failed to give it due attention. Dr. Coetzee in a speech condemning “that Afrikanerskap en Blankedom” which permitted “foreign natives” to come to the Union, called for Europeans and immigration to help the farmers “disintegrate.”

A resolution calling for an end to the “influx of foreign natives” was turned down “by a large majority”, together with a resolution calling for “the importation of suitable European immigrants”. In the debate the Bureau of Racial Affairs really lived up to its name. “Immigrants,” said Pretoria’s Professor H. B. du Preez, opposing both resolutions, “were a problem, even when they were imported from the countries of origin of South African Europeans. Those who have not shared in the Great Trek and have had no part in the Voortrekker monument that is in Pretoria, cannot appreciate the problems as we do.”

“People from overseas,” he said, with more truth than oratory, “are strangers to the things we stand for in SABRA”. Let us be thankful for small mercies. If all the world — or if all South Africans — had the mental processes of the earnest racial-affairs professors of SABRA, the atom bomb would be a gratifying release.

Are some races inferior?

What is intelligence?

Is the white race "pure"?

EDWARD ROUX WRITES ON

RACE AND INTELLIGENCE

IT is important that democrats in South Africa should have a good, and as far as possible a scientific, knowledge of the problems connected with race. One of the chief arguments put forward by the opponents of democracy is that Non-Europeans, and especially Africans are essentially "inferior" and therefore not entitled to equality of treatment. This argument, of course, can be easily countered by the question: "If the black man is less capable than the white man why do you deny him the same access to education and skilled work? Why are you afraid to give him the chance to show his ability?" However the question still remains, "What is race and how is it related to human capacity?" We may also ask: "Is there any relation between race and human intelligence?"

WHAT IS RACE?

The term "race" has been very much abused in use. The biologist uses the word in reference to races of plants or animals. In this sense a race is a group of organisms which shares one or a number of hereditary characters and which can be distinguished by these characters from other races. In domesticated plants or animals it is possible by inbreeding and selection to produce pure or almost pure races, that is to say groups the members of which are practically identical in their genetical make up. Among interbreeding animals such as man there are no pure races in this sense. Nevertheless the term race can be applied to groups of mankind, where a race means a group of which the average member may be distinguished from the average member of another group by certain visible physical characteristics. For instance the average Negro can be clearly distinguished from the average Western European by the colour of his skin, the nature of his hair, and a number of other less obvious characteristics. Similarly the average Chi-

nese would obviously belong to another racial group.

However the races of mankind all belong to the same species, *Homo sapiens*, and are fully capable of interbreeding. Isolation has tended to produce different races. Interbreeding has mixed the races again. These two processes have been going on ever since modern man evolved about a million years ago. The result is a great degree of variation in the physical features of populations.

In South Africa there has been a considerable degree of mixing of the different peoples. The Coloured people are genetically related to the Whites, the Hottentots, the Malays and the Bantu. The Bantu themselves were originally of mixed origin, having incorporated Hamitic, Semitic, Bushman and Hottentot elements. Our present "White" population is partly derived from slave and other Non-European ancestry, possibly to the extent of about twenty per cent. (see G. Findlay: "Miscegnation"). Recent attempts to exclude certain children from schools on the ground that they were not "white" have drawn attention to the impossibility of drawing a sharp line of distinction between white and non-white.

INTELLIGENCE

WHAT is intelligence? This is not easy to define. We may say it refers to mental capacity. It can be measured only by performance. Give a number of persons the same problem in arithmetic. Some will solve it more rapidly than others. Some may not attempt to solve it at all or get the wrong answer. We say loosely, on the basis of such tests, that some people are more intelligent than others. What determines why one individual performs better than another? The usual answer is that intelligence, measured in some such way, is a product of heredity and environment. One of the chief factors in environment is education. Thus an indivi-

dual may be able to solve an arithmetical problem because he has been taught how to do it, or because he has had a lot of experience in solving similar problems. He has an environmental advantage over the person who has not had the same training and experience.

At the same time it is clear that persons who have had, as far as we can judge the same training and experience, may perform very differently, one appearing to be much more intelligent than another. Such differences between individuals are usually ascribed to genetical (hereditary) factors. This conclusion is probably in the main true, but it should not be accepted uncritically. Work by psychologists has shown that the environment influences people in much more subtle ways than was once thought possible. This person's bad performance in arithmetic may be due to something in his early life, when he was still a child, which made him dislike number problems and which has influenced him ever since. Consequently he has not been able to benefit from teaching. It has also been shown that the performance of school children may sometimes be improved by better feeding, such as results from the addition of milk to their diet. However some differences in mental capacity are so great that we seem justified in attributing them to the properties of the brain of the person who possesses them. If we think of genius in mathematics, musical ability, pictorial art, and so on, and compare it with imbecility, we are forced to the conclusion that there are mental differences between individuals which are inherited. This has been demonstrated in animals, other than man, where it is possible to standardise environments and eliminate possible environmental differences which might influence the results. The mental ability of rats, for instance, can be measured by the speed at which they learn to pass through mazes. By selecting rats for per-

(Continued from previous page)

formance, and breeding the good performers with each other, it has been possible to produce races of rats with very high average ability on one hand or very low average ability on the other. Sheep dogs, which are considered to be highly intelligent, are products not only of very careful training but also of rigorous selection.

It is therefore a reasonable assumption that, although environment is an extremely important factor, it is not the only factor determining intelligence. Later we shall discuss some of the environmental factors which are known to be important.

INTELLIGENCE AND RACE

It has been said that White children in South Africa are more intelligent than African children. This statement is based on certain "Intelligence Tests" which have been carried out on groups of White and African children. The White children on the average scored higher marks than the black children. African workers applying for jobs in Durban have been tested for manual dexterity and mechanical aptitude. In general their performance has been inferior to that of white workers also applying for jobs. In the U.S.A. a group of white children was tested against a group of Negro children in ability to repeat rhythm patterns. The Negro children did much better than the white children. In Jamaica, groups of Negro, Coloured and White prisoners were given intelligence tests. In mental arithmetic, number series, and following complicated directions the Negroes came top. In certain tests, such as reconstructing sentences and using words correctly, the whites beat the Negroes. What are we to conclude from all this?

In the first place it should always be remembered that results of this sort are based on averages and that in every group tested there are numbers of individuals whose score is much above or below the average. Thus, in for example the matriculation results in South Africa, though Europeans on the whole do better than Africans, Coloureds and Indians, there are some Non-Europeans who do better than the average European and some Europeans who do worse than the average Non-European.

Secondly we must consider the environmental factors influencing the results of the tests. It is obvious in the case of the matriculation that the quality of the teaching in the white schools is on a much higher level than in the Non-European schools (more highly qualified teachers with better salaries,

smaller classes, better equipment, etc.). Also there is the language problem. The European is usually taught in his mother tongue. The Non-European is often taught and must write the examination in what is to him a foreign language.

If we consider the African worker asked to manipulate a mechanical device he has not met before, it is not surprising that his performance is inferior to that of the European. The White child is surrounded from earliest infancy with mechanical gadgets of all sorts which are absent in the environment of the African child brought up in the location or in the Reserve. White children are given mechanical toys; African children often have no toys at all. These early environmental factors must influence the performance of people in later life. Conversely consider the superior performance of the Negro children in repeating rhythm patterns. Negro children, and also our own Bantu children, become acquainted with rhythmical dancing at a very early age, but white children do not. We cannot conclude, without standardising the environment, that Negroes are inherently more rhythmic than whites or that whites are inherently more mechanically-minded than Negroes.

ARE there no inherent differences between races? We should be unscientific if we were to conclude, on the basis of these criticisms, that there are no average inherent mental differences between races. *There may be such differences, but they have not been proved.* In any case, even if differences do exist in certain mental faculties as between racial groups, they probably cancel each other out. Human faculty is extremely varied and complex. Every individual should be given the opportunity in a democratic society of developing his inherited faculties to the utmost. In spite of environmental handicaps the Negro peoples have produced individuals of outstanding ability in many different fields of human achievement: in science, art, music, leadership. There is no justification for treating them differently from any other racial group.

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BOOK REVIEW

France Against the War Plot

"THE WATER TOWER" is a vivid and inspiring tale of our own time—of the years of the post-war, of the dollar penetration into Europe snuffing out the war-lit lamps of liberty, of the penetration of advance bases, stockpiles and armies for a new, third, great war.

But more than that; it is a tale of people, of the bitterly impoverished toiling people of France, for whom love of liberty and of peace is the very substance of life; a tale of people rising to glowing, heroic stature in a struggle which today dominates the Western European scene. Here, amongst the underpaid, often unemployed dockers of an Atlantic port, living miserably in slum and shanty, there grows a struggle against American occupation and the landing of American munitions. Led by the French Communists, the struggle broadens; the slogans of 'Yanks Go Home!' merge with the battle for jobs and housing, and with the campaigns for an end to French invasion of Indo-China.

Written against the background of contemporary history, it is fired, and will fire its readers, with faith and confidence in the French working people, in the strength and solidarity which is in them for peace. And yet it is no documentary, but a thrilling, living novel, one of a trilogy which its author, André Stil, plans to complete. By profession, Stil is a journalist, editor of the Communist paper, l'Humanité. But in this, the first of the series he plans to portray the life of the French working class in our times, he proves himself to be a powerful and realistic novelist, who brings to his craft the deep understanding of events and currents which have enabled him, at the age of 32, to edit one of his country's largest dailies.

"THE WATER TOWER", by André Stil.

Published by Lawrence and Wishart, London. 10/6.

L.B.

JANET JAGAN WRITES FROM BRITISH GUIANA

"IN THE END THE PEOPLE TRIUMPH"

GEORGETOWN, B.G. — In British Guiana, one of Britain's richest possessions, exploitation has for over a hundred years continued without any notable challenge. Up until recent years, the British have encountered only sporadic opposition to the prosperous rape of the wealth of the country. Sugar, rum, bauxite, gold, diamonds and recently the discovery of columbite and tantalite have made them even more greedy. With the growth of the trade union movement, workers began to learn that they had rights and increasing demands were made for better wages and working conditions. When the People's Progressive Party was organised four years ago, it immediately proceeded to unite all sections of the oppressed people and succeeded in overcoming the racial divisions which had previously prevented any form of united action. The majority of trade unions gave unstinted support to the new popular movement. When the Party, this year, was successful in winning a majority at the polls, a real challenge to perpetual exploitation was finally at hand.

Not only England saw that the people had awakened and were demanding a better life, but England's senior partner, the U.S.A., began to sit up and take notice. America, seeing the popular rising of the people on the road to self government, feared that its economic and political control of the Latin American bloc was about to be challenged. The American press began a smear and fear campaign to discredit the P.P.P. majority. Time Magazine, columnists Drew Pearson, Lee Mortimer and others started hysteria over an alleged "red menace in the Caribbean."

PRESSURE FROM U.S.A.

What went on behind the scenes can only be surmised. But there is little doubt that pressure was brought upon Britain to take firm action against the rising tide of a people insisting upon their rights. Britain, almost wholly dependent upon the good will of the American State Department, and tied

hand an fist economically to the U.S., could do little else than respond to the demands of its senior partner.

Seeing that the P.P.P. majority had no intention of becoming conventional stooges to the Colonial Office and realising that the elected majority would not assist in being a buffer to the new demands of the people, the Tory Government became frantic, took panic and immediately dispatched its quota of gunboats and soldiers to stand by while the people's rights were violently raped.

The Tory Government had a hard time finding a legitima excuse for its unusual action in suspending the constitution and dismissing Ministers who held office for only four months. The universally recognised weaknesses of the White Paper which laid the accusations has brought much abuse on the Churchill Government. The ridiculous allegations of a "plot" were completely unsubstantiated by Britain. To date there has not been one act of violence, and yet the Governor of British Guiana had the audacity to cable Churchill that witnesses were afraid to give evidence. Is it that a military occupied country can not offer protection to a handful of witnesses? Clearly there was no plot and there could be no witnesses.

ANOTHER KENYA?

Since the whole world has taken a keen interest in the Guiana situation, the Colonial Office still feels in duty bound to inform the world that its action was necessary. So the next step was to lock up a few leaders to prove that things were happening in Guiana. Any evidence that the five detained caused trouble? None whatsoever! But to be on the safe side the Governor appointed a Three Man Committee to hear objections to the indefinite detention of three members of the House of Assembly (one the former Minister of Communications and Works), a poet, and the Second Vice Chairman of the Party. That should prove to all that justice always prevails. To the outside, perhaps, but

to those inside Guiana, the personnel of the Committee was perhaps one of the sharpest indications that justice had disappeared. The Committee members have open bias against the Party and its conclusions are known before it sits.

But, how to provoke the people to commit an act of violence, so that another slaughter house like Kenya can be opened in Guiana? That is the problem facing the one-man government today. Will they find the key to causing the people's anger to overflow? That is the chief motivation of the armed state which now rules our country.

And what of the people? The American press suggests hopefully that the Party has already lost its influence. They cite an example: Only 200 waved goodbye to leaders Burnham and Jagan as they departed to present our case to England while thousands came to bid farewell to the Royal Welsh Fusiliers. Or did they forget to mention that police with batons came to chase away the thousands who wanted to say farewell to their beloved leaders? Why did they not mention that along the 20-mile span carrying the leaders to the airport, people came out of their houses on the roadside to hold up their three fingers in the P.P.P. salute. Nor did they mention the new recruits which the Party has enrolled — persons who previously did not understand that British imperialism means oppression of political and economic rights?

PEOPLE WILL TRIUMPH

Again the British rulers have misjudged the people. They cannot feel the pulse of popular opinion in Guiana because they do not know the people. The mistakes they made in the last elections have been made again. When the big business interests used local coloured stooges to represent them in the last elections, they turned the tide in favour of the Party. When they came out with their misdirected propaganda, they won us more votes. Equally so today, when they think that they have broken

the Party by suspending the Constitution and locking up our leaders, they have again made supreme asses of themselves. The Party today is stronger than it was last month. The people are determined to support the Party if they must wait five years until the next elections.

What do the so-called "ignorant masses" of Guiana say? They say that we are now going through the struggle India went through in its fight for freedom. Through imprisonment and shootings, the people persisted. The same will happen here. In the end the people will triumph.

Molotov says "Yes" Jooste says "No!"

DURING the last session of the United Nations there were sixteen votes on African and colonial questions. Among them were resolutions on the need for U.N. to act against tyranny in Morocco and Tunisia, against racial oppression in the Union, against the dangers of the Central African Federation scheme. On every single occasion Jooste, for South Africa, voted NO, and the Soviet Union voted YES! South Africa was the only country to vote NO on every single one of these issues.

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