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FIGHTING

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TALK

**FAMINE IN THE
RESERVES**

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**U.S. NEGROES
FIGHT SEGREGATION**

* * *

**TRADE UNIONS
AGAINST THE I.C. BILL**

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**KRUSCHOV ON SOVIET
POLICY**

A MONTHLY JOURNAL FOR DEMOCRATS

TAKING UP THE FIGHT

COMMENT

THERE is nothing new in the thought that the Nationalists have as thorough a contempt for democratic government as had their mentors of the Third German Reich. But there is something new in the cool and studied displays of contempt for Parliament and its processes which are now becoming commonplace.

RIPE FOR PICKING

Only last month, a curt instruction to the school of Christ the King to close its doors "forthwith" to some six hundred children was to be strongly challenged in the House. With studied insolence, the responsible minister, Dr. Verwoerd, absented himself, and left a bumbling colleague to deliver, parrotwise, a few inadequate replies, and a few less adequate requests for "notice of that question". The newly hand-picked Senate reduced itself to the level of a backveld branch of the Nationalist Party, by earnestly debating and passing a series of resolutions "applauding" the Government, "praising" the cabinet ministers, "thanking" the Prime Minister. And during the joint House of Assembly-Senate session on the South Africa Act Amendment Bill, the Speaker took it upon himself to reduce this most momentous gathering to the level of a boys' prep school, where no one dare open his mouth to question, interject or object, without being summarily ordered out to cool his ardour in the draughts of the corridor.

There is more than usual Nationalist idiocy in all this. It is the logical end of their pattern that they should, deliberately, set out to bring Parliament into public contempt, and so lay the last vestiges of democratic government open for plucking. All their endeavours move to this end—the removal of voters from the roll, the removal of the testing rights of the courts, the steady extension of rule by cabinet decree without recourse to Parliament. They have brought in their ja-broers to fatten the Senate for the kill. But the Parliamentary opposition is content to twiddle its thumbs and argue legal case-histories about the Statute of Westminster. Tacitly they are accepting the process, and fitting themselves, neatly into the stooge's niche, foil for the Nationalists devices. Both sides in Parliament are preparing Parliament's own destruction. And the only firm upholder of the democratic processes of Government is to be found outside of Parliament, in the Congress movement whose aims are proclaimed in the Freedom Charter: "The people shall govern".

WHEN the leading trade unions of the White workers destroyed the Trades and Labour Council and formed the new Trade Union Council, the air was thick with promises. The new body would unite all trade unionists in a powerful, single, camp.

THE RAW REALITY

The new body would fight tooth and nail against the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill. Or so it was said. Today we have the reality. The TUC has not united the workers. It has excluded the Non-European workers as a concession to the most race and colour prejudiced White workers.

And the TUC has not fought the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill. Politely, cap in hand, the TUC petitioned the Government. "If you first try out your policy of reserving certain jobs for certain races", they murmured, "and if you prove to us that your policy works, why then we will, of course be prepared to accept all of your new Bill". The Government accepted the assurance that in principle the TUC had no opposition to offer, and then kicked them firmly in the teeth. The TUC, born in compromise, born to throw the Non-European workers to the Nationalists wolves, ended in compromise, ended by throwing the workers to the Nationalist wolves.

It is a hard furrow that the non-colour bar, militant S.A. Congress of Trade Unions ploughs, but in the long run, all the workers will come to see that the compromising promises of the TUC end in the raw reality of Nationalist triumphs. That day they will turn to SACTU, to the united struggle of Black workers and White for the rights of working men.

NO one could treat seriously Mr. Louw's reasons for closing the Soviet Consulate. It was a scratch collection of all the slimiest, unsubstantiated allegations made over the years at Nationalist Party Conferences, by rabble-rousers who are more at home in the field of smear and slander than diplomacy.

DIPLOMATIC COLD WAR

But the timing of the decision to break off what has always been a one-sided relationship—Soviet representation here, but no South African representative in Moscow—the timing is worth consideration. It has been suggested that the move was a sort of "bread-and-circuses" affair, designed to distract public attention from the dirty work being done in Parliament. Maybe so. But there is more to it than that.

The Nationalist Government has become the most die-hard representative of the most die-hard imperialists. Faithfully it has echoed and bolstered every move of the most reactionary, war-mongers of the imperialist world. When the order goes out from Washington for strenuous reaction, no one can be more anti-Communist than the Nationalist Government. When Wall Street orders aggressive military pacts, no one beats the drums more loudly for an African "Defence" Pact than Eric Louw. And when Dulles orders a counter-offensive against Geneva peaceful-co-existence spirit, no one reacts more promptly in his petty way than the South African Nationalist Cabinet minister. The closing of the Soviet Consulate is part of a wide conspiracy to undermine the advance of the spirit of peaceful co-existence. It is part of a plot to retrieve the cold war from the doldrums into which it had threatened to fall. And it is a reminder that the battle for peace is not yet won. It has still to be fought for, every inch of the way, against the Dulles, Eisenhowers, MacMillans and Louws. And part of that fight is the fight for friendly diplomatic relations between nations. South Africa, whose Government has isolated her from India, China and the USSR, is as good a place as any to take up that fight.

E. R. Braverman writes on the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill, and the need for unity of the workers of all races.

TRADE UNIONS FOR FREEDOM

THE Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill now before Parliament will undoubtedly become law within the next few months.

When it does, the pattern of trade union organisation which has survived the attacks of racialists for more than half a century will be drastically changed. Many other important political and social consequences are bound to follow from this change.

Much of the debate in Parliament on the bill dealt with the probable nature of these changes. Indeed the main burden of the criticism levelled against the bill by both Opposition parties was that it would destroy those privileges and monopolies enjoyed by the European worker which the bill was supposed to protect and entrench for all time.

No one in the House asserted the right of the Coloured, Indian and African worker to qualify for and enter any occupation on equal terms with the European worker.

No one condemned the bill on the grounds that it was intended to drive the Coloured and Indian out of the skilled trades into the morass of unskilled, underpaid manual labour.

On the contrary, the great argument of government spokesmen was that their law would do precisely that—drive the Non-European out of occupations which should be reserved for Whites.

De Klerk, Minister for Labour, when moving the second reading of the Bill, said:—

“Clause 77 (which) is a precautionary measure to safeguard the standards of living of the White workers of South Africa and to ensure that they will not be exploited by the lower standards of living of any other race”.—(Hansard 23/1/56, page 276.)

And M. Viljoen (Nat. M.P. Alberton, Tvl.) said in his address to the Tygerberg Sakekamer at Bellville:—

“Cape Town would lose its Coloured traffic constables once the Industrial Conciliation Bill became law. As on the mines, where only Europeans were licensed to do blasting, so in factories and municipal services, certain types of work would gradually be made the preserve of Europeans”. — (Cape Times, 8/2/56.)

And Mr. P. W. Botha (Nat. George) said:—

“The object of the Government was to protect the White worker and to retain the Afrikaner for his own people”. — (Cape Times 3/2/56.)

Reservation of Jobs

The Nationalists claim that the White worker will get all the protection he needs from the application of Clause 77, which allows the Minister, on the recommendation of a tribunal, to reserve any kind of work in any undertaking, industry or trade in any area or in any factory or work, for persons of a specified race, and prohibit any person not belonging to any such race from doing such work.

This is a blanket-omnibus-colour bar clause which will give the racialists unlimited power to drive any Coloured, Indian or African out of any kind of job in any part of the country. It is a kingsize variation of the

notorious colour bar Mines Works Act Amendment Act of 1926.

As the quotations have shown, Nationalists understand this clause, their main weapon for their drive against the Non-European artisan.

The sole reply of the Opposition to this argument was that job reservation would encourage the White workers to become even lazier and less productive than they are now and so reduce productivity and profits.

Just as the Government and Opposition were in agreement on the fundamental principle of priority for the White worker, so were they in agreement on the principle of “democratic” trade unionism. Here again the only disagreement was the question of method.

“Give us democratic trade Unions”, said the Opposition, “by allowing the workers to join mixed multi-racial unions”.

“Give us democratic trade unions”, said de Klerk, “by allowing workers to break away from mixed inter-racial unions”.

The Government said only by separate trade unions for separate races could European leadership in the economic field be maintained and strengthened.

The Opposition said that only by mixed Trade Unions would the European worker have the sole right to bargain with employers in Industrial Councils and defend their higher standard of living against Non-Europeans.

Only Hepple of the Labour Party objected to Clause 4 on the grounds that it destroys workers’ unity and weakens them in the struggle against capitalist exploitation.

Breakaway Unions

Clause 4 prohibits the forming of new unions of Coloured (or Indian) and White workers and allows any group of White (or Coloured) workers forming 50% of those employed in an undertaking or industry to break away from a mixed trade union and form a separate uni-racial union.

The breakaway union is guaranteed, under clause six, a share of the Union funds, as fixed by agreement, or failing one, by the Industrial Registrar.

These provisions put into effect the Nationalist Party policy on Trade Unionism laid down long before it came into power and operated by Nationalist stooges in the Blankewerkersbeskermingsbond, which was established by Jan de Klerk, the present Minister for Labour.

De Klerk told Parliament that his Bond had been formed to “rid the trade unions of the Communist influence, and to maintain European leadership and to prevent the mixing of races”. (Cape Argus 7/2/56.)

It is the Nazi policy of Trade Unions adapted to South African conditions.

The principle of White domination, so eagerly subscribed to by all parties in parliament, is equally acceptable to the bureaucrats in the Trade Union Council.

They, too, object to the Bill only because, in their opinion, it will weaken their grip on the highly paid skilled jobs.

In fact de Klerk claimed that T.U.C. spokesman Rutherford had admitted "that his Federation was also in favour of the maintenance of the White man's standard of living in South Africa". — (Assembly Debates 23/1/56.)

Rutherford has tried to deny this—but his denial amounts to a statement that he asked the Minister to first apply the principle of job reservation and then, if it was found practicable, to go ahead with splitting the mixed unions.

Mr. S. J. M. Steyn (U.P. Vereeniging) said:—

"Mr. Rutherford said the following:— An appeal was therefore made to the Minister of Labour to allow us to keep our organizations intact so as to be able to co-operate with the Minister in devising ways and means of preventing the ever-increasing Native labour force from continuing to menace the European standards of living". — (Assembly Debates, Page 583, 30/1/56.)

For Rutherford, as for the other racialists in the T.U.C., the only consideration has been how most effectively to maintain the colour bar. What did Rutherford tell the Select Committee on the Industrial Conciliation Bill last year?

"As far as separation in the trade unions is concerned, I think we have explained that such separation would completely undermine the European standard of living". (Select Committee on I.C. Bill, June 1955, Page 231.)

To which Miss Hartwell added her dulcet voice:—

"We regard the existence of mixed trade unions as the only means whereby the standard of the European worker can be maintained".

This point was more carefully elaborated by Rutherford in his account of the fate that overtook the Indian printing workers in Durban:

"Up till 1927 we refused to have Indians in the Typographical Union. They then commenced negotiating separately and eventually practically eliminated the European printer from Natal. We then took them into our Union in order to stop that. The result is that I suppose one could count the number of skilled Indian printers in Natal on the fingers of your one hand. They have been almost eliminated. That happened because we took them into the Union. But when they were separate, they practically eliminated us. That tells a story." (Page 209 of Select Committee minutes, June 1955.)

The Fall of the T.U.C.

Rutherford & Co., together with the Nationalists, have struck a death blow at the old traditional pattern of South African trade unionism.

The essential feature of that pattern was multi-racial organisation under White leadership.

The only group of White trade unionists which consistently and without compromise fought for real and complete equality in trade union organisations and outside, were the Communists. They were driven out by the Nationalists with the aid and tacit approval of the right-wing bureaucrats.

When the Communists had been eliminated, the right-wing trade unionists were free to introduce their own apartheid by expelling the African trade unions. In doing this they deprived themselves of the right to fight the racialism of the Nationalists or any other variety. By representing the interests of only one section of the workers, the White artisans, they deprived themselves of the right to speak for the Coloured and Indian workers.

The logical end of the racist policy of the

T.U.C. was its own destruction as a national trade union centre.

New Perspectives

It is certain that none of the present multi-racial unions will endure. The discussion in the House and outside would lead one to suppose that the initiative under clause 4 will be taken inevitably by White racialists—particularly Afrikaans speaking.

There can be no doubt that racialists like Meyer of the Garment Workers Union will put into operation the policy of the Beskermingsbond without any delay. It is also certain however that Coloured and Indian workers in the Cape and Natal will proceed to demand separate unions for themselves. No self-respecting and democratic trade union will put up with the insulting treatment applied by Clause 8 which specifies: "that in a union with White and Coloured (or Indian) members, there shall be separate branches for the workers of each race, separate meetings by each branch, and an ALL WHITE EXECUTIVE!"

Just imagine the Coloured members of the building union in the Cape, who form 80% of the union's members and have 300 years of craftsmanship behind them, sacking their present executive with predominantly Coloured members and placing themselves under a committee of Whites only.

Inevitably the Coloured and Indian members of such large and well established unions as the building, garment, leather, furniture and other unions will refuse to tolerate this humiliation and demand separation under a Non-European leadership.

With that development will also go disaffiliation from the T.U.C. which by accepting a colour bar, has been one of the principal factors responsible for the present Bill.

A New Trade Union Centre

This does not mean the end of a national trade union centre embracing workers of all races. The need for working class unity is greater than before and it will find expression in renewed efforts to build up such a centre.

The South African Congress of Trade Unions (S.A.C.T.U.) fulfilled such a need and has the opportunity of developing into the most powerful workers' organisation in the country. For it alone carries on the earlier tradition of militant trade unionism and inter-racial unity that was established by Bill Andrews and the other founders of South African trade union movement.

The structure of SACTU will be very different from any previous trade union organisation. Its membership will be predominantly African, Coloured and Indian, and its leadership will be in the hands of the exploited and oppressed people.

Not only will SACTU lead the struggle of the workers for the day to day economic demands, but it will play its full part in the political struggle of the South African workers for a free and democratic South Africa.

FAMINE—(continued from page 5)

ment applies most viciously the influx control measures. How much longer can people continue to abide by laws which lead to national suicide? How much longer can we permit famine and near-starvation to come to the African Reserves with such frightening regularity?

FAMINE IN THE RESERVESBy **G. MBEKI****TIME FOR OUTCRY!**

AT almost regular intervals of five to eight years during the last quarter of a century the public has been treated to hair-raising stories of starvation in the Transkei and Ciskei. In 1933 there was a public outcry. The Government was exporting maize at 5s. a bag while the starving millions in the Reserves were paying 22/6 per bag. In 1938 again the drought and starvation provided blazing headlines for the Press. In 1945, not only was it bad, but owing to a serious shortage of maize during the war years, the position was rendered even worse. When "The Guardian" newspaper organised the distribution of thousands of pounds worth of food parcels, officials of the Native Affairs Department first denied that there was any shortage of food; then the distributors were intimidated. In 1949 man and beast alike were severely hit by one of the most severe drought. The people were only beginning to recover from the effects of this drought when they were assailed by the present one whose most telling effects will be felt from August next to March 1957.

Starvation has become endemic in these areas. Though the drought itself is not any worse on neighbouring farms, yet a drought in the Free State has not the same significance as it has in the Transkei. There is never sufficient production in the Reserves for harvests to last much longer than nine months. Often the problem of the Free State is how to dispose of the previous season's crop in order to make room for the next season's, whereas the Transkei peasant's headache is how to make his meagre crop stretch from June to April when the next crop ripens. A drought that causes the failure of a crop creates a crisis which permeates the whole structure of peasant society.

New Slavery

Why should a drought over a few months disrupt the entire life in the Reserves? Why won't the peasant lay by sufficient to tide him over at least 18 months?

Starvation that occurs in these areas is the blossoming of the failure of the agro-economics of the Reserves. Although the increase in population has been considerably retarded by the high child mortality, the population pressure on the available land has been increasing at a rate which the Reserves are failing to carry.

The Reserves are fulfilling their original purpose as labour reservoirs. To serve the requirements of industry, the financial interests in the country realised that they required a labour force whose supply they could readily control. The primary industries such as diamond, gold and coal mining on the one hand, and farming on the other, did not want a labour force that could exist on the products of its own efforts.

Since world opinion could no longer tolerate legalised slavery, new methods of enforcing the practice were devised. The passing of the Land Act in 1913, and a variety of other complementary laws such as the Urban Areas Act, Native Development and Taxation Act and so on, created conditions which would have the same end result as legalised slavery. This time the prospective slave owner does not leave his domain to hunt for "slaves". The conditions in the labour reservoirs compel the "slaves" to come to him.

The 1913 Land Act has been a wonderful success;

the "slaves" tumble over one other in an effort to come to the mines; over the radio it is announced that the production of gold in January 1956 shot up by 10900 fine ounces. The marvellous output is "attributable to an increase in Native labour".

No Land

In 1940, of the 250,000 families in the Transkei 80,000 had no arable land. Owing to the operation of the influx control measures the labourer is forced to regard the Transkei as his home in spite of the fact that he really has no home there. The result is that we have a stream of migrant labour that vitiates on the one hand the concerted efforts of the trade union movement in the cities, while it serves to create over-population in the Reserves on the other.

Because they are over-populated, the Reserves are unable to sustain the peasant population. Over a number of years production of maize has been progressively dwindling, so that peasants now lead a hand-to-mouth existence. For those who have any arable land allocated to them, food supplies are available for nine months in the year, provided the rainfall has been normal. The effects of insufficient food were observed by no less a personality than Dr. Gordon Mears, former Secretary of Native Affairs, in his thesis on "Native Administration in the Transkei—1894-1943". "It was found", he says, "that of 565 school children, the average weight of each age group, was lower than the usually accepted normal weight for school children!" The Annual Report on the Transkei clinics for 1940-1941 observes "Thin Natives are commoner than plump ones".

Vicious Circle

The criminal waste of life is reflected in figures taken from mothers who attended clinics in the Umtata Health Unit. Of 1,426 live births, 658 children died before reaching the age of 16 years. Only a society that admires a grub that becomes fat on a rotting carcass would continue to look upon what happens in the Reserves with the calculated indifference with which most people in South Africa do.

The fact that nearly 80% of the able-bodied men (between 18-44 years of age) were, as early as 1936, away from the Reserves at any one time, working on the mines and in other employment, is a clear indication of the inability of the Reserves to carry its population load. In times of severe drought such as the one through which the country is passing young boys are also recruited in large numbers for the sugar plantations in Natal, while older men also seek employment outside the Reserves. Thus there has developed a vicious circle. The able-bodied men flee from the Reserves because the Reserves are incapable of supporting their families, and on the other hand, the land is not properly tilled to produce even the little it is capable of because there is no labour.

Progressively the situation deteriorates in the Reserves, and like peoples everywhere in the world, including the descendants of the Boers in this country, Africans have drifted to the cities where secondary industries are growing at a terrific rate. To prevent the possibility of this labour gaining any measure of stability the Govern-

(continued on previous page)

In the United States the battle is one for

NEGRO EQUALITY, NOT JIM CROW

... "From one end of the South to the other law and order have broken down. A public climate has been created in which a Negro's life is worth no more than a White man's whim . . ."

Louis E. Burnham, editor of Paul Robeson's paper "Freedom", and well-known Negro youth leader in the States writes on the battles against discrimination there, and the Civil Rights crisis.

A POLITICAL CRISIS of major proportions is maturing in the United States. Just as in the period preceding the Civil War of 1860-1865, so today the crisis rises out of the refusal of the Southern racist landlords, business interests and politicians to grant to the Negro people equality in the exercise of the most elementary human rights.

One of the principal landmarks in the crisis was the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional.

This decision set aside the ruling of an earlier court which in 1896 had enshrined the fraudulent doctrine of "separate but equal" in American jurisprudence. This doctrine served as the legal cover for every manner of crass and vengeful discrimination in all walks of life—in public parks, playgrounds and libraries, on railroads, and in the schools.

Separate, But Not Equal

Thus, for generations Negro youth in the South have attended broken-down, ramshackle schools. They have used books cast aside by White children, or none at all; have held classes in garages and church basements, and often never seen the inside of a gymnasium or science laboratory. The educational deprivation has always been most flagrant and shocking in the rural districts. But in the cities as well, education for Negro youth in 17 Southern and border states and in the District of Columbia, the nation's capital, has been separate, but never equal.

That these youth have been rescued from the depths of hopelessness and inspired to learn and achieve is largely due to the heroic part played by underpaid Negro teachers in the segregated schools.

The Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, therefore, was an event of historic significance. Unfortunately, the court did not simultaneously implement the verdict. It waited a full year, until May 31, 1955, before handing down decrees as to how segregation in education was to be abolished. And the implementation decrees turned out to be a sore disappointment. For the courts placed into the hands of the local school boards, which had for generations foisted unequal, segregated facilities upon Negroes, the task of now integrating the schools. And the federal district courts in the South were to be the arbiters of the school boards' good faith.

Deep South Opposition

The result is that while some integration has taken place in the border (i.e., between North and South)

states of Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, Missouri, Kansas, and the District of Columbia, the states of the deep South present an almost solid phalanx of opposition to the Court's decision. Consequently, 95 per cent. of the eight million White school children and 2,600,000 Negro school children who attended legally segregated schools two years ago, attend the same segregated schools today, despite the law.

But more than this, a massive and malevolent public conspiracy is being organised in the South to thwart integration in education or in any other walk of life. It resorts to legal trickery to subvert the Court's ruling and the federal constitutional guarantee of equality. It wages a ceaseless campaign of slander and vilification of the Negro people in the press, on public platforms and in legislative halls. It holds aloft the tattered banners of "White supremacy" and "states' rights" and boldly seeks recruits, not only in the South, but throughout the nation.

The chief organizational expression of this conspiracy is the so-called White Citizens' Council movement. With its major base in Mississippi, where it claims a membership of 65,000 among the state's one million Whites, the Council movement has spread to a half-dozen other states as well. In still other states, comparable groups have formed, such as the "Southern Gentlemen" of Louisiana and the States Rights Council of Georgia.

McCarthy's Heir

During Christmas week past, these groups and others came together in a meeting in Memphis, Tennessee, to form the mis-named Federation for Constitutional Government. The leading figure at the Memphis meeting was U.S. Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi. Eastland has not only emerged as the most fanatical and vituperative racist in the country; he also heads the powerful Senate Internal Security Sub-committee. In this position he has taken from the failing hands of Senator Joseph McCarthy the torch of anti-Communism and sought with it to set fire to the democratic liberties of all who advocate any but the most reactionary, fascist-minded course in domestic or foreign policy. For this reason the fight against Eastland and his crew must combine a simultaneous crusade for the civil rights of the Negro people and the constitutional rights of free speech, thought, assemblage, press and organization of the whole American people.

In addition to its perversion of the State legislatures in efforts to nullify the Supreme Court decision, the racist conspiracy increasingly resorts to threats, intimidation, jailings and the outright assassination of Negro militants and leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, the leading mass civil rights organization in the country.

The civilized world stood aghast at the murder on August 28, 1955, of Emmett Louis Till, the Chicago school boy whose body was savagely mutilated and thrown into Mississippi's Tallahatchie River by a pair of hate-crazed "White supremacists".

In addition to this 14-year old lad, three Negro men have been killed and one seriously wounded during 1955 in the Mississippi segregationists' hot war against civil rights. Rev. George W. Lee, on May 6, and Lamar Smith, on August 13, were shot to death because of their leadership in the Negroes' efforts to secure the right to vote. Another leader in this movement, storekeeper Gus Courts, was victim of a shotgun blast. And on December 4, 33-year old Clinton Melton, father of five young children, was shot and killed by Elmer Kimbell, barely 20 miles from the spot where Emmett Till's body was found. The killer, a local White businessman, claimed Melton, employed at a gasoline station, had put more gas into his tank than he had ordered!

A Life for a Whim!

These examples could be multiplied a hundredfold in Mississippi and in other Southern states. *From one end of the South to the other, law and order have broken down.* A public climate has been created in which a Negro's life is worth no more than a White man's whim. Dr. T. R. M. Howard, an intrepid leader of Mississippi Negroes, reports that in his state, "*White people . . . get longer terms in jail for killing a deer out of season than for killing a Coloured man in the 18 Delta counties.*" (My emphasis.—LEB.)

A Negro correspondent from South Carolina reports: "Vicious behaviour, not the least unlike anything that might have been unleashed in similar situations in Hitler Germany, is evident on all sides . . . *The rebellion, now covering nearly a half of the State, is approaching in vigour and fervour the Secession movement of a century ago . . .*"

It is most alarming to the Negro people that, faced with this rebellion against its own laws, the federal government assumes a posture of abject helplessness. The Federal Bureau of Investigation fails to gather sufficient facts to guarantee conviction of a single lyncher. Its agents hastily intervene when White babies are reported missing but pointedly refuse to budge when a Negro child is kidnapped. It refuses to protect the voting rights of Negroes in the South, while hounding Negro radicals all over the country.

Business Thrives on "Jim Crow"

This failure to "do duty" where Negroes are involved strengthens the widespread belief that the Department of Justice and the FBI are honeycombed from top to bottom with anti-Negro racists. Most important, these agencies are the arms of an administration dedicated to carrying out the policies of Big Business and the plantation owners. And the aim of these policies clearly is not Negro, or human, rights—but *profits*. Big-business thrives on Jim Crow. It is estimated that the annual "take" in super-profits of the industrial monopolies, based on the Negro-White wage differential, is more than four billion dollars.

Perhaps this explains why the topmost leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties have been so conspicuously silent on the wave of terror against Negroes. Big Business and the Negro-hating Dixiecrats still have dominant influence in both parties. The 4-billion-dollar in extra profits wrung out of the oppression of the Negro people has a great silencing influence among the political opportunists who control both legislative and executive branches of government.

Forces Against Tyranny

However, the movement for Negro equality is growing stronger every day and winning increasing support among broad sections of the population. The labour movement, recently strengthened by the merger of the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, has begun to bestir itself in a new way on civil rights issues, due largely to the presence and pressure of almost two million Negro workers in the 15-million strong Federation. The prospects are for a significant increase in labour's direct support to NAACP and other such organisations, and an increase in its pressure upon government for an aggressive civil rights policy. The forthcoming drive to organise the unorganized in the South will also be a tangible aid, for in order to succeed, the trade unions will have to challenge and smash the curtain of segregation and discrimination which keeps Negro and White workers divided.

Major church bodies have gone on record favouring integration, and in a notable number of Southern cities White and Negro ministerial alliances have merged. Many White Southern intellectuals and professionals are finding their way to the side of democracy, even though they are not yet as outspoken as they must some day be. The White college students of the South, who have in recent years been, in their great majority, an important element in the camp of democracy, may be expected to demonstrate youth's natural resistance to inequality and tyranny as the struggle grows more intense.

These, then, are the forces which together with the besieged and courageous Negro people, must be counted on to resolve the crisis now maturing in the U.S.A. on the side of freedom and equality. In the months ahead, the battle will project itself into the presidential election campaign which will dominate the American scene.

There will be casualties as the struggle proceeds. Skirmishes will be lost, and battles, too. But one may be confident, witnessing the unalterable determination of 17 million Negroes to have equality *now*, and the growing weariness of the whole nation with the poison of McCarthyism and racism, that freedom will come in our time. The United States will be better able to make an honest contribution to world friendship and peace when it does.

THIS SOUTH AFRICA!

BLOEMFONTEIN, Wednesday.—". . . the council decided not to accept the policy that Natives should drive Native buses.

Nationalist members said that they did not want to trust expensive buses to Native drivers, "After all", said Mr. G. A. Fichardt, a former mayor and a member of the action committee, "the Native buses are not a Native bus service.

"It is a service provided by Europeans to bring the

Natives to the city to work for us".

Rand Daily Mail 1/3/56

The Minister of External Affairs said he thought he knew more about the feelings of people overseas than any of the Opposition.

He had made several visits overseas and had discussions with leading industrialists and in New York with leading bankers and financiers. These people were not worried.

The Star 3/2/56

* *Fighting Talk* offers 5s. prizes for the best examples of "This South Africa!" sent in. Indicate the source of the quotation or extract, and sign your name and address. Entries for the April issue must reach P.O. Box 1355, Johannesburg, by March 18.

KRUSCHOV ON SOVIET POLICY

"Why should we want war? We don't want it. As a matter of principle we renounce any policy that might lead to millions of people being plunged into war . . . War is not fustalistically inevitable . . ."

THESE were the words of Nikita Krushov, first secretary of the Soviet Communist Party in his opening speech to the 20th Congress of his party.

THIS speech, dealing with Soviet policy in the field of international relations, in the fields of Soviet and world economy, and in the field of Soviet living conditions, education and leisure, has not been published in our press. An authoritative expression of opinion and policy by a leader of the Soviet state is clearly of interest to all, and the views expressed here are of particular importance to all concerned with the preservation of world peace.

THE emergence of socialism from within the bounds of a single country, and its transformation into a world system, is the main feature of our era. Capitalism has proved powerless to prevent this process of world-wide, historic significance.

Figures show that in 26 years the Soviet Union, despite tremendous damage to its economy by war, increased its industrial output more than twenty-fold, while the U.S.A., which enjoyed exceptionally favourable circumstances, was only able to slightly more than double its production.

The economy of the capitalist world is developing extremely unevenly, and has become still more unbalanced. The United States is losing the monopoly position it held during the post-war years, and the economic struggle between capitalist countries is developing all the time, aggravated by the reappearance of West Germany and Japan, who, like Britain and France, had practically regained their pre-war positions in world markets.

As before, the main conflict is that between the United States and Britain. Anglo-American antagonism embraces a wide range of questions. Under the slogan of 'Atlantic co-operation' the transatlantic competitors are grabbing the principal strategic and economic positions of the British Empire . . . It is not surprising therefore that in Britain and in France too there is a growing desire to put an end to a situation in which Atlantic co-operation is of advantage to only one partner.

The Fight for Peace

A vast zone of peace, including peace-loving states, both socialist and non-socialist, of Europe and Asia, has emerged in the world. This zone embraces vast areas inhabited by nearly 1,500 million people—that is, the majority of the population of our planet.

The Communist Parties had proved to be the most active in the peace struggle in the capitalist countries, and had withstood many hardships and trials with credit.

At the same time, many other sections of society are also opposing war. The effectiveness of their activity would be greater if the various forces upholding peace overcame their disunity. The unity of the working class, of its trade unions, unity of its political parties—Communist, Socialist and other workers' parties, is acquiring exceptional importance.

The interests of the struggle for peace make it imperative to find points of contact, and on these grounds lay the foundations for co-operation, sweeping aside mutual recriminations.

Here, co-operation with those circles in the Socialist

movement who have views on the transformation to Socialism differing from ours, is also possible and essential.

The People of the Colonies

The disintegration of the imperialist colonial system now taking place after the victorious revolution in China, and the winning of independence by India, Burma, Indonesia, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Sudan and other former colonial territories is a post-war development of world historic significance.

A big part of the African continent, some countries in Asia, Central and South America still remain in colonial or semi-colonial dependence.

Contradictions and rivalry between colonial powers for spheres of influence and sources of raw material are growing.

To preserve and in some places re-establish their former domination, the colonial powers are resorting to the suppression of the colonial people by force of arms. They have also resorted to new forms of colonial enslavement under the guise of so-called 'aid to undeveloped countries', which brings colossal profits to the colonialists.

For Peaceful Co-existence

The Leninist principle of peaceful co-existence of states with differing social systems had always been, and remained, the general line of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

Is there a single reason why a socialist state should want to unleash aggressive war? Do we have classes and groups that are interested in aggressive war as a means of enrichment? We do not. We abolished them long ago.

Perhaps we don't have enough territory or natural wealth? Perhaps we lack sources of raw materials or markets for our goods? No. We have sufficient of all these and to spare.

Why then should we want war? We don't want it. As a matter of principle we renounce any policy that might lead to millions of people being plunged into war for the sake of the selfish interests of a handful of millionaires.

Do those who shout about the aggressive intentions of the USSR know all this? Of course they do. Why then do they keep up the old monotonous refrain about some imaginary 'Communist aggression'? Only to stir up mud to conceal their plans for world domination—for a so-called 'crusade' against peace, democracy and socialism.

Socialism Will Win

When we say that the socialist system will win in the competition between the two systems—capitalist and socialist—this by no means signifies that its victory will be achieved through the armed interference by socialist countries in the internal affairs of the capitalist countries.

Our certainty of the victory of Communism is based on the fact that the socialist mode of production possesses decisive advantages over the capitalist mode of production.

Precisely because of this, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are more and more capturing the minds of broad masses of working people in capitalist countries.

We believe that all working men in the world, once they have become convinced of the advantages Communism brings, will sooner or later take the road of struggle for the construction of Socialist society.

Building Communism in our country, we are resolutely against war. We have always held, and continue to hold, that the establishment of a new social system in one or another country is the internal affair of the peoples of the countries concerned.

Capitalism and War

As long as capitalism survives in the world, the reactionary forces representing the interests of capitalist monopolies, will continue their drive towards military gambles and aggression, and may try to unleash war.

But war is not fustalistically inevitable. Today there are mighty social and political forces possessing formidable means to prevent the imperialists from unleashing war, and if they actually try to start it, to give a smashing rebuff to the aggressors and frustrate their adventurist plans.

The Marxist-Leninist concept that wars are inevitable while imperialism exists, was evolved at a time when imperialism was all-embracing, and when the social and political forces against war were weak, poorly organized and unable to compel the imperialists to renounce war.

Now the situation has changed radically. There is a world camp of Socialism which has become a mighty force, and in this camp, peace forces find not only the moral but also the material means to prevent aggression.

The Change to Socialism

With the radical changes in the world arena, new prospects are also opening up in respect of the transition of countries from capitalism to socialism.

It is probable that more forms of transition will appear. Moreover the implementation of these forms need not be associated with civil war under all circumstances.

Our enemies like to depict us Leninists as advocates of violence always and everywhere. True we recognise the need for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into socialist society. There is no doubt that in a number of capitalist countries the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the sharp aggravation of class struggle connected with this are inevitable.

But the forms of social revolution vary, and it is

not true that we regard violence and civil war as the only way to remake society.

Leninism teaches us that the ruling classes will not surrender their power voluntarily. And the greater or lesser intensity which the struggle may assume, the use or non-use of violence in the transition to socialism, depends on the resistance of the exploiters, on whether the exploiting class itself resorts to violence rather than on the proletariat.

In this connection the question arises whether it is possible to go over to socialism by using Parliamentary means. No such course was open to the Russian Bolsheviks, who were the first to effect this transformation.

Since then however, the historical situation has undergone radical changes which make possible a new approach to this question. The forces of socialism and democracy have grown immeasurably throughout the world and capitalism has become much weaker. The mighty camp of socialism, with its population of over 900 million, is growing and gaining strength. Ideas of socialism are indeed coming to dominate the minds of all working humanity.

At the same time, the present situation offers the working class in a number of capitalist countries a real opportunity to unite the overwhelming majority of the people under its leadership, and to secure the transfer of the basic means of production into the hands of the people.

The Right Wing parties and their governments are becoming increasingly bankrupt. In these circumstances, the working class, by rallying around itself the toiling peasantry, the intelligentsia, all patriotic forces, and resolutely repulsing opportunist elements, is in a position to defeat the reactionary forces, to win a stable majority in Parliament, and to transform the latter from an organ of bourgeois democracy into a genuine instrument of the people's will. In such an event, this institution may become an organ of genuine democracy, of democracy for the working people.

The winning of a stable parliamentary majority, backed by a mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat and of all the working people could create, for the working class of a number of capitalist and former colonial countries the conditions needed to secure fundamental social changes.

In the countries where capitalism is still strong, and has a huge military and police apparatus at its disposal, the reactionary forces will, of course, inevitably offer serious resistance. There the transition to socialism will be attended by a sharp class revolutionary struggle.

"The Leadership of the Working Class"

Whatever the form of transition to Socialism, the decisive and indispensable factor is the political leadership of the working class, headed by its vanguard. Without this there can be no transition to socialism.

It must be strongly emphasized that the more favourable conditions created for the victory of socialism in other countries are due to the fact that socialism has been won in the Soviet Union, and is being won in the Peoples Democracies.

Its victory in our country would have been impossible had Lenin and the Bolshevik Party not upheld revolutionary Marxism in battle against the reformists who broke with Marxism, and took the path of opportunism.

THE SUDAN SHOWS THE WAY TO INDEPENDENCE

SO the British are out of the Sudan. The achievement of independence by yet another country is a notable event in the history of Africa. The Sudanese have been striving to reach this goal for years. Towards the end of the road they lost all patience with their British rulers and simply announced that the country would declare its independence "on Monday next"—and it did.

Only a month before the House of Lords was solemnly debating whether it was really desirable to let the Sudan advance so far and so fast. One peer quoted Kipling and others shook their heads with misgiving.

Their Lordships had reason to be anxious. Some of them realised that, once the Sudan became a free country, it would be harder than ever to maintain the isolation of Africa from the Middle East and the rest of the world generally. The enforced withdrawal of the British removed a barrier to the free flow of ideas and men down the Nile valley. No doubt the Sudan will look to Egypt for some guidance, but the signs already indicate that the Sudanese mean to exercise their independence in their own way. "The Sudan", declared Mr. Zarroug, the Foreign Minister last month, "will buy arms from Czechoslovakia as well as from Britain in order to strengthen its forces. But the country has no intention of joining the British Commonwealth. The Sudan will keep aloof from power blocs and adopt a neutral policy in international affairs".

No Ties

In this respect, like Egypt, this Arab state is to take a leaf out of India's book and refuse to commit itself to Washington, Whitehall, or Moscow. Here is the great discovery that has dawned on some of the Arab states—the belated realisation that they need not remain dependent on the Western economic system.

As long as that dependence continued, no Arab state could really be free in its foreign policy or in its economic growth. The whole history of colonialism is sufficient proof of this fact. Now, however, a bright new possibility has emerged. Like India,

the Arab states have begun to look to the Soviet Union and her allied neighbours for arms and for technical aid.

It is the recognition of this alternative source of help and hope that has alarmed the British, the French and (not least) the Americans. They have hitherto regarded North Africa, and indeed all Africa, as well as the whole

**By a
Special Correspondent**

of the Middle East, as a private preserve of their own. Now this monopoly is broken and so is the magic spell that went with it. Arabs everywhere are free to make up their own minds, to frame their own policies in accordance with their own needs.

Two Africas?

This new attitude on the part of various countries will open up Africa more quickly and more effectively. In the past Africa south of the Sahara was supposed to be very different from the Arabic-speaking, Moslem world of the Northern fringe of the continent. The French in particular, as John Gunther points out in his new book, "Inside Africa", have always insisted that Africa is divided into two separate, distinct entities by the Sahara, "North Africa" and "Black Africa". Above the great desert, Africa was regarded as an appendage of Europe, while below the desert it was simply a series of colonies in permanent subjection.

The Sudan is a key country because its emergence as a free state destroys this old, false division. If it was hard (but not impossible) for ideas and information to cross the Sahara, it will be much easier for them to flow down the Nile Valley and continue right down to the borders of Uganda. In the coming years Bantu-speaking Africa will be linked more firmly with Arabic-speaking Africa and both regions will perceive the essential unity of their interests in relation to Europe, which has hitherto dominated both.

It is not only Arabs and Africans who can perceive these changes. The British and the French are nervous with anxiety about the future because they realise that their grip on the continent is getting weaker almost every month. That is why they have revived the stories about the big, bad Russian wolf that is coming to eat us all up. They hate the thought that Arabs or Africans should accept help from Eastern Europe or from Asia. Yet such help is being generously offered on terms that are a contrast with those available from Washington or London.

The Arab countries still have much to learn about the facts of economic life, about human equality, and about social justice. But they have taken a big stride forward in emancipating themselves from Western control. This freedom is not coming to Algeria as smoothly as it has come to the Sudan. Algerians have to fight a war against the French before they can celebrate their independence, for the French learn more slowly and more reluctantly that colonialism is coming to its inevitable end. But the pattern of coming events is clear. In the next decade or two, more and more of Africa will do what Asia has already done: it will release itself from the domination of Western Europe and Europeans.

NURSING APARTHEID

(continued from page 11)

Under the Bantu Authorities Act the Africans will be divided along tribal lines. Under the Bantu Education Act the schools will be divided along tribal lines and African children given an inferior education. Under the Nursing Act Amendment Bill the nursing profession will conform to the same pattern.

The Non-European nurses in this country are opposed to this Bill and a nation-wide opposition campaign is being organized. It is hoped that the International Nursing Council will support this campaign. It is further hoped that Europeans and Non-Europeans and all intelligent people will assist nurses in this country to re-establish democracy, equality and a high standard of ethics in the nursing profession.

Nurses Against Apartheid

By AN AFRICAN NURSE

ON the agenda of this session of Parliament is the Nursing Act Amendment Bill. Parliament in 1954 appointed a Select Committee to take evidence on the subject matter of the Bill and at the end of the 1955 session, the Select Committee published its report of proceedings. This year the Select Committee has resumed its work on the amending Bill.

The Background

Until 1944 nurses in this country did not have their own council or association. They formed part of the S.A. Medical and Dental Council. There was thus nobody representing them. 1944 saw the culmination of a move towards trade unionism among South African nurses. To forestall this, negotiations on the part of certain leading European nurses, among them Mrs. Searle, now Directress of Nursing services in the Transvaal, with members of Parliament, Mrs. Ballinger in particular, were expedited, and that year the Nursing Act was passed. This made provision for a South African Nursing Council, the professional body to control nursing standards, and a South African Nursing Association which protects the interests of the nurses (or so it is supposed to do). There was to be no colour bar in either of these two bodies. All nurses and midwives were eligible for election to the Council and to the Board of the Association. All voted in the same elections.

Mrs. Searle, in giving evidence to the Parliamentary Select Committee said that no colour bar was insisted upon because an assurance had been received from the provincial administrations that very few Non-European nurses were to be trained. Since, in 1944 there were very few Non-European nurses, there appeared to be no "danger". In 1945 she discovered, however, that these assurances were not to be honoured. She "immediately started working with the late Dr. Stals" that is, three years before he became Minister of Health in Dr. Malan's cabinet. The result of their work is embodied in the Nursing Act Amendment Bill.

In 1948 Dr. Stals proposed certain

amendments to the 1944 Act. These were:

1. That only South African citizens of European descent were to sit on the Council, and
2. That only South African citizens of European descent were to sit on the Board of the Association.

These amendments are only now coming before Parliament, having been included in the draft bill presented by the S.A. Nursing Council and the S.A. Nursing Association.

The Draft Bill

Included in the draft bill and in addition to the clauses of Dr. Stals are provisions which aim at the consolidation of all existing legislation dealing with nurses, provisions for the effective control of auxiliary nurses and of non-professional actions, and—most important—clauses enforcing apartheid.

The Nursing Council has asked for the right to keep separate registers for European and Non-European nurses. Whether the Non-Europeans will be further subdivided into Basuto, Venda, Xosa, Zulu, Hindu, Moslem, Coloured, etc., the Council is not yet certain. Separate registers will give the Council the authority to introduce different training syllabi for the different racial groups, an authority they very much desire.

In giving evidence before the Select Committee, members of the Council and Mrs. Searle said that the Non-European nurse was incapable of benefiting from the training course as at present; that her syllabus should include such subjects as social anthropology and a different approach to dietetics; that she took four and a half years to complete a three-year course because the rate of Non-European failures was higher than that of the European; that she was unreliable and irresponsible and that she was psychologically not yet ready to be a good nurse.

No scientific evidence was brought forward to prove any of these points. Statements introduced with "it is commonly said", "we all know", "any medical man will tell you" abound in the Select Committee report. When

some nurses asked for the official figures of passes and failures of European and Non-Europeans, the Council refused to supply them, their reason being that such a divulgence would be *ultra vires*. Yet they themselves have in their memorandum quoted figures and drawn conclusions from other statistics not generally available.

The claims of racial inferiority and superiority fly directly in the face of the 1950 UNESCO statement on race: "according to present knowledge, there is no proof that the groups of mankind differ in their innate mental characteristics, whether in respect of intelligence or temperament. Scientific evidence indicates that the range of mental capacities in all ethnic groups is much the same".

The Council's reason for accepting Dr. Stal's proposal for separate facilities for European and Non-European nurses was that it would not like Non-Europeans to decide on disciplinary action to be taken against transgressing European nurses.

No Consultation

The Nursing Association claims to have a mandate from the nurses of South Africa to debar Non-Europeans from direct representation on its governing board by the creation of a Non-European Standing Committee which will have "liaison" with the Board of the Association.

Yet in a referendum taken in 1950 on this apartheid scheme, only about one in five of the nurses voted and a majority of 400 (i.e. 3 per cent.) voted for "apartheid".

The Association's consultation with Non-European nurses has been very limited, as for example a meeting with a few selected, non-representative Non-European Nursing Sisters.

The Standing Committee is seen by the Association as an opportunity for the Non-European Nurses to develop qualities of leadership under the "guidance", "teaching", "direction", and "control" of the European.

This Amendment Bill forms an integral part of the Nationalist Government's plan for South Africa.

(continued on previous page)

This is the second in a series of articles on personalities in African history. The first articles dealt with Moshesh.

LOBENGULA

By MOSUPETSI

THE name of Lobengula will go down to posterity with that of Boadicea, Caractacus and the Athenians and Romans who died to protect their country from the invader. It is no new idea, no brand new conception of Mr. Rhodes' fertile genius, to kill out as vermin so-called inferior races for the sake of their land and gold. . . . The British housewife reading her paper at the breakfast table, remarks that two thousand more savages have been killed. 'A rise of ten per cent. in Mine Shares is the retort of Pater Familias . . .'

(*"The Matabeleland Scandal"*, an anonymous pamphlet published by Cambridge University in 1894).

ALL day long thousands of Lobengula's warriors had flung themselves with supreme courage against the hot iron of the British Maxims and Lee-Metfords. But the passionate bravery of the Matabele impis was no match for the bullets of British artillery. And when the sun set on that fateful day in October 1893, the great Matabele army lay shattered and dying on the blood-stained veld.

In the parlour-rooms and clubs of Cape Town and London there was great rejoicing when the result of the Battle of the Imhembesi River was announced. Toasts were drunk to the new tracts of Africa over which the Union Jack would fly; toasts to the shares of the British South Africa Company, whose capital had doubled itself since the start of the "Matabele Campaign".

Yes, truly it was a day of rejoicing, as much for the vultures who darkened the skies at Imhembesi, as for their counterparts in morning coats and top hats.

But not so for Lobengula, king of the Matabele. Two hundred years before, his ancestors had fled from the slave-traders to the South, to seek freedom; the wheel had now turned its full circle: his own people had fallen prey to a more savage intruder — the British Empire.

★ ★ ★

LOBENGULA was the last great African king to stand against, and finally to fight the imperialist invaders of Southern Africa. He had fought them, together with his people, as well as he could. He had fought to preserve the hard-won independence of the Matabele achieved in their struggle against the Boers and hostile tribes. But in the end he was no match for the chicanery, deceit, swindling and treachery of Rhodes. The Matabele nation bled to death from stab-wounds in the back.

"Extraordinary circumstances", Rhodes had said, "demand extraordinary measures". And it was a testimony to the resilience of the Matabele people, that Rhodes had to sink to the most malodourous methods to overcome them. For the Matabele, with their fierce patriotism and desire for independence, were no ordinary foe; and Lobengula no ordinary adversary.

What sort of man was Lobengula, second king of the Matabele and son of Moselikatse? Various writers have offered their opinions of Lobengula's character, and these vary from J. Cooper Chadwick's "his features are coarse and exhibit great cunning and cruelty", to that of the famous French explorer, Lionel Decle,— "the most imposing monarch he had ever seen except the Tsar Alexander".

A more reliable view comes from Hugh Marshall Hole, author of a number of books on the Matabele. Taking into account the peculiar difficulties with which he had to contend, Lobengula "was distinguished by a farsightedness and diplomatic ability which lifted him to the front ranks among African potentates—to a position surpassed perhaps only by Moshesh, the enlightened king of the Basuto". (*"The Passing of the Black King."*)

"Lobengula", admits the 'liberal' Stuart Cloete author, "had a gift—not common among native Africans—of being able to look ahead and to see under the surface of events, of having at least some knowledge of the law of cause and effect". (*"African Portraits."*)

From the beginning of his reign, Lobengula was greatly discomfited by the White fortune-seekers and hunters, who had crept into his country in search of the legendary wealth of Monomotapa and the Land of Ophir. But it was not from these adventurers that the real threat to Matabele independence came. Lobengula lived at a time when the European powers were engaged in a wild scramble for the partitioning up of Africa. And the existence of an independent Zulu country—covering vast tracts of land—was irresistible bait to the acquisitive diplomats and financial houses of Europe.

Germany, passionately eager to found new colonies in Africa, sent one Tripmacher to spy out the suitability of Matabeleland for White occupation. The Portuguese, anxious to establish a transcontinental Empire joining Angola to Mozambique, were making friendly advances to some of Lobengula's chiefs in the east of Mashonaland. Then there was the Transvaal Republic, elated by its recent grant of independence, looking for fresh fields of enterprise, their eyes covetously fixed on the desirable uplands of Matabeleland. Add to these Belgians, Americans, and Frenchmen, and one has some idea of the threats which Lobengula had to contend with.

To Lobengula, the perils inherent in the situation were clear. He could not continue the game of playing off one power against another indefinitely, and moreover, such was the anger of his people at this foreign intrusion, that any day might produce that "incident"—the killing of a missionary or foreign national—which would be used as a pretext for military invasion by the power concerned. War, he wished to avoid, but the situation was so explosive, that the slightest spark could set the fuse burning.

★ ★ ★

WHILE Lobengula pondered his dilemma in Bulawayo, another man was pondering a somewhat different problem in Cape Town. His name was arch-imperialist

Cecil John Rhodes. And his dilemma was how to out-race the Germans, Portuguese and Boers in the scramble for Matabeleland. Eventually he hit on the stratagem of sending J. S. Moffat, the son of Rev. Thomas Moffat, a trusted friend of Moselikatse and one whom Lobengula was likely to trust, to negotiate a treaty of friendship.

Weary of the motley crowd who besieged his kraal with requests for favours and concessions, Lobengula seized on Moffat's offer of British support as a weapon to stave off the threats of the other powers, and in particular the Boers, whom he deeply distrusted. He promised that amity and peace should continue forever between his people and "Her Britannic Majesty", and gladly pledged not to enter into treaties with other states.

In effect, all the Moffat Treaty did was to substitute one big worry for a lot of little ones. While thwarting the hopes of the Portuguese, Germans and Boers, it had an entirely opposite effect on the ever widening circle of speculators, interested in South African mining ventures who hastily assumed that it meant an "Open Sesame" to the northern goldfields.

Once again Rhodes struck. Playing once more on Lobengula's desire to be rid of hundreds of gold seekers plaguing him for concessions, and basing his claim on the Moffat Treaty of friendship, he succeeded in obtaining an exclusive concession for the British South African Company to search for mineral deposits in return for 10,000 rifles, a gun boat and £100 per month.

The "Matabele Concession" of 1891 must without doubt rank as one of the biggest frauds and swindles in the history of imperialism. Lobengula's intentions were quite clear; he interpreted the concession as an extension of commitments under the Moffat Treaty, and as such, regarded it as strengthening the Matabele nation against its enemies. The supply of fire-arms, and the gunboat show the trend of his thought; they were for protection against the Boers and Portuguese. His prime motive in signing the concession was to guarantee Matabele independence. To this end he even authorised his British allies "to take all lawful and necessary steps to exclude all persons seeking land, metals or mining rights therein. . . ."

By no stretch of imagination can one assume, that in signing the deed, he contemplated surrendering the whole of Mashonaland to a commercial company, abdicating control of his lands and destroying the independence and privacy he and his subjects had hitherto enjoyed.

Yet this is precisely how the British South Africa Company interpreted the concession.

Having got the land and the concession Rhodes' next move was to occupy his acquisition—to settle it. Town sites, mining areas and farms were laid out; forts built, roads constructed, telegraph poles erected, settlers and police introduced. Bulawayo began to buzz with anger when the British began to extend their mining operations from Mashonaland to Matabeleland itself.

In 1893 Lobengula had had enough. He gave the Company's agents a simple lesson in ethics, after declaring his resumption of sovereignty over Matabeleland, by punctiliously returning the 10,000 rifles and serving notice that he would no longer accept the £100 monthly or anything else from Rhodes. Needless to say Lobengula's action roused a howl of hypocritical protest,

especially, when, in a note which accompanied the arms he attacked the Queen's arrogation of sovereignty over his people and himself, and the virtual enslavement of the Matabele by her subjects.

The British now prepared for war, and military reinforcements were rushed from England; but no attack was launched. In the time-honoured imperialist manner, Rhodes set about creating the all-important "incident", which would justify war—"the political bathing suit designed to satisfy the scruples of those who hesitated at nude aggression", as one writer puts it. Not that no previous attempt had been made to create "incidents". The *Financial Times* in London had already commented the previous year—"the Chartered Company is doing all in their power to provoke Lobengula".

Soon the inevitable "incident" took place. Lobengula's impis made a series of raids on the Mashona to recover stolen cattle. Although the impis did not harm any Europeans (a message was sent to Dr. Jameson, the Company's administrator on Mashonaland: "I send you warning that my impis will pass your way, but have orders not to molest any White man"), several Europeans' head of cattle were accidentally included among those taken from the Mashona.

Dr. Jameson immediately made the "demonstration of force" necessary to inflame a smouldering situation into war—he ordered his police to drive the Matabele to the "border", a calculated insult, since no boundary had ever been fixed between the Company and the Matabele. A shot was fired, and the British campaign to seize Matabeleland swung into action.

Armed with Maxims, field-pieces, Martini-Henry rifles, bayonets and revolvers, the Company's troops turned the war into a horrible slaughter killing a thousand Matabele. A reflection on the fighting is the fact that when S. G. Millin's biography of Rhodes was filmed and shown in London at the height of the Abyssinian war 1935-36, a sequence showing the butchery of the Matabele is said to have been cut, for fear that the current high tempers of public feeling at the Italian Fascists' method of war might be transferred to the "glorious Empire-builder", Rhodes.

On August 19, 1893, Lobengula asked the Queen "Your Majesty, what I want to know from you is 'Why do your people kill me?' I am not hiding anything when writing to Your Majesty". Dr. Jameson pronounced his opinion on the letter, as "illiterate". The reply was a honeyed piece of imperialist double-talk: "You* have been misled. The great Queen cannot consent that the Mashonas should be killed . . . and she will tell her White people if these things happen they must be stopped, and the men who do them punished".

And so the "punishment" went on, the Matabele fighting desperately for their land and their freedom. At the Battle of Shangani River, a general, disabled by wounds, hung himself from a tree, rather than fall into the hands of the invaders. Whole regiments were annihilated. "I cannot speak too highly", writes Willoughby, "of the pluck of the Matabele regiments".

As the British forces began to swarm over Matabeleland, Lobengula blew up his capital—Bulawayo—and with a nucleus of people began a trek to the north, where he hoped to set up a base for a rear-guard action. But it was too late. During the evacuation, he contracted smallpox and died, a heart-broken man.

'Dark' People in a 'Dark' Continent

By M. K. MPHU

There once lived Dark Races in a Dark Continent. According to the writings of the White men of Europe we are told that Africa was once upon a time a Dark Continent. They do not quite say whether there was no sun, moon, or the stars. But they say it was a dark continent. Perhaps because as they say, the inhabitants were savages, barbarians and ancestor-worshipping peoples. Hence, the White men of Europe say they were heathens. "You fought among yourselves and killed each other. You worshipped your forefathers instead of God. In other words you worshipped spirits." These two and many other reasons brought the European Missionaries to the Dark Continent of Africa. They were allowed by their Governments to bring the message of God to all peoples of Africa. The "Christian" message. This would bring light to the African peoples. This would stop barbarous man killing among the heathens.

Hence, heathenism would disappear.

There was one church established then. They became two, three, and now they are numberless. Each one says it is a Church of God although it has a different name and different ways of worship. They quarrel among themselves.

They established church schools for the training of their African brothers. For they say we are all brothers in Christ. Yes, this is truly a Christian contribution. Thousands of African literates went through mission schools of different names and ways of worship. I am one of those who went through a mission school.

Wonder

One would have thought that the White Missionaries who brought light to the dark people of the dark continent of Africa had first swept their houses before coming to sweep ours. What did we see? After their arrival the White men became barbarians themselves. We saw them kill. We saw them passing Acts robbing us first and foremost of our lands all over the continent. They passed acts robbing us of all rights and freedoms, to mention a few: restrictions on freedom of movement, freedom to seek

work wherever one wishes, the right to trade anywhere one finds suitable for such a trade, the right to buy and possess immovable property, the right to educate one's children and to say what language they should learn etc. It seems there is even worst darkness now than before in Africa. Africa is likely to become a battlefield sooner than some of us expect. But I am sure it will not be the fault of the heathens. It will be the fault of those who left darkness behind and brought light to Africa. For instance, on Dingaan's Day, the 16th December 1955, they refused the African National Congress the hall to hold a political conference because it was a day of prayer and they expected the Africans to go to church. It soon became clear to the Africans that it was a day of prayers "only for Africans". They, the Whites allowed themselves to hold a series of serious political meetings.

Tribalism or Nationalism?

One wonders whether our White Christian brothers are encouraging tribalism or nationalism by grouping people, using statutory powers, as our Christian Government now does.

Churches and Apartheid

Because the Churches believed in apartheid from the beginning of their missionary work, their governments in Africa took a stand behind them. From the beginning an African Minister of religion or an African Christian was not taught that he was educated to preach and spread the message among all races, but he was told to look after his own people. Especially his black brothers. Hence, apartheid took root in church then just as much as we see it now at Park Station. Where and when it suits Europeans and at their convenience, they go up or down stairs which are distinctly marked with block letters "NON-EUROPEANS ONLY". Mind you, they are the voters. These men and women wanted an Apartheid Government. Thus they voted Apartheid in at the last general election. But they can defy their own legislation in the presence of the police with certainty that they will not

suffer punishment. Any number of European Christians can attend a church service anywhere in an African Location or Township. Yes, I know they may be required to obtain permission from the Location Superintendent, which is always granted them. But can an African Christian get the same privilege for the same purpose?

Bantu Education and Christianity

What complexion has Bantu Education given to Christianity in South Africa? It was unfortunate that the Government passed this unchristian Act through a Christian Parliament. It is pitiful that even at this stage our Christian Churches remained divided on their decisions on this inhuman Act.

It was a question of choosing between worshipping the law of God that all men are equal, or worshipping the law of man, that of "No equality in Church or State". Again the Churches chose to worship man rather than God. They accepted the notorious Bantu Education Act, knowing fully well all its intentions, all its evils. The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg decided to close all the Anglican Mission Schools under his charge in the Southern Transvaal in April, 1955, because this particular Church did not accept this Act: a very good decision indeed. But on the 14th January 1956 the Bishop held a meeting with the parents in one of his churches in Orlando East. He had come to tell the parents that he could open private schools provided he accepted the Bantu Education syllabus up to standard two.

Otherwise, the Native Affairs Department of Bantu Education will not accept any candidates from a school with another syllabus.

This he called the parents to come and decide. In other words he called the parents to come and ring the death knell of their own children rather than anyone else. But the parents are in darkness and he is the light. He knows what the Bantu Education means. This is not the case of the blind leading blind, but the blind leading the sighted. The schools were to be open to the children of the Anglican Church only. What a dis-

"WOMEN IN CHAINS"

"Yes! It is coming to this: passes for African women too!" opens the new pamphlet just issued jointly by the Federation of South African Women and the African National Congress Women's League.

The pamphlet describes how passes lead to the prisons and result in the destruction of family life; how, despite all government assurances to the contrary, the extension of the pass laws to African women will mean as much, if not more, hardships to them as to their menfolk; and how African women of the Free State fought pass laws forty years ago. "Every woman must see the danger that faces her", says the chapter "The Puff Adder's Tail". "Women will not face a future imprisoned in the pass laws! Women will fight for the right to live and move freely as human beings".

This pamphlet is priced 6d. and may be obtained from The Federation of S.A. Women, P.O. Box 10876, Johannesburg, or P.O. Box 9207, Johannesburg.

appointing decision by the Bishop and not by parents. Why for Anglicans only? Where do the Anglican churches get their new recruits? Is it not from the masses which are now excluded? Or is this a quicker way of making them Anglicans? The Anglicans like other churches have brought light to the Dark Continent of Africa. That is why there is an Anglican Church here. They all brought light to darkness and not darkness to darkness. I am not blaming the Anglican Church only, as all churches believe in doing good only for their followers.

As long as one wants his or her children educated, one will be forced to become an Anglican, a Roman, a Dutch Reformer, a Methodist and what not.

The Bantu Education Act has become a great canvasser for church membership. We have ceased to believe in God, but in Bantu Education. One cannot help wondering whether churches have not changed their course from spreading the word of God, into business. The day before yesterday we were worshipping our ancestors: yesterday we worshipped the Living God and to-day we are forced to worship the Bantu Education Act by a Christian Government. What about to-morrow?

SARTRE'S PLAY SET ALL FRANCE TALKING

THE latest play "Nekrassov" by Jean-Paul Sartre unmasks the use of professional anti-Communists in the Cold War. This play which set all France talking was recently presented on the London stage.

In recent years Sartre brought legal action against New York producers to prevent the showing of "Les Mains Sales" ("Dirty Hands") because they were exploiting it as anti-Communist propaganda. He disallowed the production of the same play in Austria on the eve of the 1952 Vienna Peace Congress because he recognised the need for all to unite in the fight for peace.

Since that day Sartre has marched forward, and is today one of the foremost intellectuals and writers in the fight for national solidarity and for peace and a trenchant critic of American interference in Europe's economic and political life.

Anti-Soviet Newspaper

"Nekrassov" is a play on which he has worked for a number of years and which has been rehearsed for eight months under his supervision in Paris.

The action of the play takes place in Paris on the eve of an election in the offices of a big monopoly newspaper whose main policy is anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda.

The chief director explains to the news editor that sensational anti-Communist news is needed to maintain the reputation and circulation of the paper. The entire economy of the paper depends upon it. He makes references to American aid in this connection.

The news editor is threatened with dismissal if he does not produce some sensational news.

In the subsequent scene his daughter is alone at home. Suddenly through the window a notorious swindler jumps into the room to escape the police. From the street whistles and running footsteps of the police can be heard.

The swindler prevails upon the

daughter to give him asylum, and she hides him. The detective knocks at the door, but the girl convinces him that the swindler has escaped elsewhere and he leaves.

The father enters. He is dejected, oppressed by the problem he must solve. He senses the presence of another man and discovers the swindler. Soon the swindler discovers the father's difficulties, masters the situation and strikes a bargain with him. He assures the news editor that he can solve the problem.

He proposes that he—the swindler—impersonate Nekrassov, a Soviet Deputy Minister, alleged to have "escaped" from behind the "Iron Curtain", and under this guise furnish sensational revelations which they will concoct. The suggestion appeals to the editor, who sees in it his salvation.

The newspaper builds up the myth of Nekrassov and the "anti-Soviet revelations" are splashed on the front page of the paper. The swindler, now Nekrassov, is besieged by cameramen, news reporters and politicians; he is feted and feasted. He becomes a tremendous social success!

Ultimately the myth is shattered at a party when the news editor, under the influence of alcohol and unable any longer to bear the strain of the ever more complicated and involved whirlpool of falsehood, breaks down and blurts out the truth.


Finding himself unmasked, Nekrassov escapes. He has been built up into such a colossus that the police cannot publicly denounce or arrest him. Like a boomerang he strikes at the very system which launched him.

Sartre, in an interview with l'Humanite, stressed that his play is not a fantasy: it represents the typical reality of today. "Before Nekrassov," Sartre said, "there was Matusow, the professional anti-communist witness in the American courts."

The right-wing newspaper Figaro condemned the play as "crypto-Communist" even before the play opened—which lends point to Sartre's comment. "I wish to expose in 'Nekrassov' the evils that an anti-Communist press campaign can do."

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