

FIGHTING TALK

INDEPENDENT MONTHLY REVIEW

Vol. 10.
No. 4.

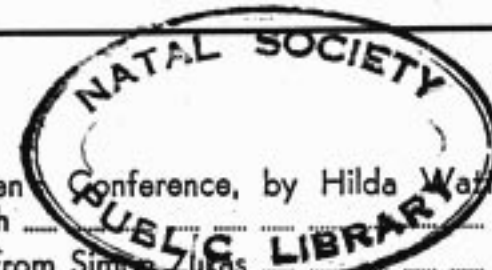
Price 6d.

MAY, 1954.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

IN THIS ISSUE.

Comment	1	National Women Conference, by Hilda Watts and Paul Joseph	8
Trade Unions Last Chance, by M. Muller	2	London Letter from Simon Zilles	10
Poem	3	Jan van Riebeeck	11
Who will Protect the Protectorates?	4	The Myth of Intelligence Tests	12
Red Herrings, by Ben Giles	5	Theatre: "The Boss" — Review, by C. Williams	13
Dr. Malan and Apartheid, by H. G. Makgothi	6	T.B. Can be Eliminated	14
Ray Alexander, by J. Podbrey	7	Tribute to Julia Wolfson	15



COMMENT

OF PEACE AND PANIC

A NOTE of panic is beginning to creep into press reports from Britain, as trade union conference after conference rolls up a practically unanimous vote against German rearmament. On this question — the centre of the whole N.A.T.O. military strategy — the Labour Party leadership, headed by Mr. Attlee are fighting a desperate rearguard action. And losing.

Late in February, a meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party voted by a majority of two — 111 to 109 — to approve German rearmament. And that majority was only secured by calling in all the "Labour peers" — who represent nobody, neither electorate nor Party Branch, to participate in the vote. "... the institution of the European Defence Community, including a German contribution was essential for the defence of N.A.T.O." Thus the British Government White Paper, "Statement on Defence, 1954", which the Attlee leadership has accepted but which the annual Whitsun Party Conference is likely to reject.

The note of panic on this question finds no echo in Attlee's reaction to the H-bomb. The effect of American experiments, he declared in Parliament, now clearly showed that war would be so horrible that no-one would dare start one, or drop the first bomb. The Hon. gentleman's memory needs jogging. The first two A-bombs were dropped — against urban, civilian communities — in 1945. There is not likely to be more reticence about the H-bomb, so long as the British Government and the Attlee opposition pin their faith on the White-Paper strategy which proclaims that: "The primary deterrent (to war) however, remains the

atom bomb and the ability of the highly organised and trained United States strategic air power to use it."

THE GRAND SHOW

ALL that was needed to make the Chamber of Mines exhibit at the Rand Show the greatest bit of ballyhoo ever, was Mr. Harry Oppenheimer delivering his speech about the A-bomb being a wonderful contribution to world peace and human happiness.

As it was, the lavish set-up of charts, moving pictures, models and electrical exhibits gave the public the clear idea that this gold mining business is just an act of sheer philanthropy. There were figures — plenty of figures — big as telephone numbers, about the millions of pounds the workers take home with them every year. They were a bit coy about profits and dividends. There were wonderful pictures of paved streets, grass lawns and a scarcely seen corner of a brick bungalow, nicely described as "living quarters of some of the native employees". They were a bit coy about the T.B. rates, and the number of sufferers returned to the reserves.

But the piece de resistance was the uranium section. Lights flashed on and off in glorious technicolor, showing everything that uranium means to a suffering world — industrial power, medical isotopes, scientific research gadgets. Not a whisper about A-bombs and H-bombs. That would have spoilt the carefully contrived atmosphere of unparalleled benevolence.

BLACK SPOTS OR KETTLES?

A NOTE of righteous indignation crept into Nationalist speakers' voices during the Parliamentary debates. "How dare the United Party kettles call the Nationalist pots black?" The United Party, it seems, is not above issuing manifestoes about "kaffirs", urging the voters to turn out the Government because it is spoiling the "kaffirs" by spending too much money on their education.

Mr. Harry Lawrence, who makes a habit of rushing in where Mr. Strauss fears to tread, kept up a running commentary of interjections: "Who published it? Tell us who?" throughout the patient reading of the "kaffir" manifesto. The Nationalist speaker obliged. The manifesto was issued during the general election by the United Party candidate for Pietersburg. The press reports fail to record any further comment by Mr. Lawrence.

There is also no sign that any disciplinary action will be taken against Mr. Teichmann for issuing the manifesto. U.P. disciplinary threats are reserved exclusively for those members who resisted the Western Areas Scheme before the Parliamentary caucus got around to it. No doubt there will be, in due course, a well-rounded United Party statement to explain just why the manifestoes about "kaffirs" are not inconsistent with the policy known formerly as "trusteeship", now retitled "integration". Not just now. Because at this moment the Party headquarters are busy wrestling with an intricate problem; should the Party withdraw from municipal politics, in order to allow those U.P. councillors who oppose their party's policy to take seats on Dr. Verwoerd's Board to remove the Western Areas?

To others it might be hard to face both ways at once. But the U.P. are rapidly becoming past masters of the art.

COOKS AND COMMISSARS

THE day is no doubt a long way off when every cook will be able to fill a commissar's shoes. But at last month's Women's Conference in Johannesburg, there were steps along the road. While women of all races discussed womens' rights, womens' place in the liberation movement and womens' role in the fight for peace, several commissars did duty as cooks.

For two days, the men took over the cooking, bottle-washing and provisioning of the conference, and made a first-rate job of it, while the women went ahead untroubled with the usual chores. This is practical help to the women's movement indeed. If the Conference showed that the women's movement has come of age and is really going places, the catering department showed that men are at least beginning to realise the need to assist practically with women's work.

TRAGEDY AND TORCH

WHILE the ill-fated 'Citizens Action Group' was convened in Johannesburg to fight the Natives Resettlement Bill, there was a proposal that the Torch Commando be asked to take over the whole campaign. Even Torch-bearers felt a little diffident, and the proposal was defeated.

But if the Torch isn't carrying the baby, it was certainly carrying all its old prejudices and errors. A proposal to ask Non-European organisations to join in the campaign was defeated. Torchmen and Liberals achieved a United Front against. Later, on the committee, the Congress of Democrats was debarred — just as the Torch had once banished Springbok Legionnaires.

There was talk — lots of talk — of rousing the nation, of torchlight demonstrations, of mass action. Once before — on the Coloured vote issue — war veterans had given birth to a mountain of opposition to Malan. This time, the mountain gave birth to a mouse. There has been one meeting — even its friends call it a flop. And from there on, nothing.

History, as someone once remarked, repeats itself; first as tragedy and then as farce.

The Fight Against the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill

THE TRADE UNIONS' LAST CHANCE

By M. MULLER.

IT is the avowed purpose of the Nationalist Government to supercede trade unionism and collective bargaining with State control over the workers: their wages, working conditions and right to work. The decisive step in this direction is the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill, the debate on which will dominate news from Parliament during May.

During the first week of May two trade union conferences will meet in Cape Town. The first will start on May 1st and is convened by the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions. All trade unions which are opposed to Schoeman's Bill have been invited to this Conference. On May 3rd the conference convened by the "Unity Committee" will meet. At this conference only registered trade unions will be represented, that is, African workers are excluded. The fate of the trade union movement will be decided by the lead given to the workers from these conferences.

Why Two Conferences?

Why two conferences at this moment when unity is all that matters? The answer to that question is the story of the failure of the trade union movement to make itself secure against destruction. This failure is essentially twofold: the fact that the trade union movement did not bring the African worker firmly within its fold, and its inability

to stop the savage onslaught of the fascists through the Suppression of Communism Act.

The trade union movement, by which is meant the movement as a whole, and especially its co-ordinating bodies, failed to insist upon the inclusion in the I.C. Act of African men. There was a time, during the war and immediately after, when the Smuts Government could only with great difficulty have withstood a determined stand by the unions on this issue. This stand was not made. The right-wing leaders fell for Ivan Walker's "separate recognition". The way was paved for Schoeman's Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act of last year. Again on the passage of that Act through Parliament the movement brought forth nothing more than brave resolutions, but it failed to organise a mass protest.

This sorry tale is even better illustrated by the impact of the Suppression Act on the movement, which caused the breaking away of the bulk of the craft unions from the S.A. Trades and Labour Council to form the S.A. Federation of Trade Unions, which is to-day the largest trade union federation in the country. The reason for this split was alleged to be the insistence of the majority in the Trades and Labour Council to defend *all* trade unionists attacked

under the Act, while the splitters wanted to defend only those who were not *really* Communists. From here it was a short step to that shameful proposal that a committee of trade unionists should assist Schoeman and Swart by deciding who should, or should not be kicked out of the trade unions, in terms of this Act.

The trade unions arrived at the great crisis in their history, facing a resolute enemy determined on their destruction, with their barricades either unerected or trampled down already.

On Schoeman's Side

But as details of the Bill which Schoeman was plotting with a secret gang of employers and traitor trade unionists leaked out, there arose from the rank and file of the unions a firm demand that his schemes be resisted. To a movement eager for a lead the announcement that a "Unity Committee" of veteran right-wing trade unionists would call an All-in Conference of trade unions, bar those who supported Schoeman, seemed too good to be true. And so it was. Realising that the trade unions would fight, Schoeman got busy. His stooges, the very gentlemen who had helped to concoct the Bill, announced their opposition to it. They were taken on to the "Unity Committee". Then it was announced that it was no longer an All-in Conference, that African workers would be excluded. It was also announced that *before* the Conference, and without inviting the opinions of any trade unions, this self-appointed "Unity Committee" would meet Schoeman and discuss the Bill with him.

At this point the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions announced that it would itself call a conference from which no trade union willing to fight the Bill would be excluded. By this call, through which a body mainly of African workers has assumed the guardianship of *all workers'* right, and the leadership in the struggle of those rights, the Transvaal Council has brought a sense of reality to the trade union scene. The African workers, who under this Bill, stand to lose their right even to do semi-skilled work in given industries, cannot be ignored in any industrial action. They are, whether the "Unity Committee" recognises it or not, the decisive factor in the struggle for workers' rights.

We have talked throughout of the failure of the trade union movement as a whole. But this failure must not obscure the fight which has been waged over the years by the minority of loyal and militant workers and leaders against policies which have brought the movement to the brink of ruin. The Transvaal Council's conference not only brings African workers firmly into the struggle against the Bill, but provides a rallying point for sincere class-conscious trade unionists of all races.

Over to the Rank and File

Over the years some trade union officials, and especially the leaders of the co-ordinating bodies have acted as if these matters of high policy were their province alone. They have parleyed with the Government over the details of repressive measures, while the underlying principles were adopted. They have consistently refused to call the workers out on mass protests. Realising that, whatever the outcome of the "Unity Committee's" efforts, the rank-and-file would have to do the fighting, a group of reef workers formed the Witwatersrand Workers' Council of Action to alert the workers to the dangers before them. Workers in other centres have followed this lead. The formation of the Councils of Action will materially help to implement any fighting call which may come from the conferences in the Cape.

To what extent that call will come from the "Unity Committee's" exclusive conference is doubtful. It has reached a new low by inviting to the conference the Mine Workers' Union, whose leadership is committed to support of the Government. But despite this packing of the Conference with Schoeman's yesmen, the voice of the rank-and-file may yet prevail. And even if it does not, the lead that is bound to come from the truly national conference of the Transvaal Council, is sure to find a response among those workers whose leaders ignored that Conference.

In the coming weeks, every worker and democrat has a place in the fight for the maintenance of free trade unions. If that be lost, if the I.C. Amendment Bill becomes law, we shall in the fighting have created a firmer basis for that indestructible trade union movement, which shall live long after Schoeman has gone, because it realised that it cannot itself be free while the nation is in chains.

Poem

*I am tired
Of polite circles,
Of those who say
'Think of your career, of your future.'
Comrades, I am thinking of the future.*

*Freedom is a precious thing
Not given by the ruling class.
A better life means struggle.
I am not free in Hillbrow when
my sister lives in rags in Orlando.*

*Those who live
Wrapped in themselves,
In frightened acceptance
Comrades, they cannot face
themselves honestly.*

*'Be careful' they say
'The Nats will do anything.'
As long as the guns do not turn on
them
They'll be a party to that anything.*

*In Warsaw, in the ghetto,
They tried it too
And still death came.*

*Do they sleep well?
Prisons are full
Dirt and hunger and sickness
They know—they know of man's sub-
jugation
Yet they raise not their voices.*

*Some few say 'gradually—
Civilisation has qualifications.'
Misery is not qualified
Hunger is not qualified
Bullets have no conditions attached.*

*And while they accept
Or talk of conditions
Oppression grows.*

*Nine million people
Starting to question, to understand —
and to struggle.
Fear is lost in action
Ideals strengthened and realised.*

*Cast fear away and come with us
True brotherhood of men.
March in our ranks and you will see
A brotherhood where all are free!*

Who will Protect the Protectorates?

By a Correspondent.

The Protectorates were an intolerable encroachment on South Africa's natural rights and self respect, and it was high time there was a change, said Dr. Malan when he moved for the transfer of the territories to the Union in the House of Assembly on 12 April, 1954. "They (the Protectorates) are on our doorstep. They are economically, historically and territorially a unit with us. They affect our very life. They are part of our body"

WHY has Dr. Malan demanded the Protectorates now?

He must have known that the British answer would be no, or, at best, a postponement of the decision.

A clue to the mystery lies in the fact that, as Hertzog said long ago, if transfer is ever attempted, Swaziland will be the first of the three Protectorates to be transferred. One reason for this preference is that there are 4,000 white settlers (more than in Kenya!) in Swaziland. Another and better reason is the discovery, in recent years, that Swaziland is an unexpectedly rich field for the investment of capital. Timber grows there at a fast rate. Business men in Johannesburg — including doctors and lawyers anxious to escape income tax on their big incomes — have invested lots of money in Swaziland. Not all this capital is put into growing trees. Even more valuable than timber are the base minerals beneath the soil of this Protectorate. Have you ever heard of such things as diaspore and columbite? If you haven't, American buyers certainly have. The presence of these minerals excites their interest to such an extent that they eagerly pay a bonus of 100 per cent. to producers. Columbite is used in the manufacture of jet engines, and so it is in urgent demand to-day. A London syndicate, associated with the Union Carbide Company, which is an American organisation, has lately acquired a "concession" to exploit columbite in Swaziland. The giant American corporation, Bethlehem Steel, sent a scientist out last year to

Britain, however, finds herself in a dilemma. The British empire has been shrinking in the last ten years. One colony after another has demanded its independence and a number of them have taken great strides towards that goal. This is not a process that anyone in the House of Commons wants to accelerate. Moreover, because of its colour policies South Africa's name stinks in the nostrils of the world. If Britain began to take the first steps towards transfer, there would be an international outcry, the like of which has not been heard since Hitler's day.

The British have long taken pains not to offend the white rulers of the Union. This is an old tradition which goes back more than half-a-century. Ever since the Boer War — an imperialist war, if ever there was one in history! — the British have had a guilty conscience about Afrikaners. To purchase the goodwill of Afrikaners towards the

look at the deposits of iron ore. If no bargain was struck, it was due to the legal difficulties that have long surrounded mining concessions in this Protectorate. Asbestos is yet another valuable mineral, one of the country's main exports — the Havelock mine works night and day to produce the ore for British and American buyers. At present no fewer than 35 private profit-making companies are at work on their "concessions". There is also coal at hand. All this — and cheap labour, too — would be a real heaven for investors — if they could get a railway line built at Government expense. But which Government?

Britain is already investing, through the Colonial Development Corporation, a fair amount in all three Protectorates. If she puts more money into them, she wants to be sure that British, not American or South African investors, will draw the benefits in the form of dividends. Americans, on the other hand, would prefer to do business with the Union Government. Washington, with its embassies and consulates all over the world, has by now plenty of experience in handling the smaller states and their politicians. (By the way, there is on the staff of the American ambassador in the Union a specialist whose sole job is to keep both eyes on base minerals in this country). From these facts it is a fair inference that Washington has not discouraged Dr. Malan from demanding the Protectorates from Britain. Americans would not be displeased if transfer could be nicely arranged.

Britain's Dilemma

empire, Britain sacrificed the interests of Africans in 1902, in 1906, and in 1909 when Union was formed on a colour-bar basis with Britain's aid and blessing. Has British policy changed in this respect?

In spite of Sir Winston Churchill's prompt refusal in reply to Dr. Malan, it is too early to say for sure whether the worm has turned at last. Yet there are certain new factors in the whole situation that indicate the possibilities. Britain in these post-war years has needed the resources of her own dependencies more than ever before in imperial history. To ensure that she retain control of economic life in the colonies, she has made political concessions in West Africa and in other places. The second world war opened men's eyes to the meaning of racial freedom and of social

justice. The African giant began to stir from his long slumber, as black men clamoured to join the human race. Partly under the stimulus of world-wide opinion and partly in response to African pressure, British colonial policy developed a new look.

Protectorates Mark Time

In the Protectorates alone, no political progress was recorded. Every time a proposal was made to enlarge the African's share in their own government, the High Commissioner in Pretoria had to ask himself what the Union's Cabinet would feel about such matters. For fear of antagonising South African opinion, by providing a sharp contrast at close quarters, Britain's policy in the Protectorates has always been restrained to the point of preferring stagnation to progress. That is why Seretse Khama lost his chieftainship.

(Continued on next page)

BEHIND THE OVERSEAS NEWS BY BEN GILES.

RED HERRINGS

ONLY the naive could miss the fact that Petrov and Kholkhov have nearly brushed Viet Nam from the headlines of the daily press, just at the time when Dien Bien Phu is about to fall, and 'face', purchased at such a bitter cost of French lives and American braggadocio, is about to be lost. It could be co-incidence. If only the stories weren't so threadbare, with all the earmarks of hastily concocted, eleventh hour improvisation.

Kholkhov is an American product, boosted on the world market with less care but more fanfare than surrounds a new "chlorophyll" discovery to revolutionise toothpaste. The setting is pure American 'comic-book' stuff. His assassination weapons, so we are told, are none of the run-of-the-mill revolvers, poisons or high explosives, but super-sensational poison bullets, fired from a soundless pistol disguised to look like a packet of cigarettes. And how does this alleged Soviet agent come by the weapon? Mystery! Intrigue! Spies! The packet of cigarettes is smuggled into Germany from Austria, sealed up in the battery of a car. Only the uninitiated reared on Philip E. Oppenheim and Micky Spillane, will wonder: Why seal a packet of cigarettes in a car battery, when any handy jacket pocket would do? Why smuggle Soviet arms to Berlin via Austria, when Germany is separated from the Soviet Union only by 'red' Poland?

(Continued from previous page)

It would therefore be foolish for the people in the Protectorates to count on Britain. The present refusal even to consider transfer by "consulting" African opinion may be temporary. In the past the British have often showed serious weakness in the face of pressure from the Union. The people in the Protectorates must learn — indeed, they are learning — the best political lesson that people anywhere can learn, namely, that all solid achievement can come only from their own efforts. No nation has ever in human history been handed on a plate by another nation the human rights and fundamental freedoms it wants. It has never been the unselfish habit of foreign rulers, and of the international investors behind them, to promote the political advancement of

But this story was not for the uninitiated. It was intended mainly for the great American public, which reads over a billion comics each year. Such little things as the absence of a single real victim, a single name except Nazi Ambassador Von Papen (whose assassination order was somehow 'countermanded') go unnoticed. Kholkhov, 'the red assassin', hit the headlines in the United States a few hurried days after vice-President Nixon had shocked the whole world by the blunt assertion that America should keep the Indo-China war going, even if the French signed a peace treaty and gave up. In the cops-and-robbers atmosphere, it was hoped, the Nixon A-bomb rattling might go forgotten.

The Petrov case is, perhaps, different in form. In essence it is the same. The only explanation thus far offered for Petrov's flight from the Soviet Embassy (except the Soviet claim that he is a criminal fleeing from retribution for theft of state funds) is that Petrov seeks "a good life". Certainly this leaves an open choice: the man is either knave or fool. For an informer, even a widely publicised informer, there can be neither friend, sympathy nor comfort when once the first flush of his usefulness has been exhausted. To trade any chance of a return to homeland and family at any time in the future, for the "good life" of a society which allows even its best artists to starve in garrets, once

those whose country they occupy or rule.

Testing Time

Look out Chief Sobhuza! The Bethlehem Steel Corporation has never shown itself a true friend of Africans.

Come back from the bush where you have retired, Tshekedi Khama! If you want to prove yourself a political leader, now is the time to speak out against Dr. Malan.

Chieftainess Mantsebo Seeiso, let us hear your voice! The Basutoland National Congress is gathering strength and going ahead in this struggle to keep Basutoland a free country. It would welcome your greetings and your approval. Since the days of that great statesman, Moshesh, the Basuto Nation has closed its ranks in the face of threats to its security. Your ancestors were never

their popularity has died, is the hallmark not just of a fool, but of a super-simpleton.

Petrov is more understandable as a knave. It has emerged in a dozen post-war espionage trials in Eastern Europe, that a single slip of an ambitious, greedy or embittered official leads to blackmail, to gradual tightening up of the screws, until the man is driven to become a full-fledged traitor. Perhaps this too is Petrov, of whom a press report states that he has been in touch with Australian officials for "some months."

Storm for Geneva

The Petrov story broke, appropriately, two days before the Kholkhov story. For Premier Menzies, facing a general election in which all the straws point to his defeat at the hands of a red-baiting Labour Party, it could scarcely have been better timed.

But there are bigger considerations. A week after the Petrov episode, the Geneva Conference was due to open, reviewing the whole Far Eastern situation, especially the uneasy armistice in Korea, and the French war in Indo-China. For the first time at a post-war international conference, People's China was to be represented, by Premier Chou En-Lai. This was the first tell-tale sign that the American-imposed straight-jacket of isolation around the new liberated lands of Asia was beginning to burst at the seams.

But there were others. French opinion, which over a year ago in a public opinion poll had recorded a 60 per cent. vote for an immediate armistice in Indo-China, was reaching the end of its toleration of the costly and hopeless colonial war. Marshal Juin, French senior military man, began to criticise the war, and was sacked. Former conservative Premier Daladier sponsored a mass

(Continued on page 15)

conquered, your country never annexed by British or Boers; which is why the Basuto remain a proud people, conscious of their own dignity as free men and women.

Chieftainship in all three Protectorates has retained its vigour and held its place in the affections of the common people. If this tribal institution is to continue to keep, and to deserve, its popularity, it must bring leadership to the people in the testing time that is coming to the hearts and homes of a million Africans. And if the people meet the crisis of their lives squarely, they will find the world ready to help those who help themselves.

The Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, last month issued a statement on the Government's Apartheid policy in a letter to the Rev. John Piersma, of Michigan, U.S.A.

Some of the things he said were:

Apartheid is essentially a positive and non-repressive policy.

It is based on the Afrikaner's divine calling and privilege to convert the heathen to Christianity without obliterating his national identity.

Allegations that Non-Whites are not accorded political rights are untrue.

Nearly 800,000 Bantu children are given schooling free of charge.

... Nor does most of our industrial legislation make any distinction on the grounds of colour ...

WHAT DR. MALAN FORGOT TO SAY ABOUT APARTHEID

By HENRY G. MAKGOTHI.

IN his statement of the basic principles of apartheid, the Prime Minister resorts to a very crude falsification of history by stating that "the first White men and women who settled at the foot of the Black Continent were profoundly religious people, imbued with a very real zeal to bring the light of the Gospel to the heathens of Africa." If, as the Prime Minister suggests, the primary task of the settlers was to christianise the heathen, then it is very surprising that a man of Jan van Riebeeck's shady character, to put it mildly, was chosen for this task. Every history book reveals that Jan van Riebeeck was the servant of the Dutch East India Company, a monopolistic commercial enterprise and certainly not a missionary institution. And every schoolboy knows that Jan van Riebeeck was instructed to establish a "halfway house" to supply fresh vegetables and meat to the Company's ships and not to establish churches for what he in his memoirs, referred to as "zwarte, stinkende honden". It is another falsehood to suggest that the motives of the emigrant farmers who were responsible for that spectacular movement into the interior of South Africa in 1836 were selfless. Even African school children have been made to remember the long list of grievances which had filled the cup of the Trekkers to overflowing. Although this sanctified inventory contains many items that are imaginary, nevertheless, it is interesting to note, that even in 1834 A.D. a fair proportion of Dr. Malan's "torch bearers" still considered the emancipation of slaves a sore issue!

Two States?

The theory of apartheid apparently means the division of South Africa into two states, with all the Whites in one and all the Blacks in the other. Without considering the historical desirability of such a theory, it is interesting to note that the Prime Minister says: "For the foreseeable future, however this is simply not practical politics." This, quite clearly, is a confession of the most palpable political bankruptcy. For here we find the frankest admission that what the Nationalists are executing in practice, in no way corresponds to their theory. Now if a man professes to be a saint and acts like a thief, he would be referred to as an impostor or a liar. Apartheid therefore, in the concrete circumstances in South Africa, at any rate, is an example of this Big Lie and a political fraud. A few concrete illustrations will prove this.

Colour Bar in Industry

Dr. Malan claims "nor does most of our industrial legislation make any distinction on the grounds of colour". Dr. Malan could not have forgotten that the Masters' and Servants' law, which attaches criminal liability to Africans who are found in breach of a civil contract, is still law in South Africa. And so is the Native Labour Regulation Act, 1911, which extends the same principle to African workers in mines. The Silicosis (or Miners' Phthisis) Act of 1946 legalises discrimination in the compensation of Africans by fixing the maximum compensation at £180; the Mines

and Works' Act of 1911, as amended in 1926, debars African workers from doing certain skilled work and is in fact known as the "Colour Bar Act". The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1937 which provides for the registration of trade unions of employees, discriminates against Africans because they are affected by the Masters' and Servants' Act and the Native Urban Areas Act. Dr. Malan's own government has passed the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act which makes it illegal for African workers to go on strike and completely emasculates African trade unions. It is about to pass the amendment to the Industrial Conciliation Act which will define work to be done by the different races. It is not possible that the Prime Minister is not aware of laws which have been passed by his predecessors, and those which are being passed today by his Ministers under his very nose.

No Democracy

The Prime Minister further states that South African Non-Whites are accorded political rights. Surely the most striking feature of all South African society even to the most superficial observers, is that a minority of Non-Whites have almost no political rights. The application of the Separate Representation of Voters' Act, supplemented by the Suppression of Communism Act, will remove even the shadow of political rights which the African and other Non-White groups still have. Un-

(Continued on next page)

Ray Alexander — People's Representative

By J. PODBREY



THE scene was a picket-line outside a Cape Town garment factory. The year was 1936. The picketing, which had been carried out with the usual high spirits, was suddenly interrupted by a lorry-load of police who swooped down on the line and began rounding up all the girls in sight. Later, at the station, the name-and-address routine began. "What's your name?" asked a policeman of a young, well-built girl. "Ray Alexander", she answered primly. Hearing her accent, he looked at her suspiciously. "Where do you come from?" he growled. "From Mamma's belly" she answered without hesitation. Laboriously the policeman wrote down the answer, and the next day, at Court, it was solemnly announced: "Ray Alexander, who comes from mamma's belly . . ."

This incident has become a classic in the annals of local Trade Unionism and is quoted with much glee to show what an ass the Law can be, or at any rate, what asses a number of its minions are.

Ray Alexander had emigrated from

Latvia just seven years before this incident, in 1929. She arrived in Cape Town with little more than a strong militancy born of a long tradition of working-class struggle. Though handicapped by language difficulties, she entered the Trade Union field where her prodigious organising abilities soon showed results.

The garment industry, with its then shocking working conditions and miserable wages, was the first to claim her attention. Together with a number of other stalwarts she launched a campaign against the iron heel of the clothing bosses which lasted many years. In the end, the employers were forced to recognise the Union and to negotiate with it. A large measure of the amenities enjoyed by garment workers in the Cape today can be attributed to people like Ray, but mostly to Ray herself.

However, there were other industries crying out for organisation, and the young immigrant with the foreign accent tackled them all. Textile, Food and Canning, Laundry, Distributive, Railways and Harbours — all received their first taste of collective bargaining under her firm hand. It was no easy task. A full-time job as Union organiser was no sinecure. On more than one occasion Ray went without a meal in order to pay the telephone account, or walked to town from her lodgings so as to be able to buy stamps for the office. Add to that the very real police intimidation and you have a fair picture of what she had to contend with.

It was the Food & Canning Workers'

Union that she finally adopted. This was a difficult industry to organise, with its seasonal employment and widely scattered factories, but today it is a highly organised and militant union, a living testimonial to the amount of hard and grinding work put into it by Ray Alexander.

She became General Secretary of this union and held the post until last year, when she was ordered to resign by the Minister of Justice in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. It says much for her prestige that a number of sporadic strikes were called by her workers in protest against the banning.

Ray Alexander has three children, two girls and a boy which by some miraculous feat of strength she managed to bear and raise in the midst of strikes, lockouts and Conciliation Boards.

In the elections for the Cape Western seat Ray topped the poll, getting almost four times as many votes as the Liberal Party candidate.

A few hours after the result was announced the Speaker of the House decreed that in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act she could not take her seat. A vacancy was announced in the constituency . . . a revealing comment on a country where legislation has gone mad.

It is hard to predict what the outcome of all this will be, but one thing is certain. It was a sad day for the Minister and his little friends when they picked on a person like Ray. She has that extra asset so elusive to our legislators: she has the people with her.

(Continued from previous page)

der the Native Representation Act the Africans are represented by four Europeans under a very indirect system of election, and in the Assembly the 10 million Non-Whites are represented by three Europeans, while 159 M.P.'s represent three million Whites. If we further reveal that in only one province do the Africans exercise the vote, then the extent of the falsehood becomes even clearer. Africans are not represented in provincial or municipal councils. As for the fuss the Prime Minister makes of the advisory boards and Bungas, it is sufficient to indicate that these have no legislative authority whatever, and that

under the 1927 Native Administration Act, the Governor-General (in effect the Government) is the dictator over all Africans in the Union.

The figure of 800,000 "Bantu children" receiving school appears large and formidable. But the vast majority are in the primary schools, and the 800,000 represents about 37 per cent. of the total number of African children of schoolgoing age. In what schools do Africans receive "free education"?

The idyllic picture which the Minister paints of the conditions of life in the reserves is completely misleading. It does not tell of the terrible overcrowd-

ing in the reserves, the abject poverty of the people who are driven to the urban areas through sheer economic necessity, where they are rounded up by the most cruel application of the notorious pass law system, which gives the Africans only 72 hours in which to seek employment.

The Prime Minister's explanation to the Reverend Piersma is the most scandalous Party propaganda that has been sent abroad to masquerade as fact. It is even more shocking that such a document should have come from a reverend gentleman who professes to have a "divine calling to Christianise the heathen."

NATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE FOR FREEDOM

By HILDA WATTE



A delegate from the Eastern Provinces wearing her national dress, addresses the Conference.

ALTHOUGH women's rights were featured at the National Conference of Women held in Johannesburg over the week-end, they did not appear as the overriding issue of the Conference.

The emphasis was clearly on the struggle for full rights and freedom for all, and on the role that women can and must play in winning those rights. If the women delegates who attended the Conference are typical of women from their various areas, then it is certain that the force for freedom in South Africa is more powerful than many think.

Delegates numbering more than 150 came from many different areas, including many towns in the Cape, as well as Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London, Bethal, and Kimberley. They represented approximately 200,000 people, and included a representative number of African, Indian, Coloured and European women.

The Conference was opened by Ray Alexander, who spoke of the important role that women played in the past, and

must play in the present and future of our country. Ida Matwana spoke of the position of women in South Africa, and a most interesting report on the position of Indian women in South Africa was given by Mrs. Fatima Meer, of Durban. Mr. D. Nkomo, deputising for Mr. W. Sisulu who was unable to be present, read a paper on the position of women in China today, and I spoke on the role of women in the struggle for peace.

Delegates Spoke Up

The most interesting and inspiring part of the Conference was provided by the many delegates who spoke during the discussion. The subjects covered showed the real political awareness of the delegates, who linked up the question of women's rights with their own struggles and problems, the Bills now before Parliament, and the political issues of the day.

One delegate was loudly applauded when she said that if it were not for the husbands, many more women would have attended the Conference. This dele-

gate spoke with bitterness of the Western Areas Removal Scheme, describing the terrible conditions under which families lived in the Orlando shantytowns, while the Government threatened the forcible removal of people from their homes in Sophiatown.

Women from Durban, Cape Town and other areas spoke of the conditions under which children were brought up today, the lack of proper family life, the lack of amenities and education and other opportunities, the need for schools, creches, maternity homes, the high rents and poor houses. But over and over again delegates emphasised the fight against unjust laws the Bantu Education Act, the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act, the Population Registration Act and the Pass Laws.

Resolutions were passed on these Acts, as well as on the issue of peace, Kenya, and support for the Freedom Congress.

A Charter of Women's Rights was adopted, and this Charter summarises the demands of women in South Africa

today, for themselves, their children and their families. The Charter forms the basis for the organisation that was formed, and for the work of the Committee that was elected at the end of the Conference.

The purpose of the Conference was achieved — to advance the role of women in our fight for freedom. Without the active part of women, — one half of the population — that fight cannot succeed. To organise the women, we must also fight against those traditions, customs or habits that relegate women to an inferior place in our society and prevent them from playing their part to the fullest extent. In fighting against this inferior position of women, we are also fighting for freedom for all.

all the delegates' accommodation and transport problems while they were in Johannesburg.

In the early hours of the morning of the conference the men folk were up and about, taking arrivals to their places of accommodation. At 6 a.m. on the Saturday we were at Park Station to meet the Port Elizabeth and Cape Town delegates.

A visit to the kitchen showed a hub of activity. You would find John Motabbi, General Secretary of the Transvaal African National Congress, and Youth League Harrison Molana slicing ham (and too often slipping a morsel into their mouths!). Young Faried Adams was preparing biscuits and mashing some at the same time. Leona would be washing lettuce while Norras would be preparing fruit. The Mosala brothers would be washing cups while Stanley Lollan of SACPO was busy with the tea urns. Shy Solly and Abdulhay of the Indian Youth Congress would be tidying up. The women were on no account to see an untidy kitchen.

Occasionally Rica and Beata of the Congress of Democrats would stroll around and pass favourable comments.

In the evening the men organised a social for the women.

After the conference I arrived home near midnight, lagged out, but hoping that I, for one, would not be "swept aside".

.... AND THE MEN TAKE THEIR PLACE IN THE KITCHEN

By PAUL JOSEPH.

I WILL not easily forget Saturday, 13 April 1954. It was one of the most exciting and inspiring days of the national liberation movement.

It was inspiring for it was then that the women of different nationalities came forward to launch the first women's national organisation to fight for their rights and the protection of their children. It was inspiring because the founders of the organisation each have a proud record in our struggle for liberation.

As I looked round the crowded hall, I saw Mrs. Njongwe and her comrades in their traditional dress, her entire delegation consisting of defectors; veteran trade unionist Hetty du Preez; Mrs. Fatima Soodat, a stevedoer who

served two terms of imprisonment during the defiance campaign; Mrs. Delbi Singh, defier wife of the Natal Indian Congress secretary; Mrs. Dora Tsumane, the inspiring secretary of the Retreat (Cape) branch of the African National Congress; and scores of others with similar records.

On the platform was the veteran anti-pass fighter from Durban, Miss Mkie; hard-working and rousing freedom song leader Miss Ida Matwana; powerful orator and energetic worker Miss Hilda Watts; and Miss Ray Alexander, one of the most inspiring women of our time, a woman who has raised dozens of trade union leaders, and brought happiness to thousands of workers. Ray was indeed the brains and driving force behind the conference.

The delegates were trade unionists, housewives, social workers, nurses, factory hands and farm workers, women with a diversity of religious and social outlooks, yet all determined to remove their social, economic and political disabilities and to make life free and happy.

Above the platform was a banner: "Greetings to the Women of all Lands"; and on the walls round the Conference hall: "No more war! Let our Children Live! Ban the H and A Bombs!" and so forth.

The level of debate and discussion was impressive. The only practised public speakers were Ray Alexander and Hilda Watts. The rest of the women made impromptu speeches — but rous-

ing and impressive ones, at that. One when she said that if it were not for the speaker said: "If the men stand in our way we shall sweep them aside for our rights." Another: "I live in bondage, everything I do, drink tea or work, I mix with tears. No longer can I stand this oppression!"

They finally adopted a women's charter of rights, elected a committee and established their new national organisation.

Here were women in revolt!

The day held yet another excitement!

The men were in the kitchen preparing teas and lunch. They also tackled



A delegate makes her contribution from the food.

LONDON LETTER FROM SIMON ZUKAS

Double-Cross - - In Kenya and Saigon

THE recent assault on African resisters, who had been (as is officially admitted) assembling near Nyeri in response to General Erskine's negotiations through General China and other captured African leaders, has been presented by the British National daily press — with the notable exception of the Communist Daily Worker — as an accident. The Manchester Guardian saw it as a "tragic mischance"; when 700 arrests were later announced as "the result of information obtained by police and Army intelligence officers during the contact with Mau Mau leaders", the same press did not even hint that it all smelt of an unsavoury trap.

Yet these very moulders of British public opinion had only the week before been presenting as uncivilized and ruthless the illegal disregard by the Viet Minh People's Army of French appeals to allow the landing of planes at besieged Dien Bien Phu for the evacuation of French (actually, mainly German) wounded.

□ □ □

I was therefore quite relieved to see the "Fire Eaters" a play by Charles Fenn, and produced by the Progressive Theatre Workshop in the East End of London. This well produced play about the war in Indo-China was written in 1948 — one had almost forgotten that the French started this war as long ago as 1947, soon after recognising the autonomy of the state of Viet Nam (under Ho Chi Minh's leadership) in March 1946.

This play shows why this was not just another war to be fought under the rules of war. It was a war between parties, defenders of newly won National Liberation, and mercenaries fighting on behalf of the imperialist power which had never treated the subject Viet Name as human beings let alone recognised rules of war, an imperialist power which had no regard for human rights of colonial peoples.

Tom Driberg, M.P., in his column in Reynolds News recounted recently how this war began — "with French double-cross" in Saigon. Driberg was there and reported at the time that the French raided the town hall in which

some of the Nationalist leaders were camped — "and did so . . . with maximum ineptitude and considerable cruelty."

The, of course, politically unbiassed play critic of the Sunday Observer did not like the play. Because of faults in its production? Oh no, because it was put on at a time when the ground under the French forces was slipping fast and because the French Settler in the play did not conform to his concept of the Settler. The General Secretary of the N. Rhodesian African Mineworkers who was with me at the play thought otherwise.

I hope it will not be long before "The Fire Eaters" is published and reaches South Africa. By the way, "Strangers in the Land", the progressive play about Britain's colonial war in Malaya which was put on in London last year, has now been published.

□ □ □

Sir William Lawther, retiring president of the British National Union of Mineworkers has just returned from N. Rhodesia's Copperbelt where he carried off a rather smart stunt. He went there on behalf of the International Miners' Federation, a subsidiary of the American-controlled I.C.F.T.U. The I.M.F. was about to lose the membership of the African copperminers because it had not uttered a word in support of the Union's struggles against the industrial colour bar and because it had never criticised the European Mineworkers' Union (also a member of I.M.F.) for frequent scabbing during African strikes.

Lawther got the two unions to resolve jointly to support African advancement in the mining industry on the basis of *qual pay for equal work* — not a word about equal opportunity to acquire skill. The status quo is thus to be preserved but Lawther can go back to the miners affiliated to the I.M.F. with the story that he achieved support for the Africans' claims. How far this is from the true position will have to be made clear, at least to the British Miners, by many of us, but the fact that the I.M.F. leadership was forced to intervene in this matter shows that there is support for

African Miners even amongst the miners of the imperialist countries.

□ □ □

The T.U.C. report on S. Africa, while it has received great publicity here, has so far received little comment. With the report, the T.U.C. sent out a circular advising unions not to contribute to the Fund for African Democracy as support for African trade unions may hamper the "Unity" move! Now, if there is any sympathy at all in British trade unions for S. Africa, it is for the African workers and there is a great deal of such sympathy.

The T.U.C. obviously decided to send Messrs. Bell and Crawford to S. Africa in order to head off pressure for direct support to African trade unions. The Official Report of the delegation did not help them very much but it did help them a little: it enabled them to shout "Unity at all costs".

This business of "Unity" by sacrificing the African was also evident in the lukewarmness of the T.U.C.'s opposition to Central African Federation. It is in good tradition. Leonard Barnes, in the days before he made his peace with the Colonial Office, once quoted in an article in "Freedom", a letter from Alfred Milner to the Colonial Secretary in which Milner says that it would be easy to bring about Union in S. Africa: "all you have to do is to sacrifice the niggers." "He had," in the words of the Times (on the centenary of his birth) "the power of divining the item on which everything hung."

□ □ □

"The Government of Dr. Nkrumah", reported the Under Secretary for the Colonies, "had made good progress in the difficult task of governing . . . and was justifying by its conduct the further constitutional advances which were in prospect." What is in prospect? A "two-tier Commonwealth" — an arrangement by which colonies such as the Gold Coast and Nigeria when given "full" self-government, would not join the British Commonwealth on a par with other dominions but in a colour-bar category. Anyway, Dr. Nkrumah's Government is pleasing the Tories by the witchhunt which it has instituted against the more militant members of the Convention Peoples' Party.

□ □ □

Hugh Latimer, who has often reported for the Sunday Observer on Central and South Africa, recently went to Nairobi — to discover that during the week-ends "You may see the tribesmen come-to-town, with a couple of wives in tow, strolling down Delamere Avenue, as if he owned the place."

THE STORY THE HISTORY BOOKS DON'T TELL

JAN VAN RIEBEECK

AMONG the ancient Babylonians there was a tribe who used to offer beds of a certain standard size to strangers who chanced to spend the night with them. Should the unfortunate visitor prove too tall or too short for his bed, he would be stretched or truncated by his hosts, as the case may be, until he became the right length.

Today, these Babylonians appear to have been somewhat misguided in the performance of their hospitality. But let our sophisticated historians who point a derisive finger at those untutored barbarians, think twice before asserting the superiority of our own behaviour. For the same process of distorting, mangling, stretching and shortening life in order to fit it into a rigid mould, which has been cast subjectively without regard to the objective position, is widely practised today — although on a higher level.

We refer to the technique employed in the recording of historical facts by ruling class historians, whereby the historian sub-edits, alters and re-constructs the events and figures of the past in order to make them conform to and justify, the theory in terms of which his class justifies its dominance.

Mangling History

The reasoning of the ruling class historian is simple: if it can be shown that significant elements in the current social structure are of an historically fixed and permanent character (e.g. the master-servant character of white-black relationships) or that the ruling class myths (white is civilised and racially superior, co-operation on an equal footing with non-white is impossible) are substantiated by the objective data of the past, their history becomes a confirmation of the ruling class policy and a justification of the status quo.

This tendency — particularly observable in colonial countries — to reread the ruling class's current political theories into the events of the past, is illustrated by the case of Van Riebeeck whose landing at the Cape in 1652 has been consecrated into a "national" celebration by the ruling class.

Van Riebeeck was an employee of a 17th Century imperialist commercial company and was sent to the Cape with instructions to establish a naval roadhouse to supply company ships plying between Holland and the East. To do

this he was forced to appropriate land which was not his own, and a conflict arising out of the clash of vested interests between the Hottentots and the strangers, was largely inevitable. Thus history has cast Van Riebeeck in the role of a conqueror and invader.

Van Riebeeck's Prejudice

Like the Roman conquerors of England, Van Riebeeck regarded the local people with a feeling of contempt because their mode of life was different, and, so he reasoned, therefore inferior to his own. He would have held the same attitude towards the indigenous people had he, for example, invaded Italy or Greece. It was their strange customs and practices (particularly the fact

By
CHARLES BLOOMBERG

that they were not Christians) that formed the content of Van Riebeeck's prejudices towards the Cape's inhabitants—not the fact of their darker pigmentation.

Like the Romans, too, this "dislike of the unlike" was not associated with the idea that the "unlike" group were of a lower human type simply because they were different. The concepts of race superiority and race purity were totally foreign to Van Riebeeck, and are, in fact, products of a much later age.

This little difficulty does not deter Nationalist speakers on Van Riebeeck day and colonial historians from spreading the impression that Van Riebeeck's tiny settlement was the prototype of our present day race and caste-bound society based on the myths of white supremacy, trusteeship and apartheid and dedicated to the preservation and propagation of Western Christian civilisation.

Van Riebeeck would be most surprised were he to hear some of the interpretations placed upon his motives and mission, for the thesis that he was a racialist is hardly supported by the facts.

The historical record reveals beyond doubt that he did not believe in white supremacy, race supremacy, or that he practised social segregation, erected a white caste system, or was out to enslave nationally the Non-Europeans.

There was no Immorality Act. Inter-marriage was officially encouraged.

When Eva (a Hottentot woman, adopted as a youngster by Van Riebeeck) married van Meerhoff, the company prepared a great bridal feast in Van Riebeeck's home and donated £10 (a large sum in these days) to her and promoted her husband to the rank of surgeon. The children of this and other mixed unions were regarded as Europeans.

No Social Barrier

No evidence of a social barrier exists. Van Riebeeck's diary records gay and wonderful parties held in the Castle for the Hottentots and he recalls how once he visited a Hottentot encampment and embraced some of them. Herry, leader of the Strandloopers, often dined with Van Riebeeck at his own table. There appears to have been non-segregation in the schools.

Van Riebeeck held a low opinion of his European colonists whom he describes variously as pigs, thieves, rogues and drunkards, and repeatedly asked for Chinese instead of European farmers, expressing high regard for the former. "The Chinese seem to have been favourites of Mr. Van Riebeeck for he often writes of them as the most suitable people . . ." says Theal. So much for the standardbearer of Western civilisation and white supremacy!

Religion, and not skin-colouring was the philosophical dividing line between white and black. Once a Non-European was prepared to go through the rites of conversion, he was, regardless of his different race, accorded equal legal rights with the Europeans.

Unity Movement historians, re-reading the past in the light of black Chauvinism, depict Van Riebeeck as the initiator of national enslavement of the black people, because he introduced slavery at the Cape — a perfectly normal practice at the time, sanctioned by the church. But the slaves who were introduced were foreign. Not a single Hottentot who lived in the colony was brought into subjection nor was any attempt made to integrate the whole Hottentot group as a labour force for the Europeans. The Hottentots were, in terms of the prevailing legal conceptions, considered to be free men.

The lesson to be drawn from the confusion and distortions surrounding the figure and time of Van Riebeeck is that there is an urgent need for a true people's history of South Africa.

THE MYTH OF INTELLIGENCE TESTS

MANY of our primary schools have a number of parallel classes for the different years, which are referred to as Standard Ia, Ib, IIa, IIb, and so on, with often a "C" class as well. Usually the grades too are grouped in this way. Many of our High Schools have similar divisions which are accepted as being in the normal order of things.

Once a school is "streamed" a certain rigidity sets in. In the "b" stream at primary school are those who are not as good at reading, writing or arithmetic as are those in the "a" stream. Naturally by the end of the year the "a" class will be further ahead than the "b" class. In fact it often happens that the "b" class may not have completed the syllabus, or if they have, that they have not done so as thoroughly nor have they learned to master all the techniques. Since they started further back the teacher of the "b" class could not carry them as far as could the teacher of the "a" class.

More Handicaps

Finally this system of organisation cannot be hidden from the children themselves, who realise how the adults grade them and become dispirited, losing confidence in themselves.

The so called "slow" children who are grouped according to one standard of achievement do not have much incentive to work hard. It does not help the slower learner to be placed with others of a like standard. Children, like adults, need the stimulation of other children's ideas which they cannot find in a group where average performance is nearly like their own. Children in mixed groups provide incentives for each other that far outweigh artificial academic grading.

It is inevitable that this method of organisation widens the gulf between the different streams as the children move through the different classes. It becomes more and more difficult for a child to escape into the advanced stream from the "slower" stream. As for the child in the advanced stream, his education becomes narrower and narrower as the important exams in his school career approach. His success is measured by academic tests, memory or verbal

ability. Such narrow scales do not apply in social life or in jobs or marriage or even in many professions.

Education for our Society

Actually the whole of the superstructure of education is based upon the divisions of a class divided society which cannot and dare not develop the abilities of *all* its citizens. Everybody realises that in the system of society in which we live it is not possible, nor is it intended, to provide every child with the opportunity to obtain a high school education, let alone a University education. But of course it is necessary to conceal the method of selection in such a way that parents will not feel that there is discrimination against their children.

The justification is found in the official argument that the majority of children have not the intelligence to benefit from secondary and higher education. This, it is claimed, is supported by science, which provides the necessary instrument in the form of Intelligence Tests.

What is an intelligence test? It is a test which is supposed to measure a child's inborn "intelligence" or "mental ability". There are two main types — individual and group tests. Of the individual tests the best known are the Binet-Simon test as well as various performance or manual tests, the application of which takes about 40 minutes per child, with the result that these tests are not used for selection purposes. The Group tests were specially designed to save time, and to be used with large groups by a person who need not be a psychologist.

What is Intelligence?

Most people use the word "intelligence" when they discuss behaviour that is revealed in the course of action. They know that a person may be very intelligent in one particular field and unintelligent in another. But psychologists have not yet agreed on a definition of "intelligence". Most of them argue that it is a quality of mind inherited at birth, but in practice "intelligence" can be defined only in terms of the actual test questions. In other words, many psychologists admit, "intelligence" is that which is measured by intelligence tests.

The decisive element is therefore the psychologist who sets the test questions because he chooses those which he *thinks* test what he *thinks* is intelligence.

Success in these tests depends, to a large extent, on how effectively a child has been taught by his parents and teachers — in other words upon the general opportunities he has had for learning.

Any test consists of questions graded in difficulty with a time limit for each group of questions. Numerous attempts have been made to check or validate tests but it is admitted that this is "very difficult because we possess no objective criterion of intelligence with which to compare them". (Vernon).

The next step in the preparation of a test is that of standardisation. An Intelligence Test only indicates the standing of a child in relation to the other children who have taken the same test. At the most it can only compare those children. It cannot diagnose *individual* intelligence. It is therefore absolutely incorrect to assume that an I.Q. rating gives a measurement of a child's individual powers.

Some psychologists maintain that a child's I.Q. represents something quite definite because it has calculated against a "norm" or standard. But other tests give different figures so that the I.Q. varies with the test. Furthermore in fixing a "standard" an intelligence test is used on a group of children whose own standards of achievement vary widely in accordance with educational opportunity.

As Vernon says "The origin and adequacy of many of the published test norms are so dubious that we would advise testers to use them all with caution."

Recent investigations on the validity of Intelligence Testing has made it clear that the entire system will soon have to be abandoned.

Test Shortcomings

One such investigation has established that I.Q.'s are not constant and that, if re-examined year after year, children's scores vary greatly with each test. Another has shown that children in England have been coached for Intelligence Tests and that instruction in the "tricks of the trade" can have considerable effect on results. Children can therefore be taught to do intelligence tests as they can be taught to do arithmetic and English. Finally tests on chil-

(Continued on page 13)

Theatre: 'The Boss' — M.R.A. Touring Team

Dust In Their Eyes

THE simple plot of this unabashed propaganda play concerns the business and personal relationships of an industrialist (Ironbanks) with one of his workers (Oakrib) — a prominent trade unionist — and with a full-time revolutionary worker (Coolcreek). Cancellations of war-orders causes the Boss to warn the trade unionists that a thousand hands will be sacked. The workers' spokesman promises a strike.

Peter, Ironbank's son, returns from the war imbued with a zealous spirit of ill-fated reform, attitudes and ideas he has gathered from Oakrib's son, with whom he has been fighting in the war. Peter sides with the workers to his father's great distress and anger. Mrs. Ironbank points out that Peter has accepted his militant reformist ideology because his parents and his class have been too involved with money-making and material interests to give him any other idealism.

Mr. I. is so upset that he stays awake all night and gets 'ideas' for the first time in ages. Next morning before his wife and son, before Oakrib, Coolcreek and Urch, another worker, before his

(Continued from previous page)

dren who did badly at the age of 10 have shown a reversal of I.Q. figures, when re-examined at high school at the age of 14.

But once children can be taught to "use their brains", that is, to act more intelligently, the whole case for inherited intelligence is exploded. The cornerstone of the intelligence test is that it measures the same, inherited, unchangeable quality of mind.

There are numerous reasons why a child may do badly in an "Intelligence Test." There is his emotional reaction. He may be sick, tired or nervous. He may be unfamiliar with the subjects of the questions because his earlier schooling or his social background may not have prepared him for them. Clearly children cannot be compared to machines giving a constant output. The way they act at a particular moment may depend on all kinds of complex and subtle influences.

It is in fact impossible to sort out children at an early age according to predictions made about their future intellectual development.

secretary and his butler, he admits his previous autocracy and selfishness in his family and business life. Reacting to his newfound desire for truth and justice, he informs the gathering that he will not sack the men; he has summoned his directors to a board-meeting and, he has written for an appointment with three Cabinet Ministers.

Coolcreek, the revolutionary, impressed by the Boss's frankness and sympathy, begins to doubt his own political creed and his personal honesty, leaving the audience with the hope that even he will be won over to the new technique for achieving unity between master and men.

Conviction

The production and performance of this simple play was no more than adequate, the majority of the players having succumbed by now to the temptations inherent in a long run. They have lost the freshness and sincerity due to their failure, after so many performances, to 'think' themselves into their characters and the situations confronting them.

One performance, however, towered above the others by reason of its complete conviction. The player of Oakrib, an ex-professional actor, was wholly admirable as a north of England working man. He presented a man of intelligence, feeling, courage and forthrightness. The performance of Oakrib was so real as to almost upset the balance of the plot, so overshadowed were the other principals. Mrs. Ironbank, despite a recurring plaintive cadence in her voice, was warm, humorous and tender. Biggs was an amusing caricature of an English butler.

But now, what of the play's message, which is the very heart of Moral Re-Armament's ideology? No one denies the value of individual character improvement — more honesty, sympathy, unselfishness, tolerance in human relationships. But one hasn't to be a very advanced geneticist and economist to discern the crude deceptions, the profitless wishful-thinking, the topsy-turvydom of this immature, escapist, unscientific and utterly unrealistic pseudo-philosophy.

The evils that capitalist society is heir to will not disappear by virtue of

the moral re-arming of individuals. *Au contraire.* Geneticists, psychologists and sociologists are today united in their opinion that only a changed environment will produce a whole society of changed individuals. M.R.A. puts the cart before the horse.

Wrong Solution

If the world today is a ship, pilotless, leaking, at the mercy of the elements on a dangerous sea, it is no use washing the passengers' faces — no use even giving each individual a lifebelt . . . you've got to take steps to save the ship with all souls . . . by manning the pumps, re-starting the engines, caulking the seams and putting the ship into the hands of a knowledgeable crew, who are assisted by the willing passengers.

Look again at Ironbank's 'solution' to the problem . . . it is quite unworkable. He has decided not to sack the workers. *Bien.* He has summoned a directors' meeting. Suppose the board in its businesslike way decided not to endorse Mr. I's philanthropic decisions? Then the men get the sack. Suppose the board and the shareholders agree. The men will be paid — without work to do — until profits dry up and accumulated reserves are exhausted. Then the men get the sack.

But don't forget the Cabinet ministers! Tories? They stand for the vigour of private enterprise — to blaze with a planned economy. In any case, if the pool of unemployed grows larger, the bosses will be able to cut wages! And even if they are Labourite ministers, they cannot, with their half-planned, half-chaotic economy, guarantee new government contracts for every hard-pressed industrialist. Mr. I. and the workers will find, I am sure, that the capitalist economy has its own inexorable laws, which cannot be put in reverse by a change in Mr. I's heart.

No, M.R.A., to my way of thinking, is offering no solution to the problems of today. What it is doing is serving a reactionary purpose by its obscurantism. It is throwing clouds of dust into the workers' eyes — none of it, I guarantee, gets into the bosses' eyes.

Footnote: For a crusading group whose aim it is to 'save' Africa with its 130,000,000 Africans and its 10 or 12,000,000 whites, it seemed to me lopsided not to have even one member of the black races either on the stage or in the audience. But then, the chairman carefully explained that M.R.A. with its moral absolutes of honesty, purity, unselfishness and love "doesn't mean mixing of the races" . . . the very thought!!

CECIL WILLIAMS

Tuberculosis *Can* Be Eliminated

ON March 11th, 1954, the Minister of Health informed the Senate that one of the greatest health problems in South Africa today was the alarming increase in the incidence of tuberculosis. It was estimated that approximately one per cent. of the Non-European people suffered from the disease. There were 70,000 cases, of whom 15,000 died every year.

The attention of the people of South Africa has been drawn to the danger of tuberculosis in recent years particularly as result of the propaganda put out by S.A.N.T.A. during its fund-raising appeal. It is the purpose of this article to discuss the possibilities of controlling tuberculosis, and what measures have to be adopted to eliminate this serious threat to our health.

Although a few surveys have been made into the incidence of tuberculosis in South Africa, we have no real idea of the number of cases and the extent of the problem. The figure of 15,000 deaths a year is probably reasonably accurate, but the number of persons suffering from and spreading the disease is unknown. Still less is known of the number of persons having tuberculosis in an at present latent or inactive form, and who are liable at any time in the future to become active cases. What is known, however, is that the incidence among Non-Europeans is at least five times higher than among Europeans, and that this incidence is among the

highest in the world.

Evasion

Attempts are made to explain this discrepancy on racial grounds. It is said that the African people, having been only recently in history introduced to infection by tuberculosis, are more susceptible and have not yet built up a racial immunity. One suspects that this argument is advanced to distract attention from the gross overcrowding of the Non-Europeans in urban areas, overcrowding being considered by most authorities the world over to be the chief factor responsible for rapid spread of the disease.

Tuberculosis knows no colour bars. Many Europeans realise this, as demonstrated by the sums of money subscribed to S.A.N.T.A. However, it is an indictment of the outlook of "White Supremacy" that much of this concern on the part of Europeans is due to the fear of becoming infected themselves, rather than concern for the plight of the Non-Europeans who stand far greater risks of contracting the disease.

New Treatments

A fact that is receiving far too little attention is that, for the first time in history, the past few years have seen the introduction of new forms of treatment which have completely revolutionised the outlook for tuberculosis cases, the majority of whom used to die within a relatively short time. The two most important advances are firstly, the introduction of several new drugs which when given in combination can arrest or even cure the majority of cases, and secondly, new surgical operations such as the removal of the affected portion of a lung. If used correctly, these two forms of treatment can now save the overwhelming majority of tuberculous,

and, more important to the community, render them non-infective.

The new drugs have had another important effect in that, in many cases, patients can be treated in their homes while awaiting hospital admission. In fact, many need no hospital treatment at all. The importance of this will be realised when it is pointed out that there is such a shortage of hospital beds for tuberculosis, especially for Non-Europeans, that in many regions over 30 per cent. of untreated persons die before their turn on the hospital waiting list comes round.

So, methods for successfully treating tuberculosis are now available. Unfortunately, this does not mean that the end of the disease is in sight in South Africa. Without any really potent methods of treatment in the past, countries in many parts of the world, for example Scandinavia, were able to report a decline in the incidence of tuberculosis to unbelievably low levels, and there is no doubt that this was achieved by greatly improving the living conditions of the people. This resulted in greater resistance to the disease and the reduction of spread through good housing and other public health measures.

Applied to South Africa, this means that however successful we are in treating persons already known to be suffering from tuberculosis, we cannot expect to eliminate it unless at the same time there is a drastic improvement in the living conditions of the people, especially Non-Europeans.

It is therefore the duty of every progressive South African to force the Government firstly, to conduct extensive mass X-ray surveys of the whole population to discover all cases of tuberculosis; secondly, to apply modern methods of treatment in hospital and outside on a vastly increased scale; and finally to remove the root causes of the spread of this disease by a rapid improvement in the living conditions of the Non-European people.

"AESCULAPIUS."

BANTU HOUSE RESTAURANT

4a Pritchard Street
(Next door to the Star Office)

For HOT MEALS,
REFRESHMENTS,
PLEASANT COMPANY.

READ

INCOLOR

South Africa's only Magazine edited,
printed and published by Non-
Europeans.

Price 1/-.

Obtainable at all C.N.A. Branches.

The lifeblood of a publication such as "Fighting Talk" depends on its regular subscribers. At the moment we regret to announce that we are suffering from pernicious anaemia (known in non-medical circles as a shortage of subscribers). The only known cure for this condition is an immediate transfusion of new subscribers.

WE rely on YOU to get these new subscribers.

Fill in the attached subscription form and send it to Box 1355, Johannesburg

I wish to subscribe to "Fighting Talk".

Name _____

Address _____

I enclose Five Shillings (5/-).

RED HERRINGS

(Continued from page 5)

anti-war demonstration, which was banned. French military opinion was being openly expressed in harsh criticism of the U.S. strategy, which insisted on heavier and yet heavier French contributions to the war her people did not want.

There was danger of peace in Indo-China. VietNam leader Ho Chi Minh had proposed an armistice in December, 1953. The French Government had rejected it, on the insistence of the United States, whose share in the war had grown from 50 per cent. (cash only) in 1952 to 60 per cent. in 1953 and 78 per cent. in 1954.

Peace Barrage

But there was now another powerful voice demanding an armistice. Pandit Nehru of India proposed an immediate cease fire — reminiscent of the call that brought Korean fighting to an end.

Never has an event of world importance been so thoroughly suppressed by the "free" press of the western world.

But truth, they say, will out. The call for a cease fire may not be loudly heard in Cape Town or Washington. But it will be heard in France, and it will be heard in Geneva. Vice-President Nixon's demand that America take over the war, was quickly erased from the front pages. But not quickly enough. As Dien Bien Phu's defenders fought with their backs to the wall in a hopeless struggle, the news that American planes were ferrying French troops into the doomed fortress was blazoned through the world.

The results, for the global planners of the White House, were not as expected. India refused to allow any American planes carrying troops to Indo-China to land on her airfields. Burma followed suit. Again the news was relegated quietly to the back page. But in the Dulles circle, there was near panic. On the eve of Geneva, the grand war alliance

against the colonial liberation movements of Asia was beginning to crack. It was time for a diversion.

Last Act

Enter Petrov and Kholkov. On the eve of the Far Eastern Conference, the same old stories of spy-rings, and Soviet imperialism were being trotted out in a desperate attempt to save what can no longer be saved, and to re-create in the public mind what can no longer be re-created — the bogey of Soviet attack on the West, as excuse for the refusal to talk peace at the round table.

But this is 1954. It is no longer so easy. Even from Britain there was cool reception for the Kholkov herring; "reasonably satisfied" was the best an unnamed Government spokesman was prepared to say about the Kholkov, "evidence". There is suspicion, strong suspicion, that Mrs. Petrov has been held against her will, to bolster up the thin red herring which has been dragged across the sights.

But it is still not enough. There is danger that peace will break through at Geneva. And if that danger grows, there will be other, yet more cynical, yet more desperate red herrings before peace break through.

TRIBUTE

Julia Wolfson

DEATH has claimed a loyal fighter for freedom. Julia Wolfson is no more with us, mourned by all who knew her and by all who are engaged in the great struggle for a better world.

Although Julia Wolfson had been ailing for many years, she was always a fount of good cheer and energy. She was sustained by her tireless and efficient work for the Trade Union Movement, by her devoted service to the people. It was the Government's act of removing her from her beloved work which ultimately hastened the fatal illness.

Julia was not only a loyal servant in the working class movement. She was also a leader whose judgement, trusted by her fellow workers with fullest confidence, was based on years of experience in organising activities. She firmly believed in the effectiveness of mass activity and for this reason applied the principles of democratic participation of the workers in all decisions. She always adhered to the principle of constant consultation and discussion with the members of the Union on every issue with which she was faced. Yet she never came to the members without a lead, without con-

structive proposals of her own. That these proposals were nearly always accepted — with beneficial effects for the workers — is a token of the confidence she enjoyed.

She possessed a fighting heart which even to the end enabled her to overcome her physical weaknesses and to take a keen interest in the movement for freedom. Friends who visited her during the last weeks of her illness found her constantly asking questions about the latest news in the Trade Unions, about the growing resistance to the Western Areas Removal Scheme — all this whilst she was obviously in severe pain.

Julia's great incorruptible character, her selfless devotion to the cause of the workers — these are the product of the movement for the emancipation of mankind from the shackles of oppression, ignorance and exploitation of man by man. This movement will produce thousands more like Julia, thousands more who will follow her brilliant example. Women, in particular, who have known Julia can pay no better tribute to her great memory, than to increase their efforts tenfold in the service of the people. E. WEINBERG.

For All Your
JEWELLERY
and Fancy Goods Requirements
Consult

**WHOLESALE JEWELLERS
ASSOCIATION
(PTY.) LTD.**

Maitland Street,
BLOEMFONTEIN



Phone 5-3493.

Locomotive Hotel

SALT RIVER

FAVOURITE
RENDEZVOUS

TRUMP CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS

(PTY.) LTD.

1 CENTRAL ROAD — FORDSBURG.
Phone 34-4529.

Makers of:
TREETS TROUSERS
— and —
ACROBAT SUITS.

Standard Furnishing CO. LTD.

New Address: 30d, 30e Voortrek-
ker St., opp. United Building Soc.,
BENONI.

See our
CONTEMPORARY (SWEDISH)
DISPLAY!
!! IT'S DIFFERENT !!

Juno Furnishing Co.

64 KNOX STREET.

Phone 51-1106 - - GERMISTON.

FOR A SQUARE DEAL
CONTACT US

Bedroom Suites by

ANGLO UNION FURNITURE MFRS. LTD.

Stocked by
LEADING FURNITURE
STORES

Day Phone 25-3963.
Night Phone 25-3796.

Malvern Pharmacy

CHEMIST AND OPTICIANS

Jules Street, Malvern,
JOHANNESBURG.

Tel. 22-9977.

Frederick Furnishers (PTY.), LTD.

COMPLETE HOUSE FURNISHERS
Metro Centre, Bree Street,
JOHANNESBURG

BARRIS BROS.

WHOLESALE MERCHANTS AND
DIRECT IMPORTERS

120 Victoria Street — GERMISTON.
P.O. Box 146. Phones 51-1281; 51-3589.

Support your
EX-SERVICE MEMBERS

LET

PROMPT,

PRINTING CO. (PTY.), LIMITED
Print it For You.

BETTER — PROMPTLY AND AT
NO EXTRA COST.

7 Harris Street, Westgate,
JOHANNESBURG.
P.O. Box 2225. Phone 33-7671

STEWART'S REXALL PHARMACY

S. Joffe, M.P.S.

CHEMIST & DRUGGIST
PHOTOGRAPHIC SUPPLIES

280a, Louis Botha Avenue,
ORANGE GROVE
Phone 45-6243/4.

Perfect Writing Instruments

Burnham
PENS
AND PENCILS

Your friend
for life!



Unless otherwise stated, Ruth First, of P.O. Box 1355, is responsible for all political matter in this issue.

Published by "Fighting Talk" Committee,
Care of P.O. Box 1355, Johannesburg.