

DEPRESSION SIGNS / ²⁴ CONT.

France is on the verge of bankruptcy. Only West Germany is exuberantly productive. She is the largest creditor and Britain the largest debtor in the European Payments Union. With the shrunken world market, West Germany's phenomenal productivity can only aggravate matters, firstly for her capitalist contemporaries and finally for herself.

One would have imagined that South Africa would have attempted to insulate herself against the effects of a world depression. But the Government's fiscal policy instead of raising higher tariff barriers and increasing import control to prevent dumping of foreign goods on the South African market, in fact makes provision for the relaxation of import control. This must aggravate the difficulties of South African industry which cannot as yet compete with overseas production, and result in increasing unemployment. While this is in the interests of gold mining magnates, who thrive during depressions owing to increased investment in gold, it must lead to a depression in the living standards of the people.

What South Africa needs is the removal of all restrictions on the movement of labour, so that it may integrate itself completely in the more productive 'secondary' industries. Also effective protection against foreign competition as a means of promoting expansion and development. There is also a need for a powerful labour movement in the country to ensure a corresponding increase in the wage standards of the workers and thereby ensuring also the progressive modernisation of South Africa's productive machine. Such measures would not only insulate South Africa from the effects of world depression, but allow her to thrive under it.

— By a Political Correspondent

VOL. 2 — NO. 4
22. 4.1957

SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND AUTOMATION

SOCIAL REVOLUTION THROUGH AUTOMATION

ACCORDING TO THE JULY 'MANUFACTURER', 14 WORKERS IN AMERICA NOW PRODUCE 90% OF ALL GLASS LIGHT BULBS USED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. NOT ONLY THIS, THEY PRODUCE ALSO ALL THE GLASS TUBES IN TELEVISION (EXCEPT PICTURE TUBES) AND RADIO. THE 14 MEN OPERATE AUTOMATIC GLASS BLOWING MACHINES.

LESS AND LESS
PRODUCE MORE AND MORE

In the United States Ford Cleveland plant one man now runs a transfer machine which performs more than 500 machine operations.

"Conventional methods required 35 to 75 men." Whereas 400 workers before took 40 minutes to turn out an engine block, 48 now take less than 20 minutes.

The U.S.S.R. has automatic machinery which produces aluminium pistons for heavy truck engines. "No human hand intervenes throughout the process and even waste metal is removed from machines automatically." These are only some of the wonders that automat-

ically controlled automatic machines can perform.

POVERTY OF WEALTH

Apparently the rapid change from conventional means of production to automation is feared by workers in "Western" countries. They are quite sure that the immediate and widespread application of automation will for some time at least create conditions of the most terrible unemployment. According to current opinion the U.S.S.R., whose industries are nationalised and state controlled, does not face the same problem. Production there is not for profit. A "reserve army of unemployed" is therefore, not required to keep down labour costs.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

While it is generally recognised that automation will revolutionise society and create undreamt of wealth, labour leaders in both America and England, aware that automation can immediately be used against the workers, have demanded that they be given a share in the fruits of automation through shorter working hours and higher wages. Walter Reuther in America and other trade unionists in England have also demanded that those industries in which the application of automation will cause unemployment must change from private to public ownership. It is felt too that Industry should bear a large part of the cost of re-training workers to enable them to cope with the new automatic techniques.

S. A. AND AUTOMATION

Because South Africa is less developed industrially than other "Western countries" the workers by and large will not resist the application of automation. It is felt, therefore, that if the Colour Bar were removed so as to enable Industry to develop as rapidly as possible the workers could be trained almost overnight to handle the new automatic equipment. With adequate facilities for the training of the necessary electricians, technicians and scientists South Africa could be transformed into a great modern industrial nation within a few years. That the Colour Bar is not removed to enable such a development is explained in terms of the Gold Mines' need for cheap pauperised labour which apartheid provides.

VOL. 2 — NO. 10
21. 10. 1957

RACIALISM

OUR BIRTHRIGHT

How much longer will intelligent young South Africans whom the racist rulers classify as "Natives", "Kaffirs" or "Africans" allow themselves to be deceived by "Coloured" and "White" racials with fake unities of the "Non-European" brand, the multi-racial brand or even the Congress brand? This capitulation to the ideas of racial separation is intended in the last analysis to defend racial privilege and semi-privilege against the aspirations of the majority of the nation.

Some signs I have noted with great hopefulness of a new spirit among spokesmen of The Society of Young Africa are as yet too inchoate and inarticulate. Time is running short. It is necessary now that we stand on our manhood and our dignity and wipe out once and for all the humiliating position into which we are put by "liberatory" racials. If we fail to do so, some of the best of our youth may turn in desperation to "Black" racialism.

It is imperative therefore, that the new wave of indignation against "Coloured", "Indian" and "White" racialism should be based on a truly South African consciousness and not a "Native", "Kaffir" or "African" point of view. For it is only fitting that those who are the majority of our nation should develop the confidence and consciousness to think as South Africans. Only thus can we rise to our full stature in the land of our birth.

—Christopher MDA

VOL. 2 - NO. 9
7.10.1957

"COLOURED" AS "ALLIES"

THE CAPE ARGUS Editorial article, last Thursday, dealt at length with the necessity of "White" South Africa gaining "Coloureds" as "Allies". The question to be asked is: are "Whites" at war with "Blacks"?

This open encouragement of a political mentality based on the idea of civil war along racial lines is an unintelligent and dangerous pastime. Mr. Baartman might well ask: Is this not stirring up racial hatred with a vengeance?

Baartman was prosecuted and fined but the Chamber of Mines Press, like the Nationalists, need not fear prosecution. They are above their own laws.

VOL.2 -- No.12
20.11.1957

THE BEN BAARTMAN CASE

"IF A MAN TODAY IS A RACIALIST HE IS NOT A LOYAL SOUTH AFRICAN, AND A MAN WHO OPENLY PREACHES RACIALISM IS A DANGER TO THE COUNTRY," SAID MR. DE VRIES, A CAPE TOWN REGIONAL COURT MAGISTRATE, RECENTLY.

He found Ben Baartman guilty of making a speech on the Grand Parade on February 10th "with intent to promote a feeling of hostility between Natives and Europeans".

A VICTIM OF RACIALISM

Among anti-racialists it was felt that if Baartman had really preached racialism, they would have to agree with De Vries' judgement. It was a fair judgement.

However, in view of the fact that racialism was openly preached by the highest government representatives, Baartman should have been cautioned and discharged and not fined.

It was pointed out that Baartman was a victim of ruling class racialism.

"His racialism is but a protest against the racialism of the rulers," it was said.

PROSECUTE RACIALISTS

An executive member of the Heatherley Civic Association, Lansdowne, said "It is high time that the

members of the Nationalist Cabinet and others who advocate racialism were also prosecuted."

He felt that this would do much to eradicate the disease of racialism which infected every ruling council and institution in the country.

The question was also being asked that if there was no prosecutor with the courage to undertake such a prosecution, whether there was a single lawyer or advocate in South Africa who would institute a private prosecution against a member of the ruling class who preached or advocated racialism.

The impression was gaining ground that "our lawyers and advocates are more moved by their fear of the wrath of the government than by their proper interest -- the maintenance of justice."

VOL.2 -- No.6
4.7.1957

"LIBERAL" RACIALISM

Senator Rubin of the "anti-racial" Liberal Party, walked out of the Senate with the rest of "the opposition" in protest against Nationalist Senator H.A. de Ridder's refusal to apologise for allegedly having implied that U.P. Senator Conradie's forefathers were black.

Does this mean that Native Representative Rubin considers it degrading and shameful to have "black blood" in one's veins? Those who work Native Representation cannot really have any other attitude. -- Christopher MDA . VOL.2-NO.12

20.11.1957

APARTHEID CAUSES 'TRIBAL' FIGHTS

"ONLY COMPLETE DEMOCRACY CAN SAVE SOUTH AFRICA FROM RACIAL WAR. THE POLICY OF APARTHEID WHICH DIVIDES THE NATION INTO 'AFRICAN', 'WHITE', 'COLOURED' AND 'INDIAN' MUST INEVITABLY LEAD NOT ONLY TO STRIFE AMONG THE PEOPLE IN THE VARIOUS 'RACIAL' DIVISIONS THEMSELVES, BUT TO BITTER STRUGGLES BETWEEN ONE SO-CALLED RACIAL GROUP AND ANOTHER," SAID MR. JOSEPH MOGALI, A JOHANNESBURG STUDENT, IN A STATEMENT TO 'THE CITIZEN' ON THE RECENT RAND "TRIBAL" WARS IN WHICH 40 PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND OVER 100 INJURED.

RULERS CREATE DIVISION

He said that if the people do not struggle against Apartheid they will turn in upon themselves.

"The ruling class knows this, therefore, to maintain itself it constantly recreates divisions amongst the people."

Even the daily press, which belonged to the Chamber of Mines in whose interests Apartheid was created, had to admit that the faction fights were a reflection of a "malignant illness in the body politic", that is, Apartheid.

"The CAPE TIMES editorial of September 20th blames the Nationalist Government for the riots. They admit that they are a "reaction to the frustration" caused by 'our economic and political system'. They go further and say:

'Has the migrant labour system with its dislocation of family life, its imposition of an unnatural separation of the sexes, and its by-product of juvenile delinquency, not helped to create a situation in which violence is always imminent?'

"However, what this paper fails to mention is that this policy serves the Chamber of Mines who dominates this country and whose needs result in such a state of affairs."

ETHNIC GROUPING

Mr. Mogali held that the riots had nothing to do with "inter-tribal" warfare.

"That period of South African history is gone forever. More than a hundred years of capitalism has completely destroyed tribalism. The faction fights are directly the result of Apartheid."

To satisfy the need of the mines for cheap labour workers were rounded up by the Chamber of Mines recruiting agencies, brought to the Native Labour Association and then arbitrarily and forcibly divided into so-called "ethnic groups".

"They are then sent to the various mines and farms where they are rigidly separated as Zulus, Shangaans, Sothos and so forth.

SOCIAL FRUSTRATION

"Not only is a 'tribal' psychology constantly recreated by these divisions in the compounds and more recently in the schools and locations — Daveytown location in Benoni for example — but there are also wide social differences among the people, between those in the reserves and those who have grown up in the towns.

"These differences are maintained by the different labour needs of Secondary Industry and Mining. Snobbery is also rife."

He felt that it was surprising that with the frustration which location and migrant labour life gave rise to, all the abuses and daily indignities heaped upon the heads of the people by Apartheid, that there were not more and more widespread riots.

"Such an environment gives rise to large numbers of delinquents and criminals. Having no police protection the people take the law into their own hands which often leads to rioting."

"There is only one alternative to democracy in South Africa, and that is a protracted, bloody and wasteful racial war involving the whole South African nation," he said.

VOL.2 — NO.9

7. 10.1957

CECIL WILLIAMS AND HERR ROSENBERG

One is left with a sickening feeling when thinking of Cecil Williams producing a play on Jewish life in the Hofmeyr Theatre which follows the racial ideas of Herr Rosenberg the Nazi theoretician by refusing admittance to "lesser breeds". Williams' crime is the more unsavoury since the terrible deeds done against the Jews in the name of racial superiority are still so fresh in our memories. We are happy to report that Cecil Williams did not carry out his plan for a soup kitchen performance at Zonnebloem College.***

FIGHTING THE LOCATION SYSTEM

In spite of all the brave words our whole nation stands helpless before the abominations and iniquities of the pernicious location system. This devillish device brought forth from the dens of brazen political criminality seeks to perpetuate the world of paupers and pariahs created by the Gold Mining Industry and its political hirelings for the enrichment of foreign capitalist exploiters. It began its vile career with various "Native" Land Acts, and went over into several "Asiatic" Land Tenure Laws. Now we have before us this most perfect of the series of monstrous pieces of legislative iniquity, the Group Areas Act.

At this stage in the historical development of South Africa when the objective evolution of capitalism imperiously demands a merciless scrapping of all the old racialist junk to ensure its own progress, all the progressive forces should now have been lining up to put an end to all the old locations, not standing helpless before the nightmarish efforts of lawgiver Dönges. Under the circumstances one wonders how even a racialist madman could have conceived such a fantastic piece of legal iniquity.

And yet it is being perpetrated. And the doers of the deed are assured that they will get away with it. The question is: whence arises this confidence? The answer is clear: the politicals and intellectuals of almost the entire

nation have become prisoners to the ideas of racial separatism, have come to accept the division of the nation into racially antagonistic camps. On all sides we have blind acceptance of the racial classifications; open in the ideas of Baasskap and in the ideas of Non-Europeanism, faintly disguised in the concept of multi-racialism. On all sides we have the voluntary acceptance of apartheid even by those who are deeply humiliated by it. And how can those who accept apartheid voluntarily, fight that apartheid which has all the coercive powers of the state to make itself effective?

It is clear that the defeat of the Locations System, like the defeat of all apartheid and racial discrimination, depends on a radical transformation of the whole mode of thought of the leaders of the people. And the first condition for this is the complete rejection of all "racial" thinking or thinking with one's blood, and an ideological war against the voluntary acceptance of apartheid.

Only on such a basis will we be able to put an end not only to the diabolical devices of the nightmarish Dönges but also those of his more hypocritical but no less cynical predecessors who prate of voluntary apartheid but conceived the Native Land Acts and the Asiatic Land Tenure Acts.

Editorial
VOL.2 — NO.7
31. 7. 1957

COUNCIL HOUSING SCHEMES

"THE SO-CALLED HOUSING SUBSIDY IS BEING USED AS CAPITAL BY THE CITY COUNCIL AND IS VERY PROFITABLY INVESTED IN HOUSING SCHEMES," SAID A SOCIAL WORKER INTERVIEWED BY 'THE CITIZEN'.

"Contrary to popular opinion, Council housing schemes today are not sub-economic."

The City Council was profiteering on the acute shortage of houses. She knew for a fact that houses were rented at a profit to those who earned a living wage and that the poor were neglected.

CECIL WILLIAMS AND.../CONT.

Is it not high time that an end was put to this immoral and unprincipled acceptance of racial discrimination by those who imagine themselves to be democrats and even socialists?

--- Christopher MDA
VOL.2-NO.4 --- 22.4.1957

TOLD TO LEAVE

"Those who are earning three to four pounds a week are being told to leave the better built houses in schemes nearer Town and are being pushed into houses far from their places of work.

"This is being done so that better houses nearer Town can be let to those who can afford to pay more."

As there were insufficient houses for those who were being shifted further out, occupants of houses in such areas were being evicted on the slightest pretext to make way for newcomers.

PEOPLE DEGRADED

"Detailed records are kept of residents' personal lives and people are encouraged to report one another's misdeeds to housing managers. *---*

"In this way evictions are justified on information collected," she said.

Fear of losing their homes caused many to indulge in that degrading practice so as to be on good terms with their housing managers.

LOCATIONS AND GROUP AREAS

A member of a civic association felt that unless the whole system of locations and group areas areas was abolished and the working people housed in homes near the towns, the housing problem would never be solved.

VOL.2 — NO.1
7. 2. 1957

SEWERAGE REPUBLIC

DONGES & CO. passed the Group Areas Act "to clean up the cities", as they boorishly expressed themselves. It has been said that the Boers were the only people in Africa who ever made slaves of their own flesh and blood. However that may be the Nationalists must be the only people in the world who have been brought round to regard their own people as filth, if one excludes the vile Hindu system of un-touchability.

Knowing the inhuman contempt Dönges & Co. have for the people it is not surprising that they have conceived of an area around the Athlone Sewerage works for the realisation of the political and social aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the citizens of Cape Town. But they are living in a fool's paradise if they imagine that this sewerage republic can buy off the democratic aspirations of a million and a half people who are now demanding nothing less than full, free and equal participation by every citizen in the economic, cultural, political and social life of the whole nation.

This monkey business of the Government of All the Talents is as good a measure of their intellectual limitations as of their unseemly arrogance and impudence.

Christopher MDA
VOL.2 — NO.8
17.6.1957

MORE ABOUT JUDAS GOATS

PEOPLE are paying highly inflated prices for land in "Coloured" group areas, as recent public findings reveal, through sheer desperation. This is the result of the propaganda of "non-Europeanism" which has done nothing to destroy the apartheid thinking of the people, but has rather entrenched their ideas of being trespassers in the cities or "White areas".

It is not surprising therefore, that prominent advocates of "non-Europeanism" are to be found in the forefront of the panicky exodus to the locations. If the workers are going under compulsion, these pappbroek "intellectuals" are going voluntarily in the vain hope of finding safety and security.

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

CIVIC BODY AND TRADERS REJECT ATHLONE GROUP AREA MISGIVINGS OVER RUMOURS TO CASH IN

AT A MEETING CALLED BY THE HEATHERLEY CIVIC ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVE, A RESOLUTION WAS PASSED REJECTING THE LATEST PROCLAMATION OF GROUP AREAS IN THE CAPE PENINSULA. THE RESOLUTION, WHICH WAS SUPPORTED BY THE ATHLONE, CRAWFORD AND DISTRICT TRADERS' ASSOCIATION, TOTALLY REJECTED "APARTHEID IN ANY FORM".

"AS SOUTH AFRICANS"

"The only way to fight this Act is to regard ourselves as South Africans who have the right to live anywhere in the land of our birth. We cannot fight against Group Areas as 'Coloureds' or 'non-Europeans'," said an executive member.

Two young delegates of the Traders' Association expressed full agreement with this point of view: "The old way of approaching these problems must go; we can never hope to win if we approach this struggle as Indians."

The Traders' secretary added that it was equally dangerous to approach the struggle purely as traders.

"CASHING IN"

The Chairman of the Traders' Association expressed grave misgivings over rumours circulating in Athlone that "Coloured businessmen" in the area were preparing to stab in the back those whom the Group Areas Board intended moving to the 'Indian Area' in Rylands Estate, by 'cashing in' on their misery.

He said that it was rumoured that Companies to start 'Coloureds Only' bus services and to take over the businesses of disqualified businessmen in the area were now being floated.

"The traders hate the laws that degrade the oppressed people and fully identify themselves with their struggle," he said.

"NON-EUROPEAN" UNITY

A suggestion by a visitor that, "perhaps it would not be such a bad thing after all to group all non-Europeans in one area in the best interests of non-European unity", was sharply attacked by the secretary of the Civic and others from the floor. It was pointed out that this was, in fact, accepting Apartheid and begging for its application. And that only "European" and "non-European" racialists would see nothing wrong in such an idea.

"We cannot fight this Act by accepting non-Europeanism," added a Civic executive member.

THE RESOLUTION

The resolution passed at the meeting points out that the purpose of the Group Areas Act is "to divide and separate the South African Nation and so cause racial strife and hostility and retard all progress and development."

The resolution commits the organisation to "encourage the formation of residents' organisations" to take up the struggle against Group Areas" and also that as the Act cannot be put into effect without the consent of the people — "we will not consent nor degrade ourselves by applying for any Group Area whatsoever."

FOR AND AGAINST APARTHEID ?

At a recent conference in Cape Town Mr. W.P. van Schoor made a demand for the abolition of the Colour Bar in education. With that demand we are in complete agreement: the realisation of the social, economic and cultural potentialities of the South African nation cannot be achieved without the abolition of racial segregation.

But Mr. van Schoor will not carry the necessary conviction while he speaks from a position in direct contradiction to the demand he is making. He demands the abolition of racial status but he does so from the standpoint of "Cape Coloured nationalism". He speaks as a "Coloured" for and on behalf of the "Coloureds". He takes up a position in educational politics which entrenches the very system and consciousness of racial status which the struggle against the Colour Bar seeks to abolish.

Can Mr. van Schoor and his associates be either serious or sincere in their "demands" for the abolition of racial status in state institutions like schools while they maintain a rigid racial kraaling system in their voluntary organisations of parents, teachers and the like?

Until the South African nation can produce an intelligentsia which has the education and culture and sophistication to think of themselves as South Africans, irrespective of their racial origins, and not as "Europeans", "non-Europeans", "Coloureds", "Indians" or "Natives", it will lack a leadership ideologically fit to inaugurate the new democratic society we are struggling for.

Meanwhile we are sure that those who have not yet shed their apartheid "racial" consciousness are not able to wage a genuine struggle against the system of "racial" status and will only succeed in entrenching the kraal mentality which is the greatest obstacle in the progress of the nation.

Editorial
VOL.2 — NO.1
7. 2. 1957

SELF-ACKNOWLEDGED SKEPSELS

".....there is a need to teach more in the schools about the Coloured folk with whom the future citizens of South Africa have to live," concluded "A Coloured Correspondent" complaining to THE CAPE ARGUS (Aug. 22, 1957) that "White people do not understand the Coloured community".

"Coloured Correspondent" and the whole rash of self-styled "Coloured leaders" would it seems, be ready to commit suicide to end the continual source of "embarrassment" they feel their existence must be to "the citizens of South Africa".

The cancer of apartheid thinking has so rotted away their brains and spines that they can only whine to the "witbaas" to reconcile himself to the presence in South Africa of self-acknowledged inferiors, skeptels and pariahs.

Christopher MDA
VOL.2 — NO.8
5. 9. 1957

32

DEFEND A SLAVE STATUS ?

There seems to be no limit to the impudence of the political zombies of the NEW AGE. On September 12th, they give front-page headlines to "Coloureds must defend their status". This contemptible capitulation to "White" racialism they put into the mouths of the "Coloured" Lackey Organisation, the SACPO. The cynicism and cheek of it! To call upon people to defend a subordinate and degraded status! Only racialist cynics of the type who tried to pass off a murderous brute like the late Joseph Stalin as a Prince of Peace, and the rape of Hungary as a triumph of Socialism could be capable of such an ignominious directive to people striving for liberty, equality and fraternity against the unbearable "Coloured" status!

Christopher MDA
VOL.2 — No.9
7.10.1957

EQUITY AND THE COLOUR BAR

ONE OF the more obvious insults to the mass of our people is that most decent places of entertainment are reserved for "Whites" of all sorts. Apart from the case of Abrahamse and Others against the City Council, this insult seems to be accepted as a law of nature. Certainly people who accept themselves as inferiors — "non-citizens" is the new term — cannot think of themselves as fit for social equality with the "Herrenvolk" as they stupidly term their "White" fellow-countrymen.

THE WORK of breaking down this insult is being left to foreigners, and entertainment speculators anxious to increase their clientele. But what is needed is a mass movement of the people for an organised boycott of all segregated places of entertainment. Such work can obviously only be done by citizens conscious of the insult of the existing position and not by "non-citizens" happy and proud in their residential, scholastic, political and journalistic locations

OUR FIRST task therefore is to break down the "non-citizen" mentality which is only a new name for the old Jim Crow or Coon mentality.

Christopher MDA
VOL.2 — No.10
21.10.1957

RACE CLASSIFICATION BOARD SUB-DEPARTMENT

"On Monday, February 18, a Bloemfontein leader of the Native bus boycott movement was arrested.

"On Wednesday, February 22, an African man, Wellington Mhekwa, appeared at a preparatory examination" (our emphasis).

from THE TORCH,
March 5, 1957.

PUNTERS AND PRINCIPLES

A major disgrace of our movement is that so many people who make a practice of accepting segregation at places of amusement can still strut around as democratic leaders. At that vile racist institution, the racecourse, it is often possible to call a nearly full executive meeting of an organisation which has the impudence to describe itself as democratic and liberatory. Have these people no political self-respect?

According to Cllr. East he often crosses from the members' stand to talk to Cllr. Deane and Cllr. Viljoen. Are we to take it that Cllr. Viljoen, Chairman of the Anti-Cad (the "Coloured" gangplank to the lifeboats of "Non-European unity") accepts the vile insult against the majority of the people, the segregated "Native" stand? Or is he only building gangplanks there? Even so, do these Councillors not feel humiliated when they voluntarily and for pleasure frequent a racecourse where they themselves are debarred from all the amenities?

Perhaps the inimitable Mr. Jaffe or the versatile Mr. Kies or Holy Willie may now be induced to break their undignified silences. In any event I am not surprised at the contempt of pooh-bahs like Sonnenberg and East for the leaders of "Non-Europeanism". No one can have respect for those who voluntarily degrade themselves for their amusement, especially for such a worthless and demoralising amusement like horse-racing.

Christopher MDA
VOL.2 — NO.9
7. 10.1957

SELF-DISDAIN

THE RIGHT to a free choice of a marriage partner we have by virtue of our common humanity. We abandon it only at the cost of denying that humanity. The right to enter Varsity we demand as citizens who pay for these institutions. We can abandon this right only by bowing down before usurpers and robbers. We who are building the new South Africa abandon neither and will fight to the end against those who have robbed the people of these rights.

DR. R.E. VAN DER ROSS does not share this view. He is prepared to trade our common humanity for the titles, degrees and diplomas of academic ba-hoonery. He placates the racials who brought about the vile Mixed Marriages Act and Immorality Act with a promise that racial co-education does not lead to inter-marriage — as if he endorsed this stupid arrogance. What pathetic self-disdain! What pitiful self-debasement! Who but a racist or a pander to racials could conceive of this most natural and reasonable process as a crime? And that from a man who is himself the offspring of our three hundred years of natural assimilation.

IT SEEMS the universities deal mortal blows not only to the good sense but also to the natural pride of their victims.

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

THE MULTI RACIAL CONFERENCE AT BLOEMFONTEIN

BY OUR POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT 'THE CITIZEN' STANDS ALONE IN ITS TOTAL OPPOSITION TO THE MULTI-RACIAL CONFERENCE AT BLOEMFONTEIN. THE 'NEW AGE' AND ITS SATELLITES ARE TRYING TO OUTSHOUT THE POWERFUL CHAMBER OF MINES PRESS IN THEIR SUPPORT OF THE CONFERENCE

The Liberals, we are sure, are the leading spirits in the enterprise. THE TORCH and its entourage do not really know where they are. Apart from trying to salvage their old friend, the Rev. Mahabane, who has left the old pastures of Non-Europeanism for the new fields of Multi-racialism, they have been silent — and silence is consent.

What are the political considerations determining support or boycott or neutrality in the matter of this conference? We do not propose here to deal with the CAPE TIMES or the Liberals or other spokesmen of the exploiting and oppressing classes and interests. They have their good reasons for supporting this conference. They are sure that the thing will be of immeasurable benefit to themselves now and in the future. And they are not miscalculating. These people have a vast and varied experience in the deceit and domination of other people and classes. The supporters of the NEW AGE should contemplate this point very very carefully.

The NEW AGE supports the conference. They support it not out of devilment or because they have been bought nor yet because they can find no better use for their time. Not at all! They support the conference because they believe it in their bones that in this way they will be able to pack the mightiest punch against the present Nationalist regime. They are certain, and they are not wrong in this, that the political defeat of the Nationalists is an inevitable step in the unfolding of the new democratic South Africa. They may also be convinced that once allies from hostile social classes have served their turn they can be easily jettisoned and the ship of democracy will sail safely into harbour.

A MISCALCULATION

We are sure that the NEW AGE is seriously miscalculating and that their miscalculation is not accidental. They have long since nothing but poseurs and charlatans and Non-Europeanism but a cheap edi-

forgotten the elementary rule; he who would be free must himself strike the blow. And in this case those who wish to be free a whole nation of oppressed and exploited people. But the NEW AGE groups have long since lost all confidence in the masses, they have forgotten that no great historical turn, such as that before us now, has ever occurred without the direct intervention of the basic layers of the people. They have faith only in the manoeuvres and manipulations of powers, authorities, institutions and dignitaries. Their participation in this conference is an act of political desperation which may have the most disastrous consequences.

Certain it is that Finance Capital hopes to get out of these manoeuvres nothing more or less than enough pressure to force on the Nationalists a Nationalist - United Party Coalition Government which will the better serve their interests. Certain it is that by this move the Congressites will be hopelessly compromised and will not be able to extricate themselves without the most shattering internal convulsions. In any event they are guilty of handing over as hostages to the real rulers of our country the strongest and best organised political tendency among the oppressed. They are committing the impermissible error of mixing banners. And no temporary advantage will compensate for this grievous loss.

As for THE TORCH and its followers they are torn by such bitter internecine strife, their political bankruptcy has been so fully exposed, they are so tired and demoralised that they are only capable of silence and neutrality. All the brave wordspinners have turned out to be

TORCH CONTRADICTION

On March the 19th an article "NATIVE" OR AFRICAN appeared in THE TORCH newspaper which made it clear that this paper was not impressed by the Government of Southern Rhodesia substituting the word 'African' for 'Native' in its laws. THE TORCH correctly asks: "But is the mere substitution of one word for another of real importance?"

The article goes on to say, "It is one thing for a change of name to take place, but it is quite another for the whole political, economic and social conditions to change and give real meaning to the word; or further and more correctly, to dispense with the word altogether, and to replace it with the word and idea and reality of citizen". (my emphasis).

I am in full agreement with these sentiments. But the contradiction which puzzles me is why, despite these correct ideas, THE TORCH persists in classifying itself as a "Non-European" paper. Worse! It persists also in classifying South Africans, both individually and collectively, as "White", "Non-White", "African", "Coloured" and "Indian" etc. Surely this is no way to set about realising "the word and idea and reality of citizen" in the minds of its readers.

from A.N. STUART.
VOL.2—NO.4
22.4.1957

RACIAL SPLIT IN ANTI-CAD ? POLITICAL COLLAPSE OF NON-EUROPEANISM

OVER THE LAST TWO YEARS THERE HAS BEEN A SERIOUS AND MOUNTING CRISIS IN ANTI-CAD CIRCLES. IT IS CONSIDERED THAT THE INTERNAL FIGHTS AMONG THE LEADERSHIP REFLECTS IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL COLLAPSE. THIS HAS APPARENTLY ENABLED A STRONG RACIALIST ELEMENT TO MOVE TO THE FORE. AND IT HAS ALSO FREED THE MORE "PETIT-BOURGEOIS" TYPES TO MOVE TOWARDS "LIBERALISM".

BITTERNESS AND HOSTILITY

Reports indicate that the battle between the Kies and Tabata factions in the Anti-Cad is increasing in bitterness and hostility. Mr. Benjamin Kies is attacked for being "Flattered by the attention of Liberal elements" and Mr. I.B. Tabata for overlooking a tendency towards "African" nationalism. Personal boycotting is rife.

A more recent split is that between Mr. Kies' "Fellowships" and the newly formed "Cape Peninsula Students Union" under Mr. Allie Fataar. It is said that the CPSU has organised a boycott of THE TORCH. No holds are barred: the members of the "Fellowship" organisations (NEF, CFEF, CLEF) are called "Effies" by the "Students' Union". These in turn have mockingly named the CPSU the "Communist Party of the Soviet Union".

At the recent conference of the "Coloured" Teachers' League of South Africa the quarrel between Mr. Kies and Mr. Fataar would, it is report-

ed, have split this organisation had it not been for the efforts of the President, Mr. W. van Schoor.

DEGRADED POLITICAL METHODS

The departure of Dr. G.H. Gool, early last year, was a serious blow to the Anti-Cad. It cost them their "militant and mass front". According to some Dr. Gool left because he refused to be associated with the TARC funds "affair" and with the attempts to wreck the people's Anti-Group Areas struggle in 1955. Others feel that these are only isolated factors and that Dr. Gool left because of the Anti-Cad's ever increasing use of "the most degraded political methods" (eg. smearing consistent democrats as C.I.D. agents), the refusal of the leadership to correct ideological failures and the fact that they were becoming politically indistinguishable from the "multi-racialists" and Liberals.

"RACIAL" DIVERGENCE

Deep disappointment is felt by those Anti-Cad leaders who thought the federated "racial" three pillars would

RACIAL SPLIT IN ANTI-CAD ? --- / CONT.

eventually converge. But despite all their attempts to prevent it the three "pillars" have become divergent and are at best "developing along parallel lines".

One example of the growing "racial divergence" is a recent statement by an Anti-Cad leader that the presence of "Coloured" students in a certain discussion organisation would "upset the mental balance" of the "more backward Africans" present there; "here is also considerable "Anti-Moslem" prejudice. "African Nationalism" is also being resorted to as a result of conservative "Cape Coloured" patronage.

"NON-EUROPEANISM" --- "CAPE COLOUREDISM"

It is not doubted that it is the withering and devastating attacks of consistent democracy on "non-Europeanism" --- characterised as the "left cover" of "Cape Coloured" nationalism --- which caused the ideological collapse of its anti-racial protagonists in the Anti-Cad. Also their defence of the Russian bureaucracy's "murderous and bloody intervention" in the Hungarian revolution opened them up to further severe attack.

Efforts were made, especially by Mr. Hosea Jaffe, to adopt the new South African approach to put an end to the incessant attacks of the consistent democrats. THE TORCH, also took down its banner --- "The Only Independent Non-European News-

paper --- and a campaign for "De-Colourisation" was set in motion. But the representatives of "Cape Colouredism" were not prepared to accept the political implication of "South Africanism" and these efforts had to be abandoned.

However, while THE TORCH raised its "non-European" banner once again, it continued to print "Coloured" in inverted commas. More recently, Anti-Cads sometimes refer to themselves as "non-Citizens" instead of "non-Europeans".

LIBERAL ATTRACTION

Liberal capitalism with the ideological collapse of the Anti-Cad has exercised increasingly strong influence in these circles. The Anti-Cad's "NEUM" President attended the Bloemfontein 'African' Ministers' Conference and its Vice-President associated himself with the "academic non-segregationists" and the United Party "Black Sash". Many are surprised that Mr. A. G. Jordan and Mr. Sihlali should have contributed articles on "African" literature and "Bantu" education to Mr. Ronald Segal's "liberalist" publication "Africa South". Surprise has also been expressed at Mr. Kies having written a "law book" on the Cape Educational laws which has been described as "a guide book to the apartheid educational laws".

VOL.2 --- NO.10
21. 10.1957

CATALOGUES OF GRIEVANCES

The catalogues of grievances with which some political leaders persist in regaling us are becoming very tiresome. So also are the long and sterile disquisitions on "the plans of the Herrenvolk" given by would-be experts on ruling class psycho-pathology. Still more tiresome are the empty calls for "unity". It is about time we were able to take most of these things as read and get down to the business of showing the nation a way out of its present tragic situation.

---Christopher MDA
VOL.2--- NO.4.
22. 4.1957

DIRTY WORK

"Only the dirty jobs --- plastering, brick-laying and labouring jobs --- were left open to Non-European candidates," read an article, "White Labour Policy --- Simonstown Dockyard Move," in THE TORCH of March the 19th.

What a pitiful boss-boy attitude to work! And these are the teachers who are fond of claiming that "we have sprung from the loins of the working class!" Perhaps they they have sprung too high?
---Christopher MDA.

VOL.2---No.4 22.4.1957

37

ESSENCE OF T.L.S.A DISPUTE

By a Political Correspondent

While ardent attempts have been made to suppress the bitter internal conflicts within the T.L.S.A and to blanket the noise from the ears of the public it has been of no avail: the dispute has reached too great an intensity and vigour. What has sounded through to the public appears to permit description of the affair as petty, personal and at best, of a secondary and tertiary political nature. But this is perhaps too superficial.

TWO GROUPINGS

Accepting that the dispute rages within the camp and on the "non-European" political premises of a privileged caste, investigation reveals — to those not distracted by the "sound and fury" — that there are two groupings: one moving further towards "Cape Coloured" conservatism, retaining merely a democratic facade, the other towards the establishment of independent, non-racial, non-sectarian students' organisations and demanding a fuller support of the Cape African Teachers' Association's defence fund for the defence of victimised teachers.

POSITIONS NOT CLEAR

These two groupings within the T.L.S.A (which is to all intents and purposes the 'Non-European Liberatory Movement') have not yet begun to think out, or define clearly their positions. It is inevitable, therefore, that their attacks on one another will be couched in the language of the personal and will take place on the plane of the secondary and tertiary. However it is inevitable, also, that if the conflict is not resolved, that justification for the differences will have to be sought in the realm of ideas. If this occurs the essential nature of the dispute will be clearly revealed.

VOL.2 — NO.4
22.4.1957

FREEDOM ELSEWHERE

HOME TO ENGLAND AND FREEDOM! This was at one time a popular catchphrase among those "Coloured people" whom the apartheid shoe was beginning to pinch. That period is now passing. Ghana is becoming the new promised land for those trying to evade the obligation of fighting for their own freedom. A stream of professional people are making their way to Ghana — "for there at least you find freedom!" People schooled in the catechisms of non-Europeanism justify their enthusiasm for Ghana on the ground that it is a "non-European country". But the people of Ghana regard themselves not as non-Europeans but as Ghanaians, a term applying there to all racial groups. No wonder that our recent visitor from Ghana, Mr. Simpson could not understand the mentality of prominent "non-Europeans" who had been assembled by the Coloured Affairs Department to meet him.

LET THOSE WHO are inculcating into the people a mentality of inferiority, the mentality of "non-Europeans", "Coloureds", "Natives" or "non-citizens", take stock. With such a mentality one cannot stand on one's feet like a man. And only men can fight for freedom. The others will run to enjoy freedom fought for by other men.

--- Christopher MDA
VOL.2—NO.12 20.11.1957

COONS AND ZOMBIES

The terms "coon and zombie" are used by us not at all in an abusive way but in a strictly scientific political sense. We have lifted them bodily from the vocabulary of the most humiliated peoples of the earth with whose inner life our correspondent may not be well acquainted. The word 'coon' as used by us denotes those who in their deeds and ideas consciously accept and parade a degraded status; it is our homely equivalent of the American Jim Crow. The word 'zombie' comes all the way from the West Indies: we use it to denote those who have voluntarily divested themselves of their intellects and feelings and spirits and have perverted themselves into brainless slaves of one or other Big Stick. These terms are, of course, only applied to those who are consciously sinning against the light and never to the oppressed and exploited masses who are the victims of overwhelming circumstances. If our correspondent takes a manful place by our side, the day when these terms will have become of only historical interest will dawn the sooner — the ideological phenomena they describe having been completely blasted from the face of our country.

----- Editor's reply to a
Correspondent.
VOL.2 — NO.11
4. 11.1957

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INTELLIGENTSIA

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

Unless Baasskap and Apartheid are magic wands with which Strijdom and Co. have succeeded in arresting the historical progress of capitalism, there is, of course, not the remotest possibility that South Africa, this South Africa of Rhodes and Milner, will survive the present generation. Manufacturing Industry which grew up around the old Gold Mining economy is already threatening the very foundation of that economy and the political and social arrangements in which it flourished. Industrial capitalism now requires, irrespective of the consciousness of men, a transformation of all the old arrangements.

Naturally, since history is made by men, such a transformation is inconceivable without a prior transformation of consciousness. The business of progressive politics is, precisely to achieve that transformation of consciousness, to bring the ideas of men into line with the objective tasks before them. But we will fail to understand our tasks if we delude ourselves that the level of consciousness of the people has already reached a stage where it militates against the

status quo. On the contrary, the widespread acceptance of the ideas of racial separation is shocking in its apparently unbroken monotony. Even people who call themselves intellectuals in public, and who, in the secrecy of their own bedrooms pretend to be great revolutionaries, are unable to overcome the thought blocks of sectionalism and remain prisoners of the ideologies of racialism so skilfully erected by the Rhodes-Milner regime.

There is already lining up in South Africa two vast opposites of power; on the one hand, a great class of industrial proletarians and, on the other, the forces of a modern capitalist class. And neither can continue very much longer in the old way. The social struggle, largely unconscious as it may still be, has begun. South Africa is now entering upon a great revolutionary period.

But it is entering upon this period without prolonged intellectual and political preparation. Social development already demands a revolutionary transformation but the political and intellectual prerequisites for the control and guidance of that rebirth have not yet been developed. For South Africa has been cursed with an educated class which has an apparently congenital incapacity for original thought and

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES... CONT

inclined to behave more like the posterior end of society than its head.

While it is true that the development of the means of production is, in the last analysis, the decisive factor in the evolution of society, the character of the transformation and the nature of the new society depends entirely on the consciousness of those who guide the nation in its rebirth. It follows that the task of transforming the present semi-conscious cowardly, unambitious, unscientific and toothless gentry, who like to think of themselves as intellectuals, into a real modern intelligentsia is one of overwhelming importance.

Let it not be imagined that the mere juxtaposition of hostile historical forces automatically leads to a resolution of the social conflict in a progressive direction. Progressive social forces, before now, have been led into an historical cul-de-sac.

The potentialities today exist in South Africa for the creation of a modern democratic republic. But the creation of such a republic can by no manner of means be an automatic process and the failure of duty by the progressive intelligentsia may have tragic consequences in three possible dead ends of which we must be aware.

Firstly, there is the great danger that the people in their

struggle, in the absence of a modern political leadership, may take a non-political road and exhaust themselves in a struggle of racial attrition along the lines of the Kenya revolt. This cannot realise the new potentialities of the nation. Secondly, there is the danger that in their struggle against oppression and exploitation the masses of our nation may be cheated of the fruits of their victory by coming, through opportunistic leaders, under the sway of hostile and alien forces. Thirdly, in the absence of a modern social democratic leadership, free from racialist mumbo-jumbo, the terrific forces fighting against exploitation and oppression may be led along tragic lines of race struggle as happened in Algeria.

Having due regard to these dangers the rising intelligentsia must work out its political perspectives for South Africa before it can embark on its historic task — the creation of a modern democratic South African republic.

Editorial
VOL.2 — NO.6
4. 7. 1957



True philosophers, aflame with the love of truth and wisdom, never find themselves so sage or so full of wisdom or so abounding in perception but that they cede place to truth from whomsoever or whensoever it comes.

from William Harvey's ---
DE MOTU CORDIS.

THE ARGUMENT TO END ALL ARGUMENT

The democratic movement needs above all science and reason. Our problems are extremely complicated and are such as have never before faced a liberatory movement. It is clear that leadership requires not only culture and integrity but also a scientific conscience. We have still too many poseurs, charlatans and ignorant demagogues amongst us.

People who have stopped thinking are nowadays making the claim that they have a "finished philosophy" which presumably releases them from the obligation of thinking and learning. The tragedy is that smug and pompous ignoramus are still permitted to strut around pretending to an authority which is not theirs. Why, when we have abandoned them in medicine, do we still tolerate witchdoctors in politics? Our political witchdoctors pretend that they have a Higher Wisdom — a wisdom which requires neither knowledge, nor logic nor aims embracing the higher aspirations of humanity.

When their silly pretensions are blasted there remains only one argument — "Political police!" — the argument to end all argument. What guttersnipe methods! What criminal irresponsibility! This vile slander is nothing more than the skeermes of the political skolly.

For our part we continue the struggle of ideas, secure in the knowledge that our correct ideas will be triumphant and that such degraded black-mailers will crawl in misery to ignominious graves. We cannot hope that they can be rehabilitated.

--- Editorial
VOL.2 — NO.10
21.10.1957

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.