



ightly to be great

Is not to stir without great argument,

But greatly to find quarrel in a straw

When honour's at the stake.

Hamlet.

ADVENTURISM AND OPPORTUNISM

FREEDOM CHARTER SACRIFICED FOR ANTI-NAT. FRONT

THE FOREWORD TO MR. MOSES KOTANE'S BOOKLET, "THE GREAT CRISIS AHEAD", HAILS IT AS A "PENETRATING ANALYSIS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCENE TODAY". IN IT HE ATTEMPTS TO PREPARE A BASIS FOR UNITY OF ALL "ANTI-NATIONALIST FORCES". HE FEELS THAT WHAT IS WANTED IS "COURAGEOUS, UNITED AND DECISIVE LEADERSHIP", BUT NOT ON THE BASIS OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER WHICH WOULD PROBABLY BE CONSIDERED TOO "ABSTRACT" AND "FAR-REACHING".

The Freedom Charter was drawn up after more than a year of intensive, nation-wide campaigning and finally proclaimed by the five Congresses to be the absolute minimum programme of the democratic movement. It was to be the principled grounds distinguishing the people's struggle from the so-called "opposition" of the racialist United Party and Labour Party and the never-never democracy of the Liberals.

The Congresses also gave the assurance that there would be no compromise in the struggle to make the Charter a reality.

APPLAUDS "WHITE" LABOUR PARTY

Moses Kotane however, now considers that the Congresses "standing at the head of the democratic movement cannot but applaud and welcome" the activities of the racialist Labour Party "whose three M.Ps. have in Parliament brilliantly undertaken the burden of opposition which the United Party leaders have so miserably failed to carry."

He also applauds the Liberal Party, the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Black Sash, the students and staffs of universities who "offered resistance to academic segregation" and the Institute of Race Relations.

He points out, however, that "their rejection of apartheid does not necessarily mean that all these people have already accepted the democratic and egalitarian alternative (to apartheid) contained in the Freedom Charter". Convinced that the Charter, to the "Non-Whites" answers "the demands of the hour and expresses the needs of the situation", he nevertheless feels that it would be considered too "abstract" and too "far-reaching" to serve as a basis for "a great united movement of all sections of our

population that could sweep the Nationalists from office and open a way for a great democratic advance in South Africa".

GRADUAL REFORM INSTEAD

Mr. Kotane welcomes the call by the Bloemfontein conference of "representative Africans" for "an inter-racial gathering of all South Africans". He says that the response of the Liberal and Labour Parties, the multi-racial sections of the Congress movement and the Trade Union Congress was "immediate and heartening". Even "a far wider response can be expected from non-political, church, academic, commercial and other bodies".

"It would be politically incorrect to expect such a conference to adopt so far-reaching a programme of reforms as the Freedom Charter," writes Mr. Kotane. He feels that "the great crisis ahead" can be "resolved in favour of the people", through a programme calling for "improvement in political, economic and citizen status of the Non-European peoples and the establishment of political, religious, civic and personal liberties for all".

VOL.2 - NO.8
5. 9.1957

"NO FORMULA FOR FREEDOM" continued. the claims of other individuals." kind, in order to respect and maintain He concluded, therefore, "that one cannot lay down a general formula governing freedom of speech, and make it universally applicable.

VOL.2-NO.10 21.10.1957

THE DAY OF PROTEST

Organised protest is a political weapon of great importance. It raises the morale of the people, educates them as to the importance of organisation and provides the maximum opportunity for raising their political consciousness. Without protest the democratic movement dies.

But not by one jot or tittle does this save the recent "Day of Protest" from being condemned as political opportunism and adventurism: political opportunism because the political patrons of the democratic movement who were behind it intended that it should serve only the interests of the Anti-Nationalist Party section of the ruling class with whom they are in political combination; political adventurism because they knew that the necessary political and organisational work to enable the people to participate in a nation-wide day of protest, had not been undertaken.

For these political patrons, who manipulate the people's organs of struggle through their "African", "Coloured", and "Indian" lackeys, a political victory is not the victory of the struggling people but a victory of their ruling class allies against the Nationalist Government. These multi-racialists are today only interested in the struggle of the people to the extent that it can be manipulated to serve this end.

These Judas Goats with their days of "Mourning", "Prayer", "protest" and "Defiance Campaigns" which are called off as soon as they begin to embarrass the ruling class "allies", are abusing the aspirations of the people and dissipating their will to struggle.

It is the duty of all consistent democrats to see to it that this type of political trickery is exposed and that their perpetrators are driven out of the councils of the democratic movement.

Editorial
VOL.2-NO.7
31.7.1957

'THE TORCH' AND 'TRIBAL LANGUAGE'

'THE TORCH' AND "TRIBAL LANGUAGE"

"NOW, WHAT DO THESE (ANTI-CAD) SPEAKERS AND 'THE TORCH' MEAN WHEN THEY SPEAK OF 'TRIBAL LANGUAGES'? FROM THE CONTEXT OF WHAT THEIR SPEECHES AND COMMENT CARRIED BY 'TRIBAL LANGUAGES' THEY MEANT THE LANGUAGES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE.

"But can a language be 'tribal', no matter how undeveloped it may be? No. It is utter rubbish to speak of 'Tribal language', just as it would be nonsense to speak of a 'Feudal' language, a 'capitalistic' language or a 'socialistic' language.

"Language cannot be described in (these) terms...a people do not speak a certain language just because they are at a certain stage of development. But it is true that as...man devises new means of conquering nature, new words for new ideas and tools are coined, the vocabulary is increased and language enriched thereby. Language is just language...

"As to the question of 'those dying tribal languages'...Far from dy-

ing, these languages are growing and becoming more virile...What language will be in the future no person can say, for that will be decided by the evolution of society...who are we to say that this language and that language must go and that one must remain?

"English...is one of the universal languages...opens the child's horizon to a bigger world...(But this) is another question...We need not discard the languages of the people...

(From: "Confusion In Our Ranks",
Sept-Nov. 1956
Edition of THE SOYAN).

VOL.2 — NO.8
5.9.1957

BLACK THURSDAY IN PRETORIA

THURSDAY 21ST MARCH WAS THE BLACKEST DAY IN THE PENAL HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Many who read the news — 25 men had gone to the gallows on that day — were filled with unspeakable horror at the thought of what went on in that abattoir, the Pretoria Central Prison.

Amongst those executed were the twenty-two peasants from Zululand who were found guilty of murdering five policemen in a dagga raid.

"COLD AND CALCULATING"

"The death penalty does not necessary prevent others from committing murder. All murders are not the result of brutal and calculated crime. It is the continuation of the death penalty that is cold and calculating," wrote a correspondent of THE CAPE ARGUS of the same date in a plea for the abolition of the death penalty.

In an editorial on November 5, 1956, which called for the reprieve of the twenty-two, THE CITIZEN stated that it was "totally and completely opposed to the death penalty and all other barbarous and vindictive forms of punishment".

VOL.2 - No.3
21. 3.1957

HOW TO HANDLE SOUTH AFRICA'S WORKERS

"I TOLD THEM THAT ANYBODY WHO DID NOT COME TO WORK ON THAT BOXING DAY, WHICH WAS A WORKING DAY AND NOT A DAY FOR IDLENESS, WOULD BE OUT OF MY EMPLOY THAT EVENING AND THAT I WOULD IMMEDIATELY BURN DOWN HIS STAT," SAID MR. SCHOONBEE, NATIONALIST M.P., IN THE BUS BOYCOTT DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT.

"MY OWN MAGISTRATE"

"I know that that is against the law but over the space of fourteen years a policeman has never been on my farm.

"I am my own magistrate."

When called to order by the Deputy Speaker and asked what he wanted to prove, Mr. Schoonbee replied:

"I want to point out how to work with these Natives without concessions and without conferences."

VOL.2 - No.3
21. 3.1957

DÖNGES AND POWERS

Recently Minister Dönges pleaded that he did not wish to give himself too many powers under the Group Areas Act. We have no doubt that he has enough legal power to complete the task of robbing the people of their social, property and residential rights. But why should he fear taking "too many powers"? Has not the country been ruled practically by National Party decree these many years with the benevolent if critical connivance of the Chamber of Mines, its Party, its Press and its spiritual henchmen?

Is it possible that the heroes of Kragdadigheid and Baasskap are beginning to realise that the kajoematjie of legislation cannot reverse the course of history? If not, perhaps life itself will soon teach them that the power of law, including the law of a bogus parliament derives its force in the last analysis from the relationship of social forces and that the relationship of forces on the South African political arena are undergoing a profound change at the moment.

Christopher MDA
Vol.2-No.5
17. 6.1957

BULLIES AND LOUDMOUTHS

When it comes to little children making rag dolls, or women protesting against the pass system, or one of them being guilty of harmless gossip on a station, Swart, Verwoerd and Co. with their armed police can be very "kragdadig" in suppressing such "seditious" activity.

But when a handful of Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops declare that their churches will defy the "church clause" in the Native Laws Amendment Act, not a peep is heard from Verwoerd and Co.

The bishops are asking people to break the law. Will the brave Verwoerds dare arrest them? Or is "kragdadigheid" only for those who are quite powerless to defend themselves?

Christopher MDA
VOL.2-NO.7
31.7.1957

ABOVE THE LAW

That South African farmers can get away with murder was again revealed by their fearless public admission that they break liquor laws with impunity!

This must make very edifying reading for the thousands of people mulcted of heavy fines, and languishing in prisons, often for mere technical breaches of South Africa's mad liquor laws.

This is certainly the principle of "baasskap" in its more flamboyant practice.

Christopher MDA
VOL.2-NO.8
5. 9.1957

THE "DAGGA CASE"

The facts that led to the last minute release of one of the condemned in the Natal "dagga case" could all too easily have been available at the trial.

We are often told that it is the principle of South African law that a man is innocent until proved guilty. We would like to know how the guilt of this man was proved in the lower court and why it was necessary for him to prove his innocence.

About those who were executed; under the circumstances it is difficult to suppress misgivings about the proven guilt of the condemned.

Christopher MDA
VOL.2-NO.8
5. 9.1957

ALTER EGO

The lady who appealed for the life of Roland Roberts had one jolly idea. Hang some "Native" or other person instead of Roberts. An idea for the next session: Every "White man" should have one or more "non-White" ghosts to take the rap for his crimes. All this lashing and hanging and imprisoning and fining of "White men" is most damaging to the principle of Baasskap. Only one little law, Mr. Swart, and the thing is fixed.

Christopher MDA
VOL.2-NO.12
20.11.1957

REBELS WITHOUT A CAUSE

BY KENNETH HENDRICKSE

THE 'CAPE TIMES' AND 'CAPE ARGUS' — WATCHDOGS OF THE INTERESTS OF THE PRIVILEGED — HAVE RECENTLY GIVEN MUCH PUBLICITY TO THE DELINQUENT BEHAVIOUR OF SEA POINT TEENAGERS. WHAT IS SIGNIFICANT ABOUT THE MANY REPORTS AND ARTICLES DEVOTED TO THIS PROBLEM IS THAT NOWHERE DO THEY EVER COME NEAR A SOLUTION.

Both these papers are guilty of a fundamentally wrong approach. They speak as if delinquency amongst the youth of Sea Point is a question separate and apart from the delinquency which is increasing amongst the youth of the whole nation.

Our delinquent problem is, in the final analysis, an expression of the inherent contradictions of South African society in which the whole of our youth are caught up.

The Colour Bar and Apartheid institutions, by preventing the flowering of the economic and therefore the cultural development of South African society, generate intolerable contradictions at all levels. Manhood and human dignity are distorted into degradation and hypocrisy. And the backwardness of the democratic movement is such that only here and there have the contradictions driven men to liberatory politics.

A BLIND REBELLION

Delinquency is in essence a blind rebellion against the established social order. But the rebellion is doomed to fail because the rebel himself is unaware of his social motivation. He has no understanding of the problems that beset him. His protest has no object. He is a rebel without a cause.

But rebellious youth takes to delinquency in an instinctive attempt to arrive at manhood and human dignity.

The high-spirited youth of South Africa's unprivileged reacts to the degrading slave status of his elders. He sees them casting aside all outward signs of manhood and dignity to earn a pauper living. He refuses to work. This is his protest against his pariah and pauper status. The logic of his situation, however, drives him into theft, robbery, shebeening, dagga running, pimping etc.

On the other hand the rebellious youth of the privileged sections of our population refuse to assume the mantle of respectability. He sees what parasitism and corruption it cloaks. He knows that it flourishes not only in business and the professions but in every state council, every organ of government, local, provincial and national. But in his rejection of the lie of re-

spectability — the hypocritical sham of decency — that which has real social value and meaning is, more often than not, also discarded. Via this route he also finds his way into the world of crime.

To see the problem of delinquency through racial spectacles is not only stupid, it is criminal. In any case the juvenile delinquent himself, finds, on entering the world of crime, that he has entered a world which recognises neither colour nor creed but only the "merit" of the criminal.

IDEALISM

THE CAPE ARGUS editorial of May the 6th, discussing the problem of teenage delinquency amongst the privileged, asks that it be remembered that "many young South Africans, far from being predestined to evil, are idealists who wish to devote themselves to the service of their country and the righting of wrongs". But what does THE CAPE ARGUS mean by idealism? That which consolidates the interests of the privileged? But this task requires bought men not idealists. Idealism, the desire to set about "the righting of wrongs" means nothing if it does not reflect itself in an attempt to go to the defence of the oppressed and unprivileged.

Idealism and consciousness are inseparable. The average South African youth, unassisted, is quite unable to break through the barriers of racialism and apartheid which have been erected in his mind. Only the most gifted, the most intelligent can — and then only with the greatest intellectual effort — transcend the "racial" mental blocks to arrive at a full consciousness of the nature of the social contradictions underlying his own personal frustration and to consciously direct his protest against the Colour Bar. For the overwhelming majority, however, unless their protest is guided onto the path of social change it can only end up in capitulation to the old social rot, bitter and cynical disillusionment or hardened criminality. Each an example of "idealism turned sour by frustration", to quote THE CAPE ARGUS.

DRAFT LAW AGAINST ADULTERY

In 1919 the Supreme Court decided that Adultery had ceased to be a crime in South Africa.

The law, said the learned lords, had been abrogated by disuse. Thereafter adulterers faced only civil action by offended spouses able to put a money value on the stolen favours of their wives. Since then there have been no criminal actions and few husbands offered themselves as laughing stocks in civil actions. But now the Dutch Reformed Church Synod wants to return to the status quo ante. It wants the re-introduction of criminal sanctions against adultery.

Perhaps if Gallows-and-Lashes Swart passes this law, he should mitigate its effects by granting in advance exemptions to all members of parliament, ministers of religion, magistrates, judges, farmers, inspectors of schools and everyone earning, say, over £1,000 per annum. A further proviso that no charge is to be preferred unless it first has the approval of the Minister, would also show a nice consideration for law and justice.

How deadly dull the lives of the philistine middle and professional classes will be without these playful diversions.

What! Only bridge, booze and racehorses?

Christopher MDA
VOL.2 - NO.11
4. 11.1957

AFTER 300 YEARS

The Mixed Marriages Act is as vile a piece of legislation as any racist could enact. It flies in the face of the moral sense of every decent citizen. It is a stupid attempt to arrest a natural process of racial assimilation which has been going on merrily since the days of van Riebeeck and has resulted in there being nearly twice as many people of mixed blood as there are unmixed "Whites" in the country.

Naturally the Act will fail to either prevent or retard racial mingling. The law makes 100% clandestine what was formerly, because of social pressures, only 99% clandestine. The only effect of these mad laws is to give a boost to the silly arrogance of thoughtless racials. The price the nation pays in misery and moral depravation for this boost will never be known but it is no doubt considerable.

Now after all these years of racial intermingling, now when there is hardly an "Afrikaner" family which does not bear on its very physiognomy the ineradicable marks of aboriginal ancestry, these very "Afrikaners" are trying to impress upon the nation a sense of the sinfulness, the criminality, the heinousness of the very process which brought themselves into being. How can normal, decent people be induced to regard normal, natural, and decent relations as crimes?

The right of intermarriage we have by virtue of our common humanity. That common humanity we cannot deny. To keep silent on this matter is to consent to the vile snoopings and inquiries against citizens perpetrated by Swart and his minions, and to the iniquitous degradation of a section of the nation to an inhuman status.

Christopher MDA
VOL.2 - NO.12
20.11.1957

REBELS WITHOUT A CAUSE / CONT.

GLOATING "NON-EUROPEANS"

For a paper which claims to be fighting for democracy, the attitude of THE TORCH in an article "Hooliganism Among White Youth", published not so long ago, is at best to be deplored. Blinded by "Non-Europeanism" (essentially 'Cape Colouredism') it comes near to gloating over the hooliganism "that also" finds expression amongst "White" youth. It speaks too of "Herrenvolk" youth. But are these youngsters then responsible for the social position they occupy? To THE TORCH "White" hooliganism is a "Herrenvolk problem" and, therefore, it is only the "Non-European" problem of "Black" hooliganism which rightly concerns them. They know their aparte place these champions of "Non-Europeanism". But to turn round and say "Goed so!" to the "baas" because his child has grown into a "skolly" is not so much racialism as cooning.

There are no "Herrenvolk" problems or "Non-European" problems. There are only problems. And it is the duty of the democratic movement to provide a solution to every problem with which South Africa is faced. THE TORCH, to the extent that it passes for a democratic paper is a hindrance to the development of the democratic movement. It is the task of the democratic movement to bring a new consciousness to the whole South African population and to the youth in particular. If the most spirited rebels — the flower of our youth — are not given ideas which will bring them into the heart of the struggle for Liberty, Freedom and Equality, the cancer of delinquency and crime will assume malignant proportions throughout our whole social organism.

VOL2 - NO.
4. 7.1957.

PUBLIC CORRUPTION AND THE MISUSE AND ABUSE OF PUBLIC FUNDS.

NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF T.A.R.C. 'WHAT HAPPENED TO FUNDS?'

"WHERE ARE THE TARC FUNDS? WHY HAS NO STATEMENT BEEN ISSUED FOR MANY YEARS? WHEN ARE WE GOING TO GET A STATEMENT? WERE QUESTIONS RAISED BY THE HEATHERLEY CIVIC ASSOCIATION IN ITS NEWSLETTER TWO YEARS AGO," SAID THE SECRETARY OF THE ASSOCIATION TO 'THE CITIZEN' WHEN HE INFORMED US THAT IT WAS THE NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE TRAIN APARTHEID RESISTANCE COMMITTEE IN SEPTEMBER.

"The same blanket of silence covers the disposal of similar funds collected from the public by such bodies, now dead, as the APO, Franchise Action Committee and the Group Areas Co-ordinating Committee."

OVER £600

In July, 1955, his Association through its newsletter referred 34 workers, who were arrested allegedly for contravening train apartheid regulations, to the TARC treasurer for financial assistance. TARC was reported to be in possession of "over £600 collected for this purpose".

TARC officials did not deny that they were in possession of this sum and, more over, promised that financial help would be forthcoming as soon as the committee had met.

"Mr. R.E. Viljoen, an official, assured our Chairman that 'there was nothing to get worried about', but we were kept on a string all the time and never informed whether the committee actually met.

"No assistance was ever given, no statement issued — in fact our Civic Association itself finally

assisted the 34 victims of train apartheid."

'CONTEMPT FOR PEOPLE'

After the court case, nine of the accused and the Heatherley executive formed a committee to investigate the question. They were met "with a stone wall of silence from TARC". On this "conspiracy of silence", the Civic newsletter had the following to say: "such an attitude on the part of the officials administering public funds can mean only one thing — complete contempt for the people!".

The newsletter stated that the attitude of disinterest on the part of the people "is generations old" and "cannot help but lead to situations like the TARC issue, where officials who hold the public's money in trust, treat the people with nothing but contempt".

The Civic secretary felt that it was hightime now that TARC officials published a full statement. Failure to do so "was a blot on the name of the politicals associated with TARC". *...*

(Cont. at bot. of page 61.)

KRAGDADIGE BULLY

Viljoen, Minister of Art and Culture and Education came up with this vicious one that legislation is on the way to stop "Coloured" children "crowding out" professors and students at museum. Viljoen, "justifies" his kragdadigheid by branding the children as "Coloured" ie. untouchable.

For our part, we would like to say that if any professors and students want a monopoly of museums, that they should have the goodness to provide them out of their own pockets. Public places are paid for out of public money. And to deprive the public access to them is plain robbery!

Christopher MDA.
VOL.2 - NO.8
5. 9.1957.

A ROTTEN TRADITION

One of the tragic features of the Train Apartheid Resistance campaign was that the leaders of TARC never saw fit to account to the public for the substantial equipment and monies in their possession collected by public subscription. This has strengthened the undermining tendencies in South African public of a lack of honour and responsibility. There was the recent case for example of an individual who flatters himself as a democratic leader yet flaunted the fact that he had diverted monies collected for a trade union to some more "worthy" cause.

Christopher MDA.
VOL.2 - NO.9
7.10.1957.

PUBLIC CORRUPTION

Following some recent disclosures and failures to disclose the CAPE TIMES has had some forthright things to say on the subject of public corruption. There is nothing abnormal in this scion of the LONDON TIMES straining after the British tradition, a tradition of integrity in public life which Karl Marx himself ungrudgingly acknowledged and complimented. After all it is their society which is rotting with internal corruption.

But is the CAPE TIMES going to content itself with a literary campaign? Will it not follow through with a full exposure aimed at the uprooting of the guilty and their cronies from public life? Or, has the sad day arrived for British journalism in South Africa when they must admit to themselves that the system they are defending can no longer survive firm measures against grafters, extortionists, compounders and other scoundrels in high places?

Christopher MDA.
VOL.2 - NO.11
4.11.1957

NINTH ANNIVERSARY OF T.A.R.C...../continued

"This rotten attitude to public monies leaves a bad taste in the mouth and makes it possible for all kinds of abuses to take place."

VOL.2 - NO.9
7.10.1957

THE RAND BUS BOYCOTT

There is no doubt about it: the mighty bus boycott on the Rand is entirely an economic struggle. That is so even if, as has been suggested in the enemy press, the leadership had intended it as an answer to the Treason Trials. Its essential economic character is also not altered by the stupid, pigheaded insistence of the Government to regard it as a challenge to the authority of its administration.

The boycott arises out of the steadily deteriorating conditions of a working class reduced to a state of pauperdom by the cheap labour policy of the Chamber of Mines and its Nationalist henchmen, a working class upon whose bent backs the awful burden of the location system has been placed, a working class whose legitimate demands for redress have been rendered a crime by a mass of slave labour laws, a working class that is as yet without the organisation and leadership to fight for its interests in the national economy. The daily marches to and from work by underfed and overworked men and women, forced by the vicious location system to live many miles from their places of work in the cities, is an heroic act of resistance to economic exploitation. The full extent of their demands was that the additional burden of one penny on the existing fare should be borne not by them but by the employers or by the employers' state.

The present struggle is being waged within the orbit of the existing arrangements. At no stage did the demands of the workers challenge the existing apartheid structure — no propaganda was made at any stage against the location system which underlies the fantastically high transport costs and transport time forced upon the workers in this hell of racial segregation. Racial status on which the whole odious system of locations and segregated amenities is based was not only not attacked by the boycotters but is in fact implicitly accepted. The problem was presented as an "African" problem and not as the problem of struggling against the intensified pauperisation of the nation's workers.

To the grimly determined marchers their magnificent sacrifice appeared and was presented to the nation as an "African" struggle in

which people and workers of other racial antecedents could play a role no more intimate than as patrons, sympathisers and allies. But whatever their consciousness, were these undaunted marchers not taking the first determined steps towards solving the nation's most grievous defect — its pauperised, stifled, segregated and depressed working class?

For no movement can be triumphant unless and until it imbues the whole nation with the realisation that the fulfilment of its demands has become an inescapable necessity for the development of the nation. It will not have the moral strength for storming heaven, it will not be able to gather to itself everything that is virile and worthy in the body politic not will it be able to its enemies into the morally untenable position into which they must be driven if the nation is to be rallied to put an end to their crimes and abominations.

Clearly the Rand workers could not have been put into motion on a political level. Yet the fundamental causes of the frightful economic plight of the people can only be solved by political means. Accordingly it is the inescapable duty of the leadership to bring the masses at all times to political conclusions. Such a magnificent struggle should bring home the political necessity of abolishing the location system, of building a national labour movement in defence of the wage worker against the depredations of the exploiters, and of struggling against the criminal intervention of the state on the side of the exploiters, the necessity for a national democratic political movement against the whole odious and outlived system of racial status. It is in order to bring these problems home to the political intelligentsia that it is necessary to determine exactly and in a scientific manner the real character of the Rand events.

Two further political gains might have been achieved: permanent district organisations of the people and a press, however modest, through which the people of the Rand can express their manifold political, economic and social demands.

In all the above we speak, of course, with the reserve of those not directly charged with the responsibility of organising and leading the struggle and who, because of the tragic dismemberment of the movement along sectarian and sectional lines, were restricted to minimal participation in a cause which is their own. If we have overestimated the political possibilities of the situation we are naturally open to correction. But we will not under

(Cont. page 63 - bot. R.H. col)

NKATLO ON RAND BUS BOYCOTT

MR. JOSEPH NKATLO, IN A STATEMENT TO 'THE CITIZEN' SAID THAT THE UNITY AND STUBBORN RESISTANCE OF RESIDENTS OF THE RAND IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST INCREASED BUS FARES HAD SET AN EXAMPLE WHICH THE OPPRESSED PEOPLE IN OTHER AREAS WOULD DO WELL TO FOLLOW.

He firmly rejected, however, any attempt to explain the solid resistance of the people in terms of the "racial" unity of the "African".

RACIALISTIC THINKING

"One might as well attempt to explain the failure of the people of Cape Town to resist the introduction of bus apartheid as the result of racial disunity or lack of racial pride of so-called "Coloureds".

He said that it was surprising that even politicals in the democratic movement reflect this type of racialistic thinking.

DEPRESSED LIVING STANDARDS

"The reason for the success of the Kliptown bus boycott is the fact that the penny increase burns a great hole in the pockets of the Kliptown worker who earns barely enough to exist.

"The unity of the boycotters can be understood if the struggle is seen as one to resist a further depression in their already pauperised living standards."

"NIE 'n NASIE NIE"

Mr. Nkatlo felt that "Hulle is 'n nasie, ons is nie 'n nasie nie", was a silly racialistic excuse for doing nothing and did not at all explain the failure of the boycott in the Cape.

"I am sure that if the people of the Cape were threatened with an increase in fares which would mean the same to them economically as the penny increase means to those in Klip-town, they would also respond to a call to boycott such transport."

Mr. Nkatlo agreed that the people of Kliptown had united against this attack on their living standards despite the Government's enforced maintenance of artificial tribal divisions.

WHAT POLITICAL IDEAS ?

He said that for people to respond to a call to boycott apartheid buses was a political act which demanded a higher level of consciousness than was at present the case.

The struggle which had started in Kliptown for economic reasons was however, clearly becoming more and more political every day.

"This is why it is important now to find out what political ideas are being brought to the people by politicals involved in the struggle."

ACCEPTANCE OF STATUS

"While the people accepted the status "African", or "Native", "Coloured", "Indian" or "White" and organised in separate "racial" or "multi-racial" organisations — bodies which people joined as members if a "race" and not as men and women — they would not be able as South Africans to overthrow apartheid.

"I think it is criminal to try to point to the unity of the boycotters as an example of what "racial" unity can do.

"It is playing with fire to encourage people to accept their racial status as a basis for political or other organisation," said Mr. Nkatlo.

VOL.2 - NO.1
7. 2. 1957

THE RAND BUS BOYCOTT / cont. from p.62

any circumstances forego our indefeasible right or neglect our duty to bring whatever we can to the movement to heighten its consciousness, strengthen its confidence and sharpen its weapons.

Meanwhile this struggle has brought one great gain: renewed confidence in the courage, solidarity and capacity for sacrifice of the toilers of our land. With this everything is possible.

Editorial
VOL.2 - NO.2
7. 3. 1957

The masses — that is to say, the majority of mankind, who suffer and toil, their lives dull and uninteresting, never enlivened by a ray of brightness, enduring numberless privations — are those who recognise most clearly the sharp contrasts between what is and what ought to be, between the professions of mankind and their actions.

— Tolstoi.

SOLIDARITY BOYCOTT IN PORT ELIZABETH

FROM OUR EASTERN PROVINCE CORRESPONDENT.

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS CIRCULAR CALLING FOR A SOLIDARITY BUS BOYCOTT WAS ISSUED ON MONDAY, 11TH FEBRUARY. THE MAGNIFICENT RESPONSE OF THE WORKERS HERE ASTOUNDED EVERYONE WHO DID NOT HAVE HIS HAND ON THE PULSE OF THE PEOPLE.

Throughout the 13 days in which the workers here demonstrated their selfless solidarity and sympathy with the Johannesburg marchers boycott figures averaged 90% — virtually a complete boycott. In Uitenhage it was 95%.

A.N.C. LED

In the course of the struggle an organisation called the South African Coloured People's Organisation issued a statement calling upon "Coloured" people to boycott the buses together with their fellow-workers.

My impression was however, that the several hundred people from the Schauder and Korsten areas were following the leadership of the African National Congress.

Attempts in the Group Areas Action Committee in South End and in the Dowerville Committee to join the boycotters were not successful.

SEVERAL TRIPS

Many motorists put their cars at the disposal of the boycotters. The press reported a woman motorist who took her domestic help home and, on the road to Damascus as it were, was so inspired by the splendid morale of the walkers, that she made several trips to give lifts to the foot weary.

In spite of the tone of condemnation in the HERALD which impudently described this magnificent solidarity boycott as a "foolish act" likely to jeopardise the negotiations in Johannesburg, the press generally, especially the EVENING POST, carried readers' views which showed extraordinary sympathy for the movement.

MORALE HIGH

The police had a Roman Holiday. Every key point had a large contingent of police armed to the teeth stopping, interrogating and browbeating pedestrians.

Pick-up vans were crowded with tired human beings and cycles. As far as was legally in their power, the police did their utmost to break the spirit of the people.

But the morale of the workers remained high.

BIG BUSINESS ALARMED

It was clear that big business viewed the boycott with alarm and in many cases provided their workers with transport or cycles.

The stevedores were unable to do overtime and as a result, mailships and cargo boats were delayed resulting in substantial losses.

MARKED THE END

During the second week bad weather took a hand in the proceedings, and started the decline.

Finally on Saturday evening, 23rd February, the EVENING POST carried the notice which marked the end of this gallant episode in the struggle of the people:

"The Acting Secretary of the African National Congress (Cape) says that the boycott will be suspended in the Eastern Cape from 11 p.m. to night."

ECONOMIC BOYCOTT OF NATIONALISTS

If the economic boycott of the Nationalist Party gets going it will certainly not lack support from the broad masses of a nation sorely tried by the pernicious policies of the Baas-skap Government. Although this move was made without discussion or consultation in the national democratic movement, it will be folly indeed not to take a positive attitude to what may become the most widespread manifestation of popular hatred this country has ever seen.

It is necessary to face up to our obligations to a struggling people in a serious way and not permit our profound political differences with the sponsors to cloud our vision or deflect us from our path of duty. Abstention from the political life of the people is a cowardly way out. It will not weaken but strengthen the sectarianism and sectionalism of those who are now taking the initiative in this matter.

Editorial
VOL.2 -NO.5
17. 6.1957

THE BOYCOTT OF "NAT. FIRMS"

From: "Boycotter", NEWLANDS.

Quite some time ago THE CITIZEN raised the idea of boycotting all firms which advertise in the Nationalist Press.

This idea is certainly one of great importance, today, it would solve many of the problems facing us in the application of the boycott to the Nationalist Party and its supporters.

The point of the boycott is clearly to give organised expression to the hatred and resentment of the people against the Nationalist regime. Does not your suggestion — which you have apparently completely forgotten — make it possible for the people to do this without being "unfair" to anybody? They would simply have to open any paper which supports the Nationalist Government and apply the boycott to goods advertised in its columns.

Will anyone deny that those who advertise in the "Nationalist" press are supporting the Nationalist regime? Incidentally this method could also obviate the court ban which is proving a hindrance to development of the economic boycott movement.

We raised the idea you refer to in another connection — as a means whereby business firms could be compelled to abandon their boycott of the democratic press. We agree, however, that the utilisation of this idea in the campaign for the economic boycott of the Nationalists would have many advantages.

--- Editor.

VOL.2 - NO.5
17. 6.1957

THE AFRICAN HORIZON INSURANCE COMPANY

IT HAS BEEN REPORTED TO 'THE CITIZEN' THAT SIMON HELLER (BIG BOSS OF A WORLD-WIDE CANNING ORGANISATION) CONTROLS BOTH THE AFRICAN HORIZON INSURANCE COMPANY LIMITED OF WHICH SENATOR LESLIE RUBIN IS MANAGING DIRECTOR AND THE UNION GUARANTEE AND INSURANCE COMPANY LIMITED OF WHICH MR. J.F.T. NAUDE, MINISTER OF FINANCE IS DIRECTOR.

Simon Heller is a director of Langeberg Koöperasie Beperk which finances The African Horizon Insurance Company. He is also a director of African Properties and Industries Ltd. which controls Union Guarantee and Insurance Co. Ltd.

it would be interesting to know whether the leaders in the "boycott of Nationalist business" campaign would advocate the boycott of The Union Guarantee and Insurance Co. and The African Horizon Insurance Co. or only the former.

We are informed also that Prof. Z. Matthews (ex-Provincial President and Provincial Treasurer of the ANC) and Dr. J.Moroka, Dr. Kuma (both ex-National Presidents of the ANC) and Dr. Nkomo

WOULD BOYCOTT

Our informant remarked that

THE AFRICAN HORIZON INSURANCE COMPANY / continued from p.65

(ex- member of the Provincial executive of the ANC, Transvaal) are "nominal directors" of The African Horizon Insurance Co., each "at a salary of £150 per annum". Their work in the Company is to "protect the interests of the African".

The presence of these persons "as directors", it is reported, has given many who hold insurance policies with this company the impression that they are supporting their "own African" business enterprise.

VOL.2 - NO.7
31. 7.1957

HUNGARY

*FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF
HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION*

MONDAY, 22ND OCTOBER, is the first Anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. The Revolution was drowned in blood by the Russian overlords but the spirit of the heroic workers, peasants and intellectuals will live to inspire humanity long after their accursed executioners come to their ignominious end. When socialism and democracy are triumphant, humanity will remember with deep gratitude the blows struck by the gallant Hungarians for human freedom and national dignity against foreign oppression and bureaucratic tyranny.

WE AGAIN SALUTE THE HEROES OF THE
HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION!

VOL 2 - NO.10
21: 10.1957

*YUGOSLAV LEADER CONDEMNS RUSSIAN
INTERVENTION*

"THE OFFICIAL COMMUNIST TALK OF 'COUNTER-REVOLUTION' SERVES ONLY AS AN ARTIFICIAL MEANS OF ALLAYING SOCIALIST CONSCIENCES," SAID MR. KARDELJ, VICE-PRESIDENT OF YUGOSLAVIA, REPORTS 'THE ECONOMIST'.

MR. KARDELJ WAS ADDRESSING THE YUGOSLAV PARLIAMENT ON THE HUNGARIAN CRISIS.

GRAVE BLUNDER

Mr. Kardelj said that the heart of the matter in Hungary was that a majority of the working class rose against "a regime which proclaimed itself to be socialist" and that this revolt provoked the intervention of another socialist country.

He pointed out that "the belief that a party, by the very fact of calling itself Communist, ensures that its rule is progressive and democratic is a grave anti-Marxist blunder".

"NOTHING TO DO WITH SOCIALISM"

Hungary he said, needed "radical changes in the political system, not a change in personages and the correction of individual errors".

On Soviet intervention Mr. Kardelj said, "it could play no decisive role whatsoever in Hungary" and was really due to the relationship of forces in the existing international situation; "it had nothing to do with the defence of socialism".

VOL.2 - NO.1
7. 2. 1957

ONCE AGAIN HUNGARY

Let the smart Alecs twist as they like:
The Hungarian revolution last October remains a great national rising against Russian oppression and bureaucratic tyranny, a mighty assault upon the citadels of Scythian Socialism whose horrors were exposed before the whole world.

The heroic Hungarians finally smashed the idols of Stalinism and restored to suffering humanity the grand and glorious ideals of international socialism. Those who besmirch the martyred workers of Budapest have nothing in common with those ideals. Big Stick is the god before whom they prostrate their miserable spirits.

Editorial
VOL.2 - NO.6
4. 7. 1957

SPLIT ON HUNGARY IN C.O.D AND ANTI-CAD?

REPORTS TEND TO SHOW THAT THE TENDENCIES AROUND THE 'NEW AGE' AND 'THE TORCH' ARE BEING TROUBLED WITH INTERNAL DISSENSION AROUND THE OFFICIAL LINE THAT THE HUNGARIAN UPRISING AGAINST RUSSIAN DOMINATION IS A FASCIST COUNTER-REVOLUTION.

NOTHING TO SAY

Mr. Gottschalk of the Congress of Democrats, speaking at a meeting of the Institute of Citizenship said, in reply to a question, that he had nothing to say on Russia's attack on Hungary because of the great internal division in the Congress of Democrats on this question.

AGREES WITH 'THE CITIZEN'

According to Mr. Achmat Da Costa, a member of the New Era Fellowship — affiliated to the Non-European Unity Movement — there is sharp disagreement with THE TORCH'S attitude on the Hungarian revolution in Anti-Cad circles — especially amongst the youth.

He agreed with THE CITIZEN'S assessment of the national uprising in Hungary as a revolutionary struggle for freedom from Russian domination and oppression.

VOL.2 - NO.2
7. 3. 1957

BOOK REVIEW

"HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY" BY PETER FRYER

"HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY" BY PETER FRYER — AN EYEWITNESS OF THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION WHILE REPORTING FOR THE 'DAILY WORKER', A BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY NEWSPAPER. — COMPLETELY EXPOSES THE RUSSIAN INTERVENTION IN HUNGARY AS A BRUTAL AND MERCILESS CRUSHING OF "A MASS UPRISING AGAINST TYRANNY AND POVERTY THAT HAD BECOME INSUPPORTABLE".

The book is a scathing indictment of all apologists of Russian intervention.

EXPELLED FOR TRUTH

This man who after nine years of work on the staff of the DAILY WORKER "at less than a labourer's wage" has felt compelled to resign, as "it (the DAILY WORKER) would not let me do an honest job in Hungary". After being a mem-

ber for 14 years, he has been expelled from the Communist Party for insisting on telling the truth about the Hungarian revolution, yet he hopes that his "painful estrangement" from the Party will "only be temporary". This man whom the Capitalist press has unsuccessfully attempted to woo into their service as an anti-soviet propagandist, even a Stalinist will not find easy to brand as a "renegade".

"Marx called revolution 'a human protest against an inhuman life'.

68

"HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY" / CONT.

The Hungarian revolution was precisely this," writes Fryer.

BEST INTERESTS

His decision to face the facts and tell the truth has enabled Fryer to greet the Hungarian uprising as revolutionary, and it is precisely this decision, in the best interests of science and humanity, that will enable him to completely free his intellect from any scars of Stalinism resulting from his fourteen years of training in the Stalinist school of falsification.

VOL.2 - NO.2

7. 3. 1957

EAST GERMAN COMMUNIST FLEES HUNGARIAN EVENTS HEART SICKENING

"THE HUNGARIAN TRAGEDY SO HEART-SICKENING AND NERVE-RENDING PARTICULARLY FOR OLD COMMUNISTS, HAD DESTROYED THE LAST HOPE AND THE LAST ILLUSION," SAID PROFESSOR KANTOROWICZ, ONE-TIME PROFESSOR OF LITERATURE AT AN EAST BERLIN UNIVERSITY, IN A RADIO BROADCAST FROM WEST BERLIN TO WHICH HE HAD FLED.

In East Berlin he was known as "a pioneer, a pathfinder of the future German democracy".

SUPPORTED HUNGARIAN REVOLT

Like Professor Harich, now in prison in East Germany, Kantorowicz got into trouble with the Communist Party leaders because of the liberal things he had said and done before and after the Hungarian revolution.

Last year, despite considerable pressure from Party leaders in East Germany, he refused to sign a Government resolution forced on the East German Writers Association giving support to Russian intervention in Hungary. He is also said to have given guarded support and advice to the Petöfi Club which had played such an important role in leading the Hungarian revolt.

LAWLESSNESS, EXPLOITATION, ENSLAVEMENT

In his broadcast he admitted that by his silence in the past he had assisted the Government in its lawlessness, exploitation of the workers, its spiritual enslavement of the intelligentsia and its arbitrary rule.

He described Herr Ulbricht's regime (the Communist Government of East Germany) as "an unworthy clique who defile the concept of Socialism as once the Nazis defiled the name of Germany".

"While we believed we were fighting for freedom and right against fascist-barbarians, fascism and barbarism have risen again behind us in word and deed and spirit."

He described the People's Chamber (East German Parliament) as a chamber of party officials and the "people's factories" as factories under Party officials, in which the workers had lost all their basic rights for which they had struggled and suffered for a century.

THE WRITER'S ROLE

In 1936 in the Spanish Civil War, Kantorowicz commanded a battalion against the Fascists. In 1940, as an anti-Nazi he was forced to flee from Hitler's Germany and was the founder of a guild of anti-Nazi writers in exile.

In 1956 he aroused the attention of the East German Communist authorities because of an article he wrote expressing the view that writers should rather remain silent in "the conflict between spirit and power" than to praise the power of the day "when it offended against the spirit".

VOL.2 - NO.9

7. 10. 1957

HUNGARY — A YEAR AFTER

THE HUNGARIAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS WERE DEFEATED BY THE RUSSIAN TANKS A YEAR AGO. BUT THE PUPPET GOVERNMENT OF JANOS KADAR HAS NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO PRODUCE PEACE IN HUNGARY — THIS WAS SHOWN IN THE PEOPLE'S PASSIVE OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTEMPTS TO OBTAIN THEIR CO-OPERATION, WRITES A HUNGARIAN REFUGEE JOURNALIST GEORGE GARAI, IN 'REYNOLDS NEWS'.

BACKED BY RUSSIAN TANKS

"Kadar wanted to make peace with the freedom fighters; he increased the wages nearly 50% — far more than Hungary's economy could afford. This resulted in wage increases being stopped and pay being put back to pre-revolution levels."

Kadar tried to get the support of politicians outside his own circle, but the leaders of the smashed parties such as the Smallholders and Peasants insisted on conditions: No negotiations until the Russian army withdrew, free elections and a multi-party system.

"Kadar backed by Russian tanks could not accept," writes Garai.

KADAR'S 'ACHIEVEMENTS'

He reports that Kadar has had difficulty in organising the Communist Party. There were 900,000 members before the revolution — today there were only 300,000 party members. Workers and peasants had constantly been urged to join, but with little success.

During his year of office Kadar's achievements to date were the dissolution of the Workers' Councils; the postponement of the general elections for the next two years; re-introduction of the secret police; compulsory teaching of Russian in the schools; a wage cut; an increase in university fees.

The reign of terror continues in Hungary — nearly 2,000 freedom fighters had been executed and more than 20,000 more had been arrested or deported. Students continued to have the threat of expulsion hanging over their heads since "students were a major force" in the October uprising.

The Nagy Government members were all in jail. Nagy himself with his closest supporters were under house-arrest in Rumania.

TELLING THE TRUTH

The intellectuals had been stifled and the honest writers preferred to remain silent. The Communist Party continued to urge artists and writers to produce works portraying life in present-day Hungary, praising the dictatorship.

"But writers refuse to allow their works to be published, film directors choose their themes from the past. They are searching for a way of telling the truth without clashing with the government or the secret-police."

Garai states that Kadar has tried to cover up the fact that the revolution was in fact led by "the Communist-trained youth" of Hungary, by putting on trial three old men — a former landlord, a World War 1 ex-army colonel, a former manufacturer — as alleged leaders of the revolution.

All three men had been under arrest since 1945.

VOL.2 - NO.11
4. 11.1957

YUGOSLAV COMMUNISTS WARN KADAR GOVERNMENT

THE YUGOSLAV ATTITUDE OF PARTIAL SUPPORT FOR THE KADAR GOVERNMENT HAS UNDERGONE A CONSIDERABLE CHANGE SINCE MARSHALL TITO EARLIER DESCRIBED IT AS "ALL THAT IS MOST HONEST IN HUNGARY".

Edward Kardelj, Vice-President and chief Yugoslav Communist theoretician, in a speech in the Yugoslav Parliament warned that unless Kadar comes to terms with the workers' councils, Yugoslavia would withdraw its support, states the London OBSERVER

REACTIONARY REGIME

Mr. Kardelj said that in Hungary "the working class arose in elemental force against a regime which became intolerable and reactionary. The crux of the matter, although many Communists do not wish to admit

Collection Number: AD1715

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR), 1892-1974

PUBLISHER:

Collection Funder:- Atlantic Philanthropies Foundation

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

Location:- Johannesburg

©2013

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document forms part of the archive of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.