

FIGHTING

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JULY, 1959

TALK



TOM MBOYA on Africans Discover Africa

UNEMPLOYMENT

by ALEX. HEPPLÉ

**SPECIAL REPORT on
INDIANS IN AFRICA**

**THE NATIONALISTS
and the ECONOMIC
WEAPON**

**DISCUSSION
ARTICLES on
THE CONGRESS
MOVEMENT**

Edward Roux on Evolution



LABOUR BUREAUX operate the FARM LABOUR
SCANDAL see article on page 4.

FIGHTING TALK

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IN THIS ISSUE

	Page
SOUTH AFRICA	
Unemployment, by Alex. Hepple	2
The Farm Labour Scandal and Government Labour Bureaux, by Ben Turok, M.P.C.	4
The Nationalists and the Economic Weapon, by Simon Swann	5
LKB's Case for not going on the Congress Boycott List	6
OPINION	
The Congress Movement: Its Structure and Role 3 views by Frank Adler Ronald Segal Duma Nokwe	7
AFRICA	
Indians in Africa, A special report by A. M. Kathrada	11
Africans Discover Africa, by Tom Mboya	13
SCIENCE	
The "How" of Evolution, by Edward Roux	14
REVIEW	
"Labour in the Rarm Economy" reviewed by P. Benjamin	16

SCRAPBOOK

STARS AGAINST RACIALISM

"What the Stars Say" is the title of a broadsheet to promote inter-racial friendship which is backed by some of the most famous names in show business and was distributed in the Notting Hill area in London to counteract outbreaks of race prejudice and violence there.

"You can't hate and be happy" said an article by Frank Sinatra which led the paper. Pictures showed bandleader Johnny Dankworth, chairman of the Stars Campaign for Inter-Racial Friendship, his Coloured wife, singer Cleo Lane, and Negro star Lena Horne with her White husband Lennie Hayton. The paper quotes an international panel of scientists appointed by the United Nations which found that race discrimination has no scientific foundation in biological fact and that the range of mental capacities in all races is the same.

It quotes the opinions of some of the stars on race prejudice. Tommy Steele: "Louis Armstrong, Count Basie, Sammy Davis Jr., Ella Fitzgerald, Duke Ellington, Paul Robeson, Joe Louis . . . show me Whites better than these."

SHORT MEMORIES

A Poll of West German classrooms recently revealed that nine of every ten students, 15 to 17 years old, either knew nothing of Adolph Hitler or thought he had done more good than harm. "Hitler revived Germany," one student said. "He did away with unemployment and built autobahns." Among those named as Nazis by the students were: Marshal Tito, Nikita Khrushchev and Field Marshal von Hindenburg. The highest estimate of the number of Jews killed by the Nazis was 30,000, and many claimed they knew of none.

SLEEPING SHEIKS

D. V. Bliss, director of the export division of Slumberland, Ltd., an English bed manufacturing company, unveiled his company's latest creation: an electrically-heated, hydraulically-adjusted, velvet-padded, mink-covered, tea-making, dry-shaving, tape-recording, vizro-massaging, intercommunicating, telephonic, televisionary, bibliotech, illuminated bed. He said that if Farouk was still king of Egypt, he would certainly buy the bed. But Bliss was not giving up: he said he would leave for Kuwait and Bahrein to see if he could "shake the sheiks." He said he was also sure he could interest some Americans.

JOURNALISTS FOR NYASA FREEDOM

Britain's journalists voted at an annual Conference of their National Union of Journalists recently to get rid from its invested funds of £2,000 of Rhodesian and Nyasaland Government shares. "This is an investment in apartheid and as a trade unionist I want nothing to do with it," said the proposer of the motion. The move was seconded by a member of the delegation of Glasgow journalists who said the Scots had a particular interest in Nyasaland — a country opened up by Scots missionaries. "There is plenty of irrefutable evidence from the Scots in Nyasaland that the Nyasa people have been the victims not of a massacre plot — but a plot to impose the apartheid policies of the Southern Rhodesian-dominated Federation. Nyasaland people are at this moment being denied the right to speak for themselves."

LAWS AGAINST CHILDREN

The British authorities in Nyasaland are planning to enact drastic amendments to the penal code and children's ordinance. A proposed Bill enables a court to sentence any boy over 7 years of age to corporal punishment — up to six strokes for children, 12 strokes for youths — for any offence under the Children and Young Persons Ordinance.

It is also to be made unlawful for anyone to carry anything or shout any slogan or make any sign indicating that he is a member or associated with an unlawful society.

Anyone convicted of rioting may in future be sentenced to up to 5 years imprisonment instead of two years as under previous legislation.

A bulletin of the Nyasaland Government Information Office recently pressed Africans to denounce Congress supporters. "Do you know of any members of Congress who has not yet been arrested? If you do you must tell the Boma (District Officer's office) so that these wicked people can be arrested.

"You can either report personally to a Government officer or, if you prefer to remain anonymous, send an unsigned letter. (There is no need to stamp the letter.) It stated that Congress was at an end."

Mr. Kanyane Chiume, publicity secretary of the Nyasaland African Congress now in London said the Africans of his country had completely lost confidence in the Government of Nyasaland and the British Government which through the former, rule Nyasaland.

UNEMPLOYMENT:

A Big Slump or A Small Slump?

by ALEX. HEPPLÉ

"... A small recession will do no harm — in my opinion it is long overdue..."

(Mr. E. H. Louw, Minister of Economic Affairs, in the Senate, May 1952)

"... Workers are spoilt with holiday bonuses, pensions, medical benefits and other things. The time has come for the Government to curb its generosity and make the workers realise that their welfare depends upon their own hard work and productivity..."

(Senator D. J. Basson, in the Senate, September 1958)

"... people have the false economic philosophy of 'full employment' no matter what it costs. Throughout all the economic literature we see mention of full employment. But this policy of full employment leads to a constant state of inflation in the world and it leads to a continuous lowering of the productivity of labour..."

(Dr. N. Diederichs, the present Minister of Economic Affairs, in the Assembly, February 1952)

The financiers, economists and industrialists, who have been longing for something "to bring workers to their senses", were willing to endure a small recession, provided it did not hurt them too much and that it produced a surplus of labour.

Now that the tide of unemployment is rising, some of these gentlemen are beginning to have second thoughts. They are discovering that it is not within their capacity to regulate a depression.

Smaller industrialists, who had presumed to overestimate their power, and indulged in this kind of talk, now face the future with anxiety.

The Government's policy is to make Non-Whites carry the major burden... But its long and short-term plans cancel one another out.

Big Slump or Small Slump?

How serious is unemployment in South Africa? Speaking in Parliament, the Minister of Labour said that the unemployment figures "are not yet really disturbing". To support his assertion that we are still enjoying "full employment", he quoted the latest figures of unemployed.

He said that at the end of April there were 27,019 persons (White, Coloured and Indian) out of work. According to his calculations, this represented 2.06% unemployment, which is barely more than the "full employment" yardstick of 2%.

He did not mention that this is an increase of 60% on the unemployment figure for April 1958, and that it is double what it was two years ago. Nor did he say that his statistics take no account of Africans.

He did admit, however, that in the furniture industry short-time is being worked on a large scale; that many leather workers are unemployed; that several hundred workers in the motor assembly industry are being laid off; that there is general slackness in the iron and steel industry; that many building workers in Natal, Kimberley and the Transvaal are jobless; and that the clothing industry is having the most difficult time, with the highest quota of unemployed.

This is quite evident at the Labour Department, employment exchanges and trade union offices, where the queues of workseekers are longer than they have been for twenty years. If the cold statistics are not enough to disturb the Minister, he should take a look at these queues.

Africans Not Counted

In reporting on the unemployment situation, the Minister of Labour suffers from the serious disadvantage that his Department is responsible for only a minority of South Africa's workers. The majority, because they are Africans, fall under the jurisdiction of the Department of Bantu Administration.

This is not merely a separation of powers. It is a dividing line between those who have rights and those who have not. The Bantu Administration Department has quite a different function from that of the Labour Department. It is not interested in unemployment as a welfare problem. That is why it does not keep unemployment records, as does the Labour Department. It has no interest in the usual labour statistics which the Labour Department carefully collects in respect of White, Coloured and Indian workers.

It is necessary to stress this, in order to explain why the Government is unable to give reliable figures relating to African unemployed, either generally or for specific industries and occupations.

According to the Bantu Administration Department, there are at present 95,000 Africans out of work. This figure has been compiled from the returns received from the labour bureaux throughout the country. Many of these bureaux are controlled by the municipalities and the central headquarters in Pretoria, unlike the Labour Department, sees no necessity for requiring these local bureaux to submit regular and accurate returns of unemployed Africans.

Government Plans

It is against this background that the Government's plans to deal with the unemployment situation should be considered. These plans fall into two parts. The first is patterned upon Keynesian economics, to stimulate spending on public works, inducing local authorities to follow suit. To this end, the Minister has promised that the Government will spend more money on State building projects, make more funds available to the Housing Commission for the building of houses, and relax control over the capital expenditure of municipalities for the construction of new buildings.

To help the motor assembly industry, the Government has also relaxed hire-purchase terms to make it easier for people to buy motor cars. In addition, a number of other steps will be taken,

Government Labour Bureaux operate

Farm Labour Scandal

by

BEN TUROK, M.P.C.

most of them of minor importance.

In this first part of the Government plans must be included the remarkable proposal to amend the Unemployment Insurance Act, to permit the Minister to subsidise employers who contemplate re-trenchment of staff. They will be asked to keep the workers on their payrolls, for which they will be paid the unemployment benefits that would otherwise be paid directly to the workers they intended laying off.

It is not surprising that this scheme has met with criticism from all quarters, for it was conceived to meet the crisis in the clothing industry in Germiston, which is suffering as a result of the Government's juggling act with job reservation and low-wage factories near the Reserves.

The Long-Term Plan

The Government's long-term plan is more important. It is simple, tough, and true to the Nationalist policy of baasskap apartheid. It has three prongs:

1. Job Reservation.

If there is to be a depression, the Government will do all it can to make the Non-Whites carry the major burden. If there is to be a shortage of jobs, the few that are available will be reserved for Whites.

That is why Section 77 was written into the Industrial Conciliation Act. Senator de Klerk made no bones about it when he explained this Section to Parliament. He said, "... Now is the time to tackle this matter, because when a recession comes we will have the weapon".

2. Deportation of "Foreign" Africans.

The second step is to deport all "foreign" Africans. This is already under way. Africans from Nyasaland and the territories of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland, who have so far been allowed to remain here if they accepted work on farms or in the rural areas, are now being sent out of the country.

On the 23rd May 1959, Mr. C. W. Prinsloo, Chief Information Officer of the Bantu Administration Department, said that 750,000 foreign Africans now working in the Union "can and will be "moved" to make way for unemployed Union Africans.

3. Farm Work for Union Africans.

Africans born in the Union will also enjoy the "protection" of job reservation. The jobs previously held by foreign Africans will be reserved for them.

This form of job reservation will enable the authorities to transport large numbers of urban Africans to the ru-

The storm that has broken over the supply of contract labour to Transvaal farmers has put the whole farm labour system under a searchlight. The exposure of ill treatment of farm workers has made so great an impact that it has not only forced the Minister to suspend the contracting out of labour in Johannesburg, but has also brought many other aspects of the system under examination.

The disease is far more malignant than its outward symptoms indicate, and

ral areas, where they will be made available to farmers.

Those who refuse to accept farm work, will not be allowed to search for work indefinitely in the urban areas. Sooner or later, steps will be taken to remove them to the Reserves or some other place, where they will be left to eke out an existence. Before they reach that stage, some may gratefully accept work in the mines. Dr. Verwoerd has often expressed his approval of the migratory labour system on the mines, because it conforms so perfectly to his conception of apartheid. He would happily provide a new "home" in the Reserves for those urban Africans who agree to go into the mine labour pool.

Will These Plans Work?

It is inevitable that the Government will run into considerable difficulties in applying both its long and short-term policies. It is interesting to note the contradictions in the various steps it proposes.

On the one hand, it applies the popular modern stimulants to prevent the spread of unemployment and to revive trade. On the other, it prepares action to shrink the internal market by expelling nearly a million Africans from the country, and removing perhaps a million more from the centres of commercial activity.

I leave it to the economic experts to tell the Government what this will do to business. Workers, whatever their colour, will suffer whether the Government succeeds or fails. For that reason, they should get busy campaigning on the unemployment question now.

the terrible excesses that have come to light are but the logical consequences of 'Native Affairs' policy over many years.

South African farmers have had labour difficulties for a very long time. Their refusal to provide decent conditions on the farms and a living wage to their employees has led to a chronic shortage of labour. To alleviate their difficulties farmers, acting in collusion with the government, have resorted to various schemes to force labour to the rural areas. Because the problem is so deep-seated, it is unlikely that any measure that the Minister may take, short of legislating a national minimum wage for farm workers, will encourage labour to go willingly to the farms.

Farm labour contracting has been operated through the government labour bureaux. Over the years the Nationalists have tightened up labour bureau regulations till the African worker is bound hand and foot by restrictions on his freedom of choice of job, and the regulations and the pass laws are being used to keep up a steady supply of cheap, forced labour to the farmers.

Consolidated labour regulations gazetted earlier this year in Government Gazette notice 6164 extend the labour bureau system right through the country and considerably tighten up its operation.

In the past some labour bureaux allowed Africans to find their own jobs and then to report at the bureau for registration. With growing unemployment in the cities Africans may now get employment only through a bureau.

All employers are obliged by law to register all vacancies, and it is for the labour bureau to contract worker to employer.

Every African Over 15

Chapter 5 of the gazetted labour regulations established a district labour bureau in the offices of every magistrate and Native Commissioner. Every African man over 15 years who is not a student must report to the district employment officer. It is an offence for him not to do so.

Labour bureaux are becoming the dominant factor in the burden of the African people. A person's very existence can depend on the kind of stamp some petty official decides to put in his reference book — whether he is admitted, endorsed out, or granted a provisional stay of execution.

In the past an African who could not gain entry into the large towns was free

The Nationalists and the Economic Weapon

A report of the Government Urban Affairs Commission in Southern Rhodesia, published in 1958, states: 'Fears were expressed that any relaxation of the urban pass control system might lead to a large influx of people into the towns. Such fears, we feel, are not well founded. Liberty for the individual to come freely into the urban areas has brought about no such dire consequences in the past . . . The economic laws of supply and demand have often been shown to be more forceful than the laws of Parliament.'

to wander round the countryside, to the smaller towns and farms, until he found the most suitable and favourable job. Now he will be restricted wherever he goes, in town and countryside, and may be drafted to any job the official directs.

Labour Depots

An extraordinary aspect of the labour regulations is the provision for the establishment of labour 'depots' by any district employment officer. Such officer may 'direct an African who is registered with him to a reception depot. Such African shall reside in such depot until he has accepted employment . . . No person in a depot may fail or refuse to comply with any lawful order given by the person in charge of such depot.'

From here men will be siphoned off on to the farms or into factories as the situation demands. The complete disregard for the desires of the individual is almost unparalleled, even in South Africa.

The tasks of labour bureaux in the country areas include the drafting of contract labour on to farms. The same regulations provide for Africans unable to gain entry to the towns to be contracted to farmers for a certain period and under specified conditions.

Abuses

Although the regulations specify the type of accommodation and food which farm labourers should receive, there is no sign of their being observed.

The abuses to which the contract system is open are illustrated by the inclusion in the regulations of six references to penalties and procedures to be followed in cases of assaults on labourers. In terms of Section 15 'every employer or compound manager shall keep a record of all assaults brought to his notice in terms of this regulation.' From this it is clear that those who framed the regulations anticipated a 'record of assaults.'

Compound managers are given police powers over their wards in order to maintain 'law and order.' Without a warrant, they may search the compound for, *inter alia*, 'any literature or photographs which contain subversive propaganda.'

Behind the Nationalist concern at the economic boycott is the fear that it will cripple its own plans to "Afrikanerise" business in South Africa.

These plans were carefully laid at the Economic Volkskongress in 1939 when an ambitious blueprint was drawn up to establish Nationalist control over all sectors of the economy.

In essence the aim was to build up Afrikaner buying power, business and industry — under Nationalist control — until "un-national" influences were eliminated.

Realisation of this is one of the kingpins in overall Nationalist strategy for total domination of the cultural, social, economic, political, religious and economic spheres of life in South Africa.

Spectacular Growth

To organise the struggle for "economic victory", the Nationalists created the Reddingsdaadbond in 1940.

The activities of this body are the key to the sensational growth of Afrikaans business in the past two decades.

In 10 years —

- ★ A well-known building society has increased its assets 80 times.
- ★ A finance and investment company has increased its assets 15 fold.
- ★ A cigarette company has grown into a world-wide organisation.

Between 1939 and 1950, the number of Afrikaans employers rose from 8% to

25% in commerce, 3% to 6% in industry, 5% to 8% in financial institutions.

The Reddingsdaadbond

There was nothing accidental or fortuitous about these spectacular advances; they were carefully managed, directed, fostered and cultivated by the Reddingsdaadbond, under Nationalist aegis.

To grasp the full significance of the Nat economic movement, it is necessary to turn back the pages to the mid-1930's.

* * *

Soon after the depression, a philanthropically-minded Afrikaans scholar Dominee C. Kestell started a charitable movement to collect money for 300,000 poor whites. He called it the Reddingsdaadbond — the "saving deed."

As the popularity of the movement grew, it was decided to summon an Economic Volkskongress to plan its future, and place it on a proper organisational footing.

But the delegates — ambitious Afrikaner businessmen, right-wing Nationalist politicians, Broederbond intellectuals — were not interested in alms-collecting.

They saw in the movement an opportunity to mobilise the economic power of the Afrikaner as a powerful political weapon for the development of National capitalism and a totalitarian republic.

From Alms to Finance Companies

Subtly, Rev. Kestell's charitable ideals were relegated to the background, and in its place was substituted a grandiose scheme for a Nat take-over of the economy.

The scheme to be implemented by the Reddingsdaadbond had three parts:

- ★ creation of a central finance company to finance Afrikaner business.
- ★ launching of a "buy Afrikaans" campaign.
- ★ mobilising Afrikaner savings for investment companies.

Chief prophet of the new economic vision was Dr. M. S. Louw (today director of over 20 companies).

"If we want to achieve success" he said, "we must use the technique of capitalism, as it is applied in the most important industry in this country — the gold mining industry. We must establish something like the big finance houses of Johannesburg."

Labour Conscription

These and many other clauses in the regulations are a tacit recognition of the deplorable conditions of many farm labourers. The miserably low wages are well known, but the bad conditions which go with them could survive only in a country where large numbers of workers have no alternative but to work on farms.

In most civilised countries farmers are compelled to keep their labour conditions satisfactory to prevent their workers seeking more remunerative positions in the towns. In South Africa, many African workers are refused permission to enter or remain in the urban areas on the one hand, and on the other they face great poverty in the reserves. The only avenue of livelihood left open to them is the farms. As long as there is this system of direction of labour, no improvement can be expected.

"The Afrikaner economic movement is part and parcel of the Nationalist drive for total dictatorship . . ."

He was strongly backed up by other prominent delegates who included Dr. Verwoerd, Dr. Donges, Dr. A. J. van Rhijn, Dr. Diederichs, Dr. A. Hertzog, and Dr. W. Nicol — all later to become leaders of the Nationalist Party.

As part of the master-blueprint to "penetrate the existing economic structure and gain a controlling share in the economic life of the country", a 5-year plan was launched for £1,500,000 to finance and support Afrikaans business.

Fresh from a visit to Nazi Germany, Dr. N. Diederichs resigned his professorship at O.F.S. University to become the Reddingsdaadbond's "hoofleier."

For the next 19 years, the movement adhered faithfully to the basic scheme for securing a monopoly of trade, finance and industry.

"Buy Afrikaans"

Over-all control of the campaign was exercised by the Economic Institute — a shadowy body linked with the F.A.K. Its members included Dr. Verwoerd, Dr. Diederichs, Dr. A. Hertzog, Dr. A. J. van Rhijn, Prof. J. L. du Plessis, Mr. I. M. Lombard and Dr. M. S. Louw.

Throughout the country the message was spread: Buy Afrikaans and support your own people. A militant campaign to mobilise the buying power of the Afrikaner (today estimated at £500,000,000)

was mounted.

In the first 11 years of its existence the Reddingsdaadbond collected more than £20,000,000 from Afrikaans business enterprises; it established shops, factories, businesses, investment and finance houses; it issued special Afrikaner "buying guides."

At the Second Economic Conference, in 1950, Dr. Diederichs reported "astonishing progress", and said that thousands of new companies had been started, the capital of which totalled between £20,000,000 and £30,000,000.

These included a building society, a large tobacco company and a liquor company.

The Reddingsdaadbond manoeuvred to gain control of the economic sphere, as if it were conducting a military operation.

Typical, was this communique by the chief of its general staff Dr. Diederichs in 1946:

"The Reddingsdaadbond is responsible for 500 Afrikaner businesses established during the past 6 years, whose employees earn £1,000,000 and whose dependents number 20,000.

"There are 8 big businesses with a capital of 4 to 5 million pounds."

Today, little is heard of the Reddingsdaadbond; the Nationalists appear to be achieving their aims through subtler, more secret means.

But there is little doubt that the undercover campaign is still being intensively waged, and that its fulfilment remains a vital goal of Nationalist ambitions.

As Dr. M. S. Louw said last year: "If we are to speak of a republic we must first make our economy more independent."

This is a most important statement from the leading Nationalist financier in the country.

It shows that the Afrikaner economic movement is not a-political, but part and parcel of the Nationalist drive for total dictatorship.

Behind noble-sounding slogans like "a just place for the Afrikaner in the economy", lies the Nationalist Party, with whom the Reddingsdaadbond openly aligned itself in 1941, when it made a public pledge to support:

"... a free, independent Republican, Christian National state, based upon the word of God, eschewing all foreign models . . . with a Christian-National Educational system . . . and the strongest emphasis upon the effective disciplining of the people . . ."

By striking a blow against Nationalist controlled business, the economic boycott hampers the realisation of one of the most cherished Nationalist ambitions.

SIMON SWANN.

THE BOYCOTT LIST: THE LANGEBERG CO-OP SAYS IT IS NOT A NATIONALIST FIRM

On June 26 the African National Congress economic boycott of certain Nationalist goods starts officially. On the list of goods to be boycotted are brands of Nationalist cigarettes, tea and coffee.

Alarmed that the firm of Langeberg Ko-Operasie Beperk might be placed on the boycott list, representatives of the firm asked for discussions with the African National Congress to place its case for non-inclusion on the list before Congress. For the information of readers of FIGHTING TALK, the following is a summary of the case presented by LKB.

- * In correspondence with the African National Congress, LKB said it was "perturbed and shocked that we should be earmarked . . . in the proposed boycott . . ."
- * "The Company," it said, "is solely owned by fruit and vegetable farmers and can never be owned or operated by any political party be-

cause farmers of all political views are shareholders."

- * The Langeberg Co-op was formed in 1940 by 216 farmers who subscribed £24,000 for buildings and plant and obtained working capital from the Landbank in the form of seasonal loans.
- * The 12 farmers who comprised the Board of Directors when the firm was established in 1940 were almost all supporters of the United Party.
- * With the taking over of LKB in 1954 of four other large canning concerns in Wellington, Germiston, Port Elizabeth and Boksburg the Directorate was increased to 32 members to give representation to the Transvaal, Free State, Northern Cape and Eastern Province members. "Not a single member of the Board is a Member of Parliament."
- * "Never do our Directors enquire as to the political views of any farmer when he is admitted as a sharehold-

er . . . and our very substantial Eastern Province shareholders are predominantly English-speaking.

- * "Our Directors who are farmers are not elected on political lines.
- * "Never do our Directors at meetings discuss party politics.
- * "When appointing staff our Directors never consider the political views of applicants.
- * "We never make any contributions of whatever nature to the Nationalist or United Parties."
- * Langeberg is totally South African, but non-political."

Following LKB's discussions with the ANC and its announcement to the Food and Canning Workers' Union that it will recognise the union, permit union meetings on factory premises, re-instate workers victimised after April 14 and co-operate with committees of workers, a press campaign was started up in Cape Nationalist newspapers to attack LKB for negotiating with the Congress.

THE CONGRESS MOVEMENT: ITS STRUCTURE AND ROLE

Is the existence of separate Congresses for different racial groups a tacit acceptance of racialism and in conflict with the Congress aim of a common society for all racial groups in South Africa?

This subject is currently under discussion in Congress

circles and FIGHTING TALK prints three articles on this topic.

Two correspondents argue that the time has come for one Congress body; and the secretary-general of the African National Congress replies.

A SINGLE CONGRESS FOR ONE GENERAL STRUGGLE

says student FRANK ADLER

The Congress movement is working towards a democratic non-racialist South Africa, but it is organised along separate, even segregated lines. Arthur Koestler once wrote: "If you change the means you change the ends." I believe that a non-racialist end when people will be seen as individuals and not as members of colour groups cannot be brought about unless we work along non-racialist lines now.

If the desired end were a federation of Bantustans or separate racial areas, then separate colour Congresses would be acceptable, but we are working for a multi-racial society.

This is also our basic difference with idealist nationalists as well as Africanists. We offer as an alternative to White and Black states and to "Africa for the Africans", Africa for its inhabitants regardless of their skin colour. But it seems laughable to speak of a future multi-racial society when we are not even organised along non-colour lines now.

Some people may say that the various inter-Congress consultative committees adequately provide for inter-racial co-operation and united action. But this is a fallacy. The consultative and joint committees are inadequate. They have no executive power, they result in red tape and a waste of valuable time. And they are undemocratic in that each Congress irrespective of its membership is represented by an equal number of delegates.

One General Struggle

The present separate Congresses by their very nature militate towards the acceptance and spread of an extremely harmful idea: that each Congress must concern itself with fighting specific issues, those that affect its members pri-

marily. Thus the Transvaal Indian Congress concentrates and is expected to concentrate on the group areas legislation and its implementation. The African National Congress spends most of its time fighting the pass system, the S.A. Coloured Peoples' Organisation concerns itself mainly with exposing the race classification, and the Congress of Democrats seems to be mainly interested in attacking the rottenness of the parliamentary system. We are losing sight of the fact that we are all fighting aspects of the same system. The division of Congress into separate racial groups confuses the issues and makes it difficult for members of the ANC, COD, SACPO, the SAIC and SACTU to realise that they are or should be taking part in a general struggle.

A single Congress would also help bring in the growing numbers of Whites who reject the policies of White domination political parties. It is interesting to note that although the members of the Liberal Party has increased significantly during the past few years, that of COD has remained almost static. It is true of course that the Liberal Party is a more conservative group than the Congress of Democrats and that many persons who have become members of it would not in any case join the Congress movement. But there are also White members of the Liberal Party who would feel more at home in Congress. They however prefer to belong to an ideologically less acceptable multi-racial body than a more revolutionary but "Whites Only" group like the Congress of Democrats.

On the Fringe

Even in the Congress of Democrats there are individuals who feel that they are on the periphery of Congress activ-

ity. That although the Congress of Democrats is a member of the alliance it is a junior member. These persons would prefer to belong to the main stem of Congress, to feel that they are not just there as sleeping or consultative partners but rather as full equal members.

Various points have been put forward against an immediate reformation or renaissance of the Congress movement. There is firstly the historical argument, that the various Congresses came into being at different times for different reasons. This is all true of course, but the position now is that all the Congresses have the same aims and the same constitutional basis. It seems that the people who put forward the historical argument have unwittingly taken over the fallacious argument of the Nationalists re the United Party, that we must continue with South Africa's traditional system. If we think a single Congress would be preferable now, then now is the time to bring it about — no matter what historical explanations there are for separate Congresses.

Another argument is that as a result of past legislation people in South Africa live mainly in colour groups so that different branches of a single organisation would in any case be made up almost exclusively of White, Black or Brown members. But those who put forward this argument are racialists although they are fighting racialism. It is irrelevant what the skin colour of the members of a branch is. If it so happens that certain branches have wholly or predominantly White, Black or Brown skinned members that is of no consequence.

At the moment in so-called White areas large numbers of Africans are receiving absolutely no political education because it is inconvenient for the

African National Congress organisers to get to them. These persons, house servants or flat workers could be best approached and organised by White members of Congress who live in these areas. At the present there is a belief that no congress should encroach on the preserves of any other Congress. This ridiculous rivalry would disappear if a unified Congress were formed.

Breaking Down Prejudice

Two minor points that have been put forward by persons opposing the single Congress idea are, firstly, that no matter how much we dislike it, we must accept that at the moment in the ANC, as in SACPO, in the SAIC and in COD there are people who are racials. People who dislike or distrust Africans, Indians, Coloureds or Whites as the case may be. The second point is that in some quarters the accusation has already been made

that the Congress of Democrats is running the African National Congress, and that if the Congresses amalgamated, attacks along these lines would be intensified. I believe as has often been stated by social scientists, that the best way to break down race prejudice is to have as much possible contact with the groups towards which we are prejudiced. A single Congress would present greater opportunity to break down these racialist attitudes than there are now. On the second point if the COD dissolved and its members became individual members of a united Congress, any such accusation of disproportionate influence would be ridiculous.

No Insurmountable Difficulties

There are no insurmountable organisational difficulties. If the ANC were to state that it welcomed not only Black South Africans, but all democratic South

Africans then the branches of the Congress movement which now call themselves SAIC, COD and SACTU would simply change their names and become ANC branches. It is as simple as that.

Now is the opportune moment to re-organise Congress. There is a growing interest in a single Congress, for at the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress annual conference a motion was unanimously passed instructing the TIYC executive to call a meeting of all the youth branches of Congress to discuss a single Youth Congress. The Youth branch of the C.O.D. is unanimously in favour of a single united Congress. At the recent ANC conference in Johannesburg three White persons were loudly applauded when they said they wanted to join the African National Congress and a letter which spoke of the time being ripe for a single unified Congress has recently been printed in NEW AGE.

Forward to a multi-racial South Africa by means of a multi-racial Congress.

2 THE A.N.C. SHOULD "UNLOCK THE GATES"

says RONALD SEGAL, editor of 'AFRICA SOUTH'

The trick of survival is the capacity to adapt, no less for political movements than for any other species of life. Organisations that swell blind die out like the dinosaurs, because they crash through circumstance without ever seeing and conceding to its constant change. It is surely, therefore, the greatest loyalty that the Congress Movement can ask of its followers—to require them perpetually to examine, to obey because they have searched out the reason for obedience and found it right.

Anxieties and Temptations

The racial structure of Congress has been questioned by its membership with increasing vigour ever since its establishment. Few Whites have ever regarded their bleached isolation as satisfactory—cut off from the Non-Whites whose cause they are dedicated to advance, they work and plan in an atmosphere sealed off from the political rhythms of the oppressed and the spontaneous inspirations and responses of mass struggle. The Indians, with the calamity of the Durban riots still cold in their blood, must regard with acute anxiety their political ghetto and peer in perpetual fear over its walls for signs of anti-Asian stirrings among the Africans. The Coloureds, abandoned by the Whites yet still conscious of their "special place", require the concrete re-assurance

of political work with Indian and African before surrendering the fears and self-consciousness the Whites have always encouraged them to hold. And the Africans themselves, ever open to the temptation of sacrificing the disciplines of non-racial struggle for the easy emotionalism of the Africanists, must be made increasingly to feel the common identity endured by all the oppressed.

Barber Pole Stripes

The dedication of Congress is surely to the establishment of a non-racial state, the uprooting of colour-consciousness from the political and moral soil of South Africa. Yet by maintaining group areas in its very structure, it inevitably, helplessly, sharpens the very consciousness which it proposes to blunt. And how can it be otherwise? With Africans possessing their own exclusive movement, a mirror of their own political objectives, what real solidarity of struggle can they enjoy with Indians, Coloureds and with Whites? Or any other racial group with another? Is the ANC not, unwillingly, playing the game of the Africanists? For what, after all, do the Africanists peculiarly hold but that only Africans can engage in the battle for enfranchisement with the sincerity of complete commitment? And if this is not the reason for retaining the present structure of the A.N.C., what other can

there reasonably be? The present racial structure can only continue to stress and to stimulate race thinking, suggesting hostilities and insinuating incompatibilities where none should or need at all exist.

Organise for Outlawing

No one doubts that the banning of Congress will lead to the development of a non-racial movement underground. For surely nothing more fantastic can be imagined than an illegal organisation striped like a barber's pole, with the various races relegated to their respective cellars. Yet if the blurring of the colour line should be essential then, why should it be any less essential now? This should be a time of preparation, of gradual re-adjustment to the inevitable shrinking of open opportunities for struggle. With every fresh act of Government terror, it becomes more urgent that the Congress Movement should organise itself for its outlawing. Yet it persists in retaining a pattern possible only in a society where its right to function openly remains unquestioned. Is it for ever to be taken by surprise, reacting only to the initiative of its enemies?

"Unlocking the Gates"

What, above all, is to be feared by unlocking the gates of the A.N.C.? That

the more politically sophisticated Whites will dominate the organisation and usurp its leadership? I have too much faith in the judgment of the average African to believe that he will invest his future for long in any but those leaders who show themselves equal to his trust. And if some of these should be White, is that after all not the very consummation of non-racial politics? Is leadership not to be selected and sustained by merit, regardless of skin?

It is possible, and even probable, that many Whites would join in order to mould the A.N.C. after their own private political images. But a truly democratic movement will always reflect the objectives of its majority, not the sin-

gularities of its eccentrics. And I, for one, would rather have men like Patrick Duncan within the organisation, subject to its discipline and encouraged to pursue his ideological quarrels inside, where the will of the majority must decide policy and tactics, than surrendered to the irresponsibility of non-commitment. Attacks on the leadership of Congress, which feed the Government with fuel for bans and arrests, are possible only to those fenced off from the movement, pursuing their frustration in mischievous political sniping. Nor do I believe that it would be necessarily harmful for ideological differences to exist creatively side by side within the organisation itself. If Congress cannot survive a constant re-assessment of its objectives,

endure an ever bright-eyed scrutiny by its own faithful, it will solidify, as the Unity Movement has done, into cliché and sterility.

The demand is rising, and from its most committed members, that Congress should desegregate itself. Strategically and ideologically alike, it is essential for the movement to become in structure what it is in objective, the image of the South Africa we want and so profoundly need to build. To suggest that the step is an easy one to take would be a savage over-simplification. Of course there are innumerable prejudices and ordinary habits of work to overcome. But once the step itself is seen as right and desirable, a way will surely enough and soon enough be found.

3 THE HIGH-WATER MARK OF RACE CO-OPERATION IS IN THE CONGRESS ALLIANCE

says DUMA NOKWE, A.N.C. Secretary-General.

Two main lines of attack have recently been directed against the African National Congress. On the one hand the Africanists and their supporters attack us for having formed an alliance with the other Congresses, which they say has robbed the A.N.C. of its effectiveness, handed leadership of the organisation over to others, and muffled the A.N.C.'s ability to voice the aspirations of the African people.

On the other hand, the A.N.C. is being attacked for being too "narrow", too exclusive in its membership. From several quarters, supposedly sympathetic to our struggle, we are being advised either to dissolve and merge with other organisations on a multi-racial basis, or to open our ranks and merely swallow those others. The existence of separate Congresses for different racial groups, we are told, is a tacit acceptance of racialism, and in conflict with our aim of a common society for all racial groups in a free South Africa.

In this article I am concerned with the second point of view only. I wish to answer these critics because I think most of them wish us well but misunderstand the position; but I want to sound a warning too, and that is that the greatest mistake of those who raise this criticism is that they are letting it become so important in their eyes that it is beginning to obscure the main matter before us—the struggle against the Nationalist Government and apartheid — and to occupy the centre of the stage of their political thinking.

The Primary Aim of the A.N.C.

I think it is necessary once and for all to get the record straight. Neither the A.N.C. — nor for that matter any of the other Congresses — were formed for or exist for the primary purpose of building a "multi-racial" or "non-racial" society. The A.N.C. was formed to unite and voice the views of Africans. That remains its primary purpose. Let those who will, call this "racialism". But I think that most people who look at our achievements honestly and without malice will realise that the building of an all-Union organisation of Africans, built in the teeth of every obstacle that governments could muster against it, and the leading of that organisation to become a mighty power in the land is an achievement from which not only Africans but all democratic South Africans can draw pride and satisfaction.

It is true that one of our tasks has always been to fight for the political rights of our people. And in doing so, we have been farsighted enough — or, if you will, sufficiently 'non-racial' in outlook — to join hands with other groups representing other oppressed peoples, organised workers and European opponents of the political colour bar, and to find together with them a common political programme. But that does not mean that the A.N.C. intends to abandon its functions as a national organisation of Africans; for those functions cannot be fulfilled by the Alliance, nor does it presume to attempt to fulfil them.

Oppression of a Special Sort

Nobody can doubt that, however other groups may be oppressed, Africans are oppressed in a special way, by special laws which affect them in special ways. As a result the immediate grievances, aims and outlook of Africans, their daily needs and aspirations are not identical with those of other racial groups in South Africa, however identical their long-term aim of liberation might be. Is it possible to imagine, then, that Africans will not organise as a separate group with separate group interests as long as their special position remains? If, for instance, the A.N.C. opened its doors to become a multi-racial organisation, an all-in political party with a liberationist programme, would there not immediately be a need felt amongst Africans for a purely African organisation to put forward the views of Africans? Would that need not, in fact, be felt even by those who simultaneously supported the all-in body? And if it were not felt by them, would it not be felt and organised by others? And if it were so, how could we of the Congress Alliance fail to support that organisation, to assist it and recognise it as the distinctive voice and spokesmen of the African people?

Let me put it this way. Everyone knows that the Chinese community in South Africa are subject to special discriminatory treatment; they are, in their own special way, an oppressed group.

POINT OF VIEW

For years, as a community, they have tried to counter discriminatory treatment meted out to them by using the influence of their Consular representatives, by attempting to gain the ear of the authorities, by standing aloof from political action. What does the Congress movement, or any supporter of Congress today, say to the Chinese community? Surely we say to them: "Do not take injustice lying down! Organise as a community, unite as a community and fight for your rights!" Would we not have to give them the same advice whether or not there were a multi-racial organisation which fought generally for democratic rights for everyone? This is the precise point. Even if we "merged" the Congresses into one, I believe that we would be driven, willy-nilly again to build up special organisations of each section of the oppressed people, to unite them as communities, and to voice their special community views. If tomorrow, as a result of any step we take, there were no African National Congress, we would have to set out again, from the beginning, and build one.

White Battering Ram

I know that a considerable part of the pressure for "one Congress" comes from European supporters of the democratic cause. I think it would be well for them too to consider their special position in the country and the Congress Alliance. Their organisation, the Congress of Democrats, is not an organisation of an oppressed community, but rather an organisation of non-conformists from the ranks of the oppressor caste. To such people, whose courage in defying the conventional prejudices of white South Africa is for us all a source of pride, there may well appear to be something contradictory in their renunciation of the colour-bar side by side with their membership of separate organisations. But they too only have identical interests with the other members of the Congress Alliance when one speaks of long-term interests—of the common interest of all in liberation. But their immediate interests are surely not identical with ours. Their immediate interest, surely, is two-fold: first, that they act as the battering ram of the liberation movement to break through the iron-hard core of European colour prejudice and racialism; and second, that they establish by their deeds the right and justification for White South Africans to become part of the native people of a free South Africa, and not — like the British in India or the Dutch in Indonesia—an alien community for whom there is no place in the years after liberation.

Even so it might be argued that, for C.O.D. to fill this role adequately, a multi-racial organisation would be the answer. Maybe so. But they do not enter the field of battle alone. Already we others are organised on community lines for the reasons I have stated. White South Africans cannot ignore this fact, or try to override it. They must fight with the weapons that come to hand. And for those who see that the road ahead must be followed alongside the liberation movements of the Non-White peoples, there is only one way, and that is the Congress way, the way of separate but allied fraternal organisation. No other way now meets the needs of the oppressed Non-White peoples; and because of the special position of the European supporters of liberation, they must adapt themselves to those needs, and not seek to "reform" the Congress movement to suit their special and unique position.

It is unfortunate that in a debate such as this, some people let their tongues run away with them. To suggest for example, as one contributor to this issue does, that the South African Indian Congress, with its magnificent record of struggle in the course of uniting the Indian community, is some sort of "political ghetto" is offensive and ridiculous. To suggest, as does another contributor, that illegalisation of the Congresses is inevitable, is defeatist talk which can do no one any good, least of all the Congresses who have fought successfully over the years not by "organising for outlawed activity" as the correspondent suggests, but by organising against outlawing!

The High Water Mark

But these are small matters. The large matter is this. Everywhere, among the proponents of an all-in multi-racial Congress we hear it said that our present state of existence smacks of "racialism", or gives rise to racial exclusiveness. This is a lie which must be nailed! On this let there be no doubts. The high-water mark of racial fraternity and co-operation in South Africa today is in the Congress Alliance. Let those who speak so glibly of "racialism" participate in the workings of this Alliance; here they will find such an absence of racial feeling, such complete and easy acceptance of people of other racial groups as equals and as co-fighters as is not to be found anywhere in any South African group.

This is the plain fact. The Congress Alliance, formed of separate organisations, has raised a whole generation of South Africans of all races and colours in a new mould — in the mould of equality and brotherhood, in the mould which alone of all South African patterns can claim: 'Here there is no racialism.'

Let those whose theories about Congress lead them to conclude that we are fostering or pandering to racialism think deeply on this fact. There is something wrong with a theory that leads to a conclusion which is the exact reverse of truth and of reality. I know that most of those who so theorise are sincere and well-meaning supporters of our cause. It is therefore appropriate that they should seriously and soberly reconsider the theories which lead them so wide of the mark. If they do so, I have no doubt that they will come to accept, as we of the Congresses accept today, that our course is vindicated not alone by theory but more — by practice. I feel sure that they will come to understand that the Congress movement stands where it does today because its organisational structure has fitted exactly the requirements of the special South African conditions in which we work. And they will come to understand too, that it is only in this way that we will finally, together, build the free South Africa, and so liberate us all from the shackles of oppression, and from the pattern of separate organisation which oppression imposes upon us.

We owe readers an explanation and an apology for the non-appearance of the JUNE issue of FIGHTING TALK.

FIGHTING TALK is sold at 6d. a copy but costs twice that to produce. A small management committee battles to raise the difference between production costs and sales revenue each month — and the battle is getting stiffer.

If you value the magazine and think our fighting talk should continue to reach South Africans of all races, why not send us a donation?

INDIANS IN AFRICA

Since the days of the first mass recruitment of workers from India for service on the railroads and plantations of Africa, the problems of the Indian's future in this overwhelmingly African continent have lain submerged and insignificant beneath the tremendous overburden of social, political and economic problems which imperial conquest produced for all the peoples of Africa alike. It is only now, in the vast stirrings and ferment which covers Africa in our day that the Indian citizens of Africa have come sharply face to face with all the problems of their fate and future. Where are they going? What does the future hold for them? How can they help to determine their own destiny as a community?

Where do Indian citizens stand, those of Africa south of the Sahara born and bred in this continent, some 300,000 people excluding the quarter million in the Union, for whom Africa is the only home they know or want and for whom any policy of retreat across the ocean is not a return home but a retreat into exile? Clearly for these people, the future hangs in the balance.

Straws in the Wind

The Accra Conference, in the name of the liberation movements of all Africa, proclaimed the aim of a free Africa based on multi-racial communities enjoying equal rights. But in Uganda, the widespread boycott of "alien" traders by the national movement of the African masses has been, willy-nilly, mainly a boycott of the Indian merchants. In Nyasaland, in the recent emergency, the anger of the African masses against the "alien" authority of Federation burst out also in sporadic attacks on Indian-owned shops.

These are warning signs to the Indians in Africa. Today, this year, next year and perhaps in four or five years to come the future of Africa and its many groups of citizens is being decided. Where do the Indian people stand?

Second Class Citizens

Everywhere in Africa the fact is clear that Indians are neither the ruling class nor of it. Everywhere, in ways more subtle, less harsh perhaps, and less degrading than those applied to Africans, discrimination is applied against them. Everywhere they are, at best, second-class citizens. In the sense in which the

liberation movement talks of 'freedom' — in the sense of equality with all others in all fields of life — the Indians have no freedom anywhere in Africa.

In Kenya, for example, where the largest Indian community outside of South Africa is to be found, it is said — with some truth, that Indians dominate the territory's commerce, and have taken charge of a large share of manufacturing, the professions and the civil service. Their numbers have grown gradually from the 32,000 brought in by the British government in 1895 in order to build the first railway, to 130,000 today. But there is special legislation, passed in 1949, severely restricting any further immigration to the area, or to any of the three East African territories. Fi-

A SPECIAL REPORT

by A. M. KATHRADA

gures show that the average monthly income of a European in Kenyan industry and commerce was £1366; for Indians the figure is £458, and for Africans £73. Likewise in the civil service, Europeans average £1229 and Indians £533; in agriculture, £1309 against £504. There is legislation prohibiting Indians from buying land in, for instance, the exclusive European area known as the 'White Highlands.' And in education, the Government spent £85 in the year 1954-55 on every European child, £21 on every Indian child, and less than £6 on every African child. If Africans in Kenya are very third-class citizens, Indians clearly are a very poor second-class. The pattern is repeated in the Legislative Council, where 60,000 Europeans are represented by 14 members, 158,000 Indians by 8 (divided communally into Muslim and Hindu representatives at the request of the Kenya Moslems) and 6 million Africans also by 14 members.

Parity and Inequality

In Tanganyika and Uganda, the Indian community has acquired a virtual monopoly of trade, and fairly substantial holdings in such industries as cotton ginning and sugar refining. In neither of these territories is there a settled European community of much significance, competing for the best jobs in industry and trade, the best land-

holdings and the best commercial sites. Here the European communities are almost restricted to civil servants and foreign administrators. In both territories Indians outnumber Europeans — 54,000 to 8,400 in Uganda and by 71,600 to 20,000 in Tanganyika. The discrimination is accordingly less noticeable, less entrenched. Yet in Tanganyika, £223 per annum is spent on the education of every European child, £31 on every Indian child and £8½ on every African child. The country is divided for electoral purposes into eleven Constituencies, and the so-called "parity" system is applied, each constituency sending one European member (for 20,000 people), one Indian (for 71,600) and one African (for over 8½ million people) to the Legislative Council.

In the Central African Federation, where there are 20,000 Indians in a total population of some 7 million, the position is not substantially different, except that here, in addition to certain legal disabilities, a social colour bar against Indians operates. Each of the three constituents of the Federation had legal restrictions against immigration of Indians, but one of the first acts of the Federation, in 1954, was to pass new legislation virtually preventing Indian immigration entirely save for a special category of ministers of religion, teachers and wives of residents.

These are the main centres of Indian settlement in this portion of Africa, excluding the Union of South Africa where the position is too well known to need repetition. Here in the Union, the legal and administrative discrimination against Indians is stronger than anywhere in Africa. Here the social colour bar operates most harshly against them. Here alone, in all this part of Africa, they are completely disfranchised; here alone their property is being forcibly expropriated under Group Areas legislation, for the benefit of their White competitors. Here it might well be said, White rule has reduced the Indian population most nearly to the level of Africans, unfree, insecure, politically powerless.

Road to Security

If this were the whole truth, it would be easy to assume that here at least there should be none of the sources of bitterness, anger and jealousy which poison the atmosphere of African-Indian relations in other parts of the continent. But the truth is more complex. Despite

all their disabilities, in South Africa also the average wages of the Indian workers in industry and commerce — are higher than those of Africans; here too their disabilities though severe are fewer, their movements less restricted than those of Africans. Here too they enjoy a measure of wealth, landed property and economic opportunity undreamed of by Africans. Here too there is that fertile field for race hostility, the virtual Indian monopoly of trade in and around many African locations, the continual allegation of "profiteering", of "exploitation," carrying with it an undertone of anti-Indian racialism. This, doubtless, is the immediate source of the rare outbursts of open anti-Indian hostility amongst Africans, such as the frenzied period in Durban in 1949 when African mobs committed widespread acts of pillage and violence against Indians.

Such outbursts are, however, rare; they have become even rarer in recent years despite the steady Nationalist-inspired rise of racial thinking and racial passions in the South African scene as a whole. Here, unlike most other parts of Africa, the articulate political leaders of the African people have steadfastly campaigned, especially in the post-war years, for recognition of the Indian citizens as allies and as equals, as people whose right to live and participate in all fields of life in this country, now and in the future after liberation, is unquestioned and accepted. Here, in the deeds and words of the leading African politicians, there has been no easy acceptance of demagogic, racialistic slogans, no deviating from the hard road of multi-racial principles. If the present helps us to predict the future, it may well be said that here, in the Union of South Africa, the future of the Indian population — the post-liberation future — is more secure and certain than anywhere in Africa.

Illusory Choice

Can South Africa's experience then point the way forward for the crisis-pressed Indian communities elsewhere in Africa? This perhaps, is a question for those communities to ponder and to answer for themselves. Certainly South Africa presents no easy universally applicable answer to the problems of the future of the Indians of Africa. Elsewhere in the territories to the North, there has always been a choice of paths open to the Indians; to ally themselves with their British rulers against the Africans, accepting the minor discriminations and disabilities in order to pluck the rich pickings? Or to ally themselves with the Africans against the rulers? Elsewhere in Africa, especially in

the years that are past, before the upsurge of the African masses on their road to freedom, generally the lot has been thrown in with their rulers against the ruled. As late as 1956, President N. S. Mangat of the Kenya Indian Congress was counselling his community:

"We must end the 50 year feud with the European community and bury the hatchet . . . Our self-interest ordains that we should be in favour of the British connection in Kenya."

No such choice has ever presented itself to the Indian community of South Africa. Here always the White ruling class has chosen to lean on the strong arms of its two million White citizens; it has had no need of Indian bolstering and support; it has ruled by race discrimination pure and simple, visiting that discrimination ever more heavily on all sections of the Non-White population, Indian, African and Coloured indiscriminately. Here the Indian population had an even simpler choice than elsewhere; stand together with the Africans or go under alone.

Even then, in that simple choice, the road to a clear-cut decision has not been an easy or a quick one. Through all the years from the first campaigns of Indian political action led by Gandhi in 1913, to the Passive Resistance of 1938, the Indian community followed the mistaken belief that it had a third course open to it; to fight alone and win its place in the sun for itself unaided. Understanding came hard and painfully. But it came. Since 1938, through many twists and turns, gradually the political movement of the Indian community has come to stand side by side with that of Africans — through the Non-European United Front of 1939, the Xuma-Dadoo-Naicker Pact to the present Congress Alliance.

Preaching Perfection

A correspondent writes to 'Fighting Talk' to suggest that, to safeguard their future in Africa Indians outside of the Union ". . . must immediately cease regarding themselves as privileged people, expecting privileges over Africans." This is the advice of perfection; it could well have been said to the Indians of the Union in 1910 and every year thereafter. The truth is that, by comparison with Africans, they are privileged people; and, in the way of men, will not abandon their privileges or imagine them out of existence.

If there is any universal significance in the South African experience it is surely NOT that Indians have been persuaded to ignore their privileges over Africans; but rather that they have been persuaded to fight against their disabili-

ties vis-a-vis Europeans! Indian-African relations in the liberation movement here today are firm and sound not because Indians have been given the selflessness of angels, and have fought for the rights of Africans. They are sound because Indians have fought for the rights of Indians! And because, in the course of that fight for themselves, they have grown into an alliance with those who also fight for their rights against the single, common enemy. True, today the Indian Congress fights everywhere, to the best of its ability for the rights of Africans. But that is a by-product of its struggle for the rights of the Indian community — a by-product only and not the prime mover of its workings.

Elsewhere in Africa, by contrast, until recent months, the Indian community has not fought for its own rights. It has bargained for them, by giving in exchange its allegiance and support to the ruling class. On this basis there is little prospect of cementing real Indian-African unity to safeguard the Indian community for the future.

In Nyasaland African National Congress leaders, particularly Dr. Banda have said harsh words about the Nyasaland Asian Convention led by the Indian lawyer Mr. Abdul Satter Sacranie. Indians in Nyasaland have been accused of being "opportunists, profiteers and quislings". The anti-Indian trend can be traced not only to the behaviour of the Indian shopkeeper but also to the absence of Indian support for the African Congress.

To make matters worse the Asian Convention has put forward a demand for parity of representation with the African and European people.

"Indians must realise," said Dr. Banda "that just as they fought for their freedom in India, we are fighting for our freedom here. We cannot allow them parity with us just as we could not agree to European parity. We are in the majority and we demand our majority.

"Indians in Nyasaland must show a change of heart and unless they do this I am not prepared to consider them as sons and daughters of Nyasaland. What we demand is an African majority. Indians have never identified themselves with the Africans, but with Coloureds and Europeans. They must decide for themselves whether they want to join Congress or not."

There is a process of reappraisal going on throughout the continent; new ways forward are necessary if the Indians, as communities in Africa, are not to go under. To some extent those new ways are being found.

In Kenya, for the first time, Indians and Africans have formed a joint dele-

(Continued on page 12)

Africans Discover Africa

Kenya leader TOM MBOYA launched the world-wide celebration of Africa Freedom Day this year with this speech — slightly abridged — delivered in New York.

April 15 was decided upon as Africa Freedom Day at the first Conference of the Independent African States held at Accra in April 1958, and was later endorsed by the first All-African People's Conference also held at Accra in December of last year. These conferences marked the discovery of Africa by Africans. This is in complete contrast to the discovery of Africa by Europeans in the 19th century.

What is this Africa and what do we mean, by the word FREEDOM? This is what many of us are thinking and talking about today throughout the world. Africa is still associated in the minds of many people in the United States and some European countries with the 19th century. They think of the dark continent, the jungles, the wild beasts, the Africa as presented to them by Hollywood — the fierce, ignorant, or merrily and furiously dancing tribesmen. Little is it realised that Africa, too, shares in what we call the 20th century: modern cities, schools, roads, airfields, houses, cars, and so on. As we celebrate this day, therefore, we might usefully stop and ponder these questions.

Africa desires to be understood and to be recognised from the viewpoint and

perspective of her own people. Africa is no longer willing to be referred to as British, French, Belgian, or Portuguese Africa. Africa must create and assert her own personality, and speak for herself. She cannot be a projection of Europe nor any longer permit herself to be interpreted or spoken for by self-appointed interpreters.

It was this conviction that moved African statesmen and political and trade union leaders to hold the two conferences at Accra that will no doubt mark out 1958 as Africa's year.

The Conference of Independent African states marked the birth of the African personality. The representatives of the African States at Accra unanimously agreed on the need for Africa to rise and be heard at all the councils of world affairs; and to effect this objective they created the Organisation of African States, which now consults on all questions affecting Africa before the U.N. and which represents the united will of all Africans on such issues. Equally important was their decision that Africa's total liberation was the task for all Africans.

To implement the latter decision non-governmental representatives of African people from the entire continent met at the All-African People's Conference in Ghana last December. That Conference gave birth to the African Community. By unanimous vote all 500 delegates from political parties, nationalist organisations, trade unions, and similar groups

from every part of Africa agreed to work together in full co-operation for the total liberation of all Africa.

Thus both conferences were characterised by a spirit of unity based upon the same predominant concepts and ideals—above all, those expressed in the common purpose — independence for all Africa! There was agreement that the independence of one territory is incomplete and meaningless unless it is accompanied by total independence for all territories. This, indeed, was but the practical application of the moral principle expressed earlier and more elegantly that "no man is an island", and less elegantly but in language every American recognises that "we must all hang together lest we hang separately."

The year 1958 also saw the inauguration of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa at Addis Ababa in Ethiopia. This marked, in fact, the U.N.'s functional recognition of Africa's legitimate place and role in the world's economic and social community, and was another useful addition to the 20th century discovery of Africa. It provided a long-delayed vehicle for Pan-African economic planning and co-ordination.

There are those who complain that the discovery of Africa and the African personality and community by Africans is taking place at too fast a pace. Such people should be reminded that Africa is many years behind the rest of the world and that, in these circumstances, we cannot afford the luxury of wasting time.

They might well remember the old adage that "he who is behind must run faster than he who is in front." In the case of Africa we do not only have to run faster but we have, at the same time, to try to avoid the mistakes and pitfalls of those who have "run before us", a considerable addition to our task. Lest any believe we are really running too fast, let me recall to them that colonialism has existed in Africa for over four centuries.

Most people seem to agree that colonialism is on the way out. It is, therefore, doubly difficult to understand why nations which are signatories to the United Nations Charter and which have committed themselves to the Declaration of Human Rights have not found it possible to give effective support to the African's struggle for freedom. Most of them have been noted for their compromising attitude and their desire to please the colonial powers or each other at the expense of democracy and human rights. How can anyone honestly be-

(Continued on page 14)

Indians in Africa

(Continued from previous page)

gation to demand of the British government a new constitution, in which both Indians and Africans claim their rights to representation according to their numbers — and with no racial 'loading' of the franchise.

These are the beginnings. For the men in the middle, ground between the millstone of the White rulers and the nether millstone of the surging African masses, they need to be pursued with vigour, not just by the few, far-sighted leaders, but by the communities as a whole. At the moment their steps are both little and late. But to hurry them on, and to sweep the whole Indian community of each territory forward with them, it is necessary that they break cleanly and firmly with the past, that they strike out on a vigorous campaign for their own rights against the White

rulers who have held them securely in the middle since first their feet touched African shores. Perhaps this was what was in Pandit Nehru's mind when he said to the Indians of Africa:

"We do not encourage or support them in anything they might want which goes against the interest of Africans. We shall support them of course in their legitimate demands."

That was in 1953. With a greater sense of urgency, during the looting of Indian shops in Nyasaland in March of this year the All Indian Congress Working Committee said in a resolution:—

"Develop friendly, co-operative relations with the African peoples, and give them support for their legitimate demands for freedom."

Where, as in South Africa, that course has been followed, there only are today's "men in the middle" reasonably confident that they will be tomorrow's equals, accepted citizens.

lieve that a compromise is possible where human rights, democracy, and Christian ideals are concerned, and still expect the African to have confidence and faith in him?

Of 220,000,000 Africans only 70,000,000 live in independent states free of white minority domination. The rest have yet to be liberated from colonialism and European domination. Surveying the situation of the 150,000,000 people still not free, one will immediately see what the African talks about when he condemns colonialism and European settler domination.

Take my own country, Kenya. Until the Mau Mau eruption, few people had heard of Kenya, and today few understand its basic problems — most of them created by British colonialism.

Politically speaking, the British Government has, through its Colonial Office, toadied to the European settlers, and condoned if not encouraged their domination of every phase of life. Today 60,000 Europeans are, under the present Constitution, represented by the same number of elected members (14) as are the country's six million Africans. Although the Europeans have since 1923 voted on the basis of universal suffrage, Africans are restricted to an entirely arbitrary, multiple-vote franchise, which is unrelated not only to the standards for white and Asian voters, but also to those set for African voters in surrounding British territories. Thus the bewildered Kenyan African may vote if he has an annual income of £110, and may cast not more than two additional votes if he meets certain other requirements, whereas in adjoining Uganda, literacy in the vernacular is not enough to qualify an African to vote, but he is, however, never entitled to a multiple vote. On the other hand, the income requirements for African voters are £140 in Tanganyika, and £710 in the Rhodesias. Such standards, arbitrary in the extreme have served only to suggest to Africans in Kenya and elsewhere that they are being cheated and frustrated in their basic democratic right of franchise.

Economically the government has until recently forbidden Africans to raise the profitable cash crops (coffee, tea, sisal, etc.), and even now it subjects them to discriminatory licensing, credit, and other restrictions, which are not applied to Europeans. Far more serious to the Africans, the Government has reserved the entire cool, fertile highlands for white settlers only — refusing to allow Africans to farm even unoccupied sections — while as many as 700-900 Africans are crowded per square mile onto the poor semi-desert areas not wanted by the whites.

Socially, segregation still prevails in far too many areas, particularly in such presumably public facilities as schools and hospitals. Discrimination in education is singularly frustrating to Africans for they all realise that schools provide the keys to a better and happier life for their children.

Yet while many Europeans have compulsory education, education for Africans is neither compulsory nor free. The Kenya government spends £30 per year for each European child's education; for each far more needy African child it spends only £4.

To add to other grievances, Kenya Africans are now living their sixth year under the state of emergency proclaimed during the Mau Mau uprising. Since its proclamation, thousands of Africans have been arrested and detained — and restrictions are still arbitrarily exercised. Shortly before I left Kenya, the police invaded my house in the middle of the night and searched it, suppressed the newspaper printed by the Nairobi People's Convention Party, and arrested scores of party members. About 2,000 political prisoners remain in detention camps, among them Jomo Kanyatta, despite recent revelations that two principal Crown witnesses were paid £1500 and that at least one of them admitted perjuring himself at the trial. To all our representations and appeals, the British government has turned a deaf ear, and our people, naturally, are becoming more and more restive.

Independence Needed for Progress

Africans are convinced that economic and social conditions cannot be considered apart from their political setting. Self-government and independence open great possibilities for economic and social development. Self-government permits people not only to embark on development programmes serving purposefully the needs of their country which they know best, but also enables them to establish relations with other countries on the basis of equality and to coordinate progressively the economy of their country with those of others. Full economic and social emancipation is not possible without political emancipation. Above all, it is through becoming masters of their own fate that the energies of the people are fully released for the arduous task of economic and social development.

The subjection of a people, in any form, including forced labour, apartheid, or colonialism under the guise of assimilation, is wholly inimical to economic and social development. This is our answer to those who argue that we must wait until we have a viable economy and

have acquired enough experience before we have the right to demand our Freedom.

This argument for delay, which smells of a passive betrayal of democracy, ignores the fact that, so far, experience has shown that it is only after independence that the world has begun to be conscious of our economic and social problems. In fact, the foundations for stable government have been laid only after independence, which makes nonsense of the plea of colonial governments that they are training us for self-government. In every case, colonial powers have left their African territories only when the organised pressure of our people has made it impossible for them to govern without serious consequences.

Opponents of Freedom Answered

In addition to crying "Caution", "Go Slow", opponents of African freedom have raised other objections. While most of the opposition arises from those who fear that independence will cost them status, economic advantage, or other special privilege, I would like briefly to consider the questions that are posed to me time and again by non-Africans:

For example, I have repeatedly been asked about the use of violence to achieve freedom. To this I can only answer that we are totally committed to non-violent positive action. Nevertheless, I must call attention to the wise words of the great English reformer, John Bright, who in 1866 declared:

"I have never said a word in favour of force. All I have said has been against it — but I am at liberty to warn those in authority that justice long delayed, or long-continued injustice, always provokes the employment of force to obtain and therefore of the Supreme that this redress. It is in the ordering of nature is so, and all preaching to the contrary is of no avail. If men build houses on the slopes of Vesuvius, I may tell them of their folly and insecurity, but I am not in any way provoking, or responsible for, the eruption that sweeps them all away. I may say too that Force, to prevent Freedom, and to deny rights, is not more moral than Force to gain Freedom and secure rights."

Secondly, there are those, perhaps affected by the guilty conscience which the general record of Western colonialism must unfortunately lead to, who fear that we Africans may yield to the not unsurprising temptation to victimise minorities — particularly the formerly dominant whites — when we gain independence. To them I can only repeat what we resolved at Accra in December
(Continued on page 16)

The 'How' of Evolution

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The truth of evolution, the fact that species of animals and plants have changed in the course of time into other and different species, is denied today only by the ignorant and the prejudiced. It is an indication of South Africa's cultural backwardness that the teaching of evolution is taboo in most of our schools and some of our universities.

Many today accept evolution just because "science says so." Science is regarded by some people with much the same awe as "divine scripture" was regarded by their grandparents. The reason is, of course, because science delivers the goods in the form of anti-typhus vaccine, sputniks, television and the rest.*

We must distinguish carefully between the fact of evolution and theories as to how it occurred. We know, with a fair degree of certainty, that the modern horse is descended from a little dog-like creature with three toes on each foot and no hooves, called Eohippus. In the same way we can be sure that man evolved from an ape-like creature with a comparatively small brain. But we do not know with anything like the same certainty what caused little Eohippus to develop into a horse or what made a ground-ape become a man. Here we are in the realm of theory and speculation.

Natural Selection

There is one theory, however, regarding the causal mechanism of evolution which is widely accepted by biologists. This is the theory of natural selection, first put forward by Darwin. There was a period, round about the turn of the century, when this theory was not very popular in scientific circles, but during the last thirty years or so it has come back in a big way, so that Darwin's standing is as high today as it was a hundred years ago when the *Origin of Species* was published.

The man in the street who accepts evolution but has no technical knowledge of the subject, is in most cases a Lamarckian and not a Darwinian. Lamarck was a zoologist and an evolutionist who lived before Darwin. He believed that animals developed new organs by some sort of striving and because they needed these organs. He believed that use and disuse

* An interesting situation arises when religious people say that "science proves scripture to be true." I should like to comment on this in a future article.

accounted for the growth or disappearance of bodily structures. Thus if fish living in dark underground caves have lost their eyes it is because they did not use them.

Lamarckian Theory

A good subject to discuss in this connection is the future of man and his brain. It will illustrate the difference between the Lamarckian and the Darwinian points of view. The man in the street, who is a Lamarckian, will tell you that it is likely that the men and women of the future will have larger and better brains, for the simple reason that we have to use our brains more and more. Compare the tribal African sitting in the sun with the location dweller trying to mend his second-hand car when it breaks down.

In fact there is no evidence that by mere trying an animal can change the characters of its offspring. The son will not have better muscles because his father went in for weight-lifting nor will the daughter have a better brain because her mother chose book-keeping rather than wet-nursing as a profession. If one individual is more intelligent than another it is due in general to his having inherited a better thinking machine called a brain. It's true that environment comes into the picture: one can be taught to think more intelligently and thus score higher marks in an intelligence test. But there are limits to this. All the mathematical education in the world would not make an Einstein out of Tom Fool.

Genes

We know enough about heredity to be able to assert that it is determined by genes. These are chemical particles present in the cells of the body and passed on to the next generation in the female eggs and male sperms. Every cell has so many thousands of these genes, half of them coming from the male parent and half from the female parent. The structure and functioning of the brain, as of other organs and the body as a whole, is determined in the first instance by the genes, acting of course in a particular environment. An individual may be born with good genes for intelligence but may become a cretinoid idiot because of lack of iodine in his food. An individual born with bad genes for intelligence will remain sub-normal on the most perfect diet.

If men could be bred like animals, it would be possible, by selecting men and women having good genes for intelligence, and mating them for a number of generations, to produce a race of supermen. In the same way, by choosing bad genes, one could produce a race of idiots. This could be done working merely on the genes present in human beings today.

Mutation

However the genes themselves are subject to change by a process called mutation. Gene-mutation is caused, among other things, by short-wave radiation such as is produced by the explosion of nuclear bombs. Some mutations produce better genes; most produce harmful ones.

In the past, under so-called "natural" conditions, one assumes that selection operated: the more intelligent survived and produced offspring, while the less intelligent died out. To demonstrate that modern civilised man is evolving into a race of superior beings of greater intelligence, one would have to show that the people with better genes are still producing more children than the people with inferior ones. This would be a very difficult thing to prove, and most of the evidence seems to show that in fact things are now going the other way.

EDWARD ROUX.

TITBIT

Harvard Prof. F. J. Roethlisberger was recently studying personnel relations at a large company when he noticed that one executive, recently transferred to a new job, showed signs of anxiety — insomnia, loss of appetite, inability to concentrate. The professor also noticed that all high-ranking executives in the company had twin-pedestal desks, but the troubled man's desk had only one pedestal. Immediately the professor replaced the desk with a twin-pedestal model and the executive's anxiety disappeared — according to the professor.

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African Farm Workers in the Eastern Cape

Current court and press revelations of methods of shanghai'ing African workers into farm labour show that near-slavery conditions flourish with impunity in a number of farming districts in our country.

However the evils of the farm labour system do not end with indentured labour, as is clearly revealed in this excellent study of the economic conditions of African farm workers in the Eastern Cape, where the bulk of labour employed on farms is tenant labour.

This survey, based on 73 farms in the Albany and Bathurst districts, is painstakingly objective and exact, and bristles with facts and figures which give damning evidence of a feudal system of employment. Farm workers and their families exist like serfs, depending entirely on the generosity and goodwill of the farmer as there are no State regulations governing their wages and general working conditions. It follows from this that conditions vary enormously from farm to farm, so that average figures are far from representative. Nevertheless it is worth noting that the average earnings in cash and kind of a family of 6 to 7 persons is £107 per annum, or just less than £9 per month!

Apart from revealing the excessively low standard of living of tenant labourers, Miss Roberts has investigated the productivity and mobility of labour, and the effects that influx control has had on these, and wage rates generally.

On the paternalistic nature of labour-employer relations, the author emphasises the fundamental fact that "farm workers are granted privileges not rights."

South African farmers never tire of complaining of the low productivity of their labour, but Miss Roberts' investigations show that the productivity of farm labour has little or no relation to the amount he earns. Wages are determined entirely by the laws of supply and demand. In fact in her chapter of conclusions, she points out that due to the disastrous effects of influx control regulations, an increase in labour productivity can in fact reduce the wage level of farm workers.

The short appendix which tells the story of 106 year old Smiles Manzi is well placed at the end of the book. After all the telling evidence of the miserable existence of farm labourers of today, here is the story of a man who has spent almost all his 106 years labouring on farms, and whose children and grandchildren are living in conditions in no way better than those he experienced a century ago.

LABOUR IN THE FARM ECONOMY, by Margaret Roberts. Published by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg. Price 7s.6d.

P. Benjamin.

Africans Discover Africa

(Continued from page 14)

ber — namely that Africa will be developed towards a democracy where individual rights will be recognised and guaranteed, regardless of race of colour. Our quarrel is only with colonialism and European domination. With these we shall never compromise.

Lastly, there are some who are only too ready to try to make capital out of some of our teething problems. They expect perfection from us and lie in wait to ridicule our demand for freedom every time they see — or fancy they see — any error or misjudgement by an African. I am flattered by these people because whereas they have not yet attained perfection themselves, they believe we are better fitted to achieve it before them. We have nothing to apologise for; but while we will always welcome constructive criticism, we do not and cannot allow interference with the sovereignty of our independent states. Any problems we meet during our early stages of independence reflect on the utter failure of colonialism as a training ground. We have no reason to believe that if colonial governments had another hundred years the situation would be better.

But is it really necessary for us to justify our demand for freedom or even to answer as to our readiness to shoulder the responsibilities of self-government? If so, to whom are we accountable, and by what and whose standards are we to be judged? What right has any other person to set himself up as our tutor and judge?

I submit that we have a right to self-determination. It is a birthright which we need not either justify or explain. We know and understand our desires and responsibilities to our people, countries and world peace. The other nations would do well to co-operate with us in our efforts instead of setting themselves up as our judges.

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