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IN THIS ISSUE .

- The Police Raids
- Cultural Clubs—An Answer to Bantu Education
- From Bunga to Chieftainship—Dr. H. J. Simons

THE THREAT OF
INCORPORATION TO
THE PROTECTORATES

BY

DR. H. JOWITT C.M.G.

See Page 4

EXPLODING THE MYTH **COMMENT**

LAST month, the Transkeian Bunga voted itself out of existence. The straw that broke the camel's back was doubtless the fanciful speech of Mr. M. D. C. de Wet

THE BUNGA BOWS DOWN Nel, deputy chairman of the Native Affairs Commission. Mr. de Wet Nel started on a note of pure poetry:

"Throw off the wolf's skin of self-deception and walk proudly into the heights on the difficult but beautiful road that, if you accept these things, lies white and clear before you." The Bunga, very impressed, duly accepted "these things," which are the Bantu Education Act and the Bantu Authorities Act. The big White chief had other bits of homely advice. "You must build your own cities," he said. "Possibilities abound for the formation of your own banks, for your wholesale and retail stores, your own insurance companies, building societies..." "There is no reason why the Bantu, in his own area, cannot obtain the same prestige as the White man has in his." The members of the Bunga were apparently too overcome by the lyrical style, or were perhaps too polite to point out the obvious. The White man has built his cities with black man's labour. He has built his banks and insurance companies on profits drawn from Black man's labour. He has built his wholesale and retail stores on the profits of Black men's wages. The White man's prestige does not arise from his superior intelligence or talent, but from the fact that he rules, and refuses to share that rule with the unfortunates who have not got "prestige", or white skins.

Some members of the Bunga might have noticed that Mr. de Wet Nel, in his catalogue of "the highest rungs of the ladder of success" which are open to the Bantu, omitted any reference to Government. Parliament is not open; the voters' roll is not open; the judiciary is not open; the senior civil service posts are not open. This is the monopoly of White men, not only in "their areas", but over the whole Union of South Africa in which the "Bantu areas" fall. The road to political control of their own destiny lies, as he says "white and clear" before the Black people. Lily white. Signposted "Europeans Only! Natives stay out!" Even though the Bunga is prepared to accept this mess of verbiage in exchange for the birthright of free men, there will not be many Africans who will.

THE name of Trevor Huddleston has become better known, during these past years, than many a cabinet minister; and certainly better loved in this land, and more highly respected. It was a bleak

BITTER BLOW day for the people of South Africa when we learnt that he is to return to Britain at the year's end. For

Father Huddleston has been an inspiration and a source of strength to people of all races who strive for rights, justice and liberty for this land. He has been fearless in upholding the dignity and brotherhood of men against the fanatics of South African racialism. He has been tireless in sponsoring the welfare and the freedom of our people against the creeping dictatorship of their rulers. He has been one of those—the outstanding European—

who has struck out for his beliefs against the stream of South African reaction, selflessly and courageously. Perhaps no religious figure in our history, since the days of Dr. Philip and the London Missionary Society, has drawn so much abuse upon his head from the men who believe in baasskap, and implement that belief by brute force. But we know that this will count for little in comparison with the love and admiration he has won from ten times their number amongst the ordinary people, Black and White. Father Huddleston will be remembered for the great things he has done and the great movements for progress he has inspired. He will be remembered for outspoken protest against the Western Areas removal scheme, which forced the building of houses and of schools at Meadowlands. Above all else, he will be remembered for the Freedom Charter, whose aims are his own; and for the new and happy South Africa which will grow from his faith in the brotherhood of men which inspired him as it inspires the Charter. South Africa will be the poorer for his leaving.

KRUGER DAY has become one of the occasions beloved by Nationalist politicians, where cabinet ministers can let their demagoguery run riot. Mr. Strydom, lashing himself into his usual rabble-rousing frenzy, ran true to type. "The urge for freedom and independence for his people burned in Paul Kruger

THE KRUGER MYTH as an inextinguishable fire... Resistance to subjection to a foreign power and against domination was part of his outlook since childhood... His ideals are our ideals, and his belief is our belief." He was deceiving no one. There are thousands of South Africans of all colours who burn, today, with the urge for freedom and independence. But the Nationalists are not amongst them.

From the myth about the Nationalist desire for freedom and independence, to the myths about democracy, and justice. "Kruger's enemies, even to this day, represented him to the world as an autocrat, a despot or a dictator." But—we have the authority of the Prime Minister—"... the Constitution of the Transvaal Republic was democratic through and through." To suggest that the Republic which denied the overwhelming majority of the people any say in the Government was not "democratic through and through" was slander, "... just as South Africa and its people were today still slandered here and overseas by means of all kinds of deliberate and mendacious misrepresentations." Pity the poor Prime Minister. Everyone who is anyone knows that South Africa is democratic through and through. Only four out of every five adults are not allowed to vote or stand for election to government office. In the footsteps of Kruger. Just as we follow in his footsteps in "our attitude and policy towards the non-Europeans." "This must be, and in fact it is one of justice and fairness." You have the word of the Prime Minister for it. It is difficult to avoid the thought that if we returned to the old calendar of public holidays, we would be spared this deliberate and mendacious falsity in our newspapers on October 10th each year.

THE GESTAPO AT THE GATE

By L. BERNSTEIN

THE police raids, launched simultaneously throughout the country during September, were the third mass swoop in little over a year. The warrants to search, roneoed in bulk, carried the same formulation as before—treason, sedition, “communism.” A whole army of plain-clothes men went into action, headed by the Special Branch of the C.I.D., now significantly renamed the “Security Branch,” and aided by many pressed into service from the “gold squad” and the “liquor squad.”

The daily press, which usually feeds on sensations, managed to get a good laugh out of the clumsy bumbling of some of the most stupid of the “custodians of the law.” The story of the Chinese dressing gown, taken so that experts could decode its sinister hieroglyphics, almost pushed the rest of the news off the front page.

Self-Appointed Censors

It requires a distorted sense of humour to find anything to laugh at in the antics of Mr. Swart’s “security police.” Armed with all the power of state, they went about their searches with a flagrant contempt for the law, for their duties, and for the rights of individuals. The Chinese dressing gown was not a joke, but a serious indication of the lengths to which these “custodians of the law” stretch their own powers. Authorised to take material relating to forty-seven specified organisations which might afford evidence of the commission of the crimes of treason, sedition and statutory communism, the raiders turned themselves into a corps of self-appointed censors of dangerous thoughts, of books, of culture.

From my own house they removed every book that mentioned Russia, China or the Peoples’ Democracies, or which carried an imprint from any of those lands. They removed some—Dostoevsky’s *Crime and Punishment*, which only sounded sinisterly Russian. They removed a collection of children’s paintings—*The War as Seen by Children*, and a book on townplanning, *Changing Britain*—“change” has also assumed a sinister meaning. They took books on the Tennessee Valley Administration, on the Marshall Plan, on livestock-raising in the U.S.S.R. They took booklets like Professor Errol Harris’ *White Civilisation*, a war-time tract, *The Gangsters Around Hitler*, a sociological study, *The African as Suckling and Adult*. They took periodicals such as *Race Relations News* and *Fighting Talk*, *New Age* and the *British New Statesman and Nation*.

Terror

It is impossible to laugh at facts like these; and they were repeated over and over again during the day’s raids. The “Security Branch” of the police force has become the new Gestapo. Its purpose is not to uphold the law, but to intimidate, censor, snoop and terrorise. Its members seat themselves conspicuously, with notebooks open, at every political meeting that the Minister dislikes—every lawful political meeting. Periodically, to make the process of intimidation more open and apparent, they demand the names and addresses of everyone present. They take down motor-car numbers outside houses where “members only” meetings are held. They arrive with cameras at conferences, and photograph every

participant for their secret dossiers. They are becoming experts at suppression by intimidating, frightening and threatening. *This is the hallmark of the Gestapo.*

But they have another side to their activities, a side they hide away from the light. They open letters secretly—let Mr. Swart or Mr. Serfontein deny it; the evidence is there. They operate a black-list of people who are not to be given passports. They listen-in on private telephone calls. They approach, furtively, the employers of people seen at meetings and “tip them off”; they single out newcomers to legitimate meetings, and interview them individually afterwards, question them, warn them that they are being watched. They are becoming the secret watchers of the thinkers of “dangerous thoughts”, the collectors of secret dossiers of information. *This is the hallmark of the Gestapo.*

Secret Force

The evidence is there. There is no other explanation for it. Mrs. Ballinger exposed in Parliament how private letters of members of her party were being opened. Blandly the Ministers denied all knowledge, promised an investigation. Nothing has happened. The Bellevue Discussion Club stated publicly in the press that participants in its weekly discussions were being harried and questioned by the “Security Branch.” Nothing has happened. Three times in one year there have been mass raids and seizures of books and documents on suspicion of “sedition.” Nothing has happened. Three thousand people were photographed, searched and listed at the Congress of the People, on suspicion of “sedition.” Nothing has happened. Two meetings in Johannesburg and one in Cape Town have been given the same “working over” in the past year. Nothing has happened.

Nothing; except that the “Security Branch” has grown in strength and numbers, and extended its tentacles to an ever wider field. They are more today than a minor, petty branch of the plain-clothes police. They are a “Geheime Staats Polizei”—a secret police force, with all the trappings, all the techniques and all the menace of a Gestapo. Even Mr. Swart is beginning to strip the camouflage from the purposes of the Security Branch. His statement last week about the raids “... disposed of the suspicion that they had been precipitated by some specific treasonable act”, says the *Star*. Suspicion? There never was any suspicion. There was only a sworn allegation by a leading member of the Security Branch. “The periodic searches which policemen of the Special Branch make for Communist or treasonable material are checks on what progress, if any, subversive movements may be making in the Union,” says the *Star*, reporting Minister Swart.

Checks on progress. Filling of secret dossiers. Preparing for more rigid measures of thought control and intimidation. If you have ever been at an anti-Government meeting, your name might be on one of those dossiers. Prepare for a “check,” on a warrant alleging sedition. The Gestapo is watching your progress. The members of the daily-paper staff might be able to laugh that thought off. But South Africa dare not. The enemy might be at your gate tomorrow.

THE FUTURE OF THE PROTECTORATES

By DR. H. JOWITT, C.M.G.

The writer of this article is Senior Lecturer in Native Law and in Education at the Roma University College in Basutoland. He has served as Director of Native Development in S. Rhodesia. In the service of the British Crown for 33 years, he writes forcibly against the incorporation of the Protectorates into the Union.

AS MISS MARGERY PERHAM so trenchantly remarked of the High Commission Territories issue a year before the Union Africans were disfranchised, when the century-old rights of the Cape Africans were expunged from the Statute Book:—

"If only we were asked to give away something of the kind we have so often given before—power, prestige, economic advantage, patronage—how easy it would be. But here it is men and women we are asked to give, and that against their will."

Twenty years later, in no way affected by the sophistry or self-interest or emotional indignation of the politicians, this remains the decisive moral disclaimer. In relation to this, all arguments in favour of incorporation fall into their proper perspective. Nevertheless, it is exactly this which is so constantly ignored. It has recently been entirely ignored in a roneoed eleven page memorandum made available at the State Information Office, Pretoria, described as an article which "reflects the expressed views of the Government," its title being "South Africa's Six-Point Claim to the Protectorates."

Of significance is the fact that the moral issue is completely disregarded, and that, in conformity with Union policy, the Africans of the three Territories are regarded as moveable assets whose ownership may be assumed by Dr. Verwoerd, when once Her Majesty's Government, having ceased to procrastinate, have assented to this testamentary disposition, and death duties have been paid.

No Triumph for Democracy

If one places the fortunes of subject peoples under the sole direction of another power, without any volition of their own, this can hardly be regarded as a triumph for democracy, especially if they be allowed no measure of significant participation in the process. This holds good even though the familiar Union argument be extended to these salients:— that any discriminatory legislation applied would be to preserve "White" civilization in the Territories.

It is claimed that the populations of the Protectorates are ethnically related to those of the Union. The truer that may be, the greater the certainty that, under incorporation, identical discriminatory legislation would smoothly apply. The re-inforced argument would run, that since the advancing tide of barbarism becomes strengthened by an additional one and a quarter million, such legislation must, more than ever be necessary, to preserve "White" civilization. Dispossession would then be vested with moral qualities.

In this context it is doubtful whether the illiberals realise at all adequately the sinister effects, if coercion were applied, of adding a million and a quarter of disaffected and mutinous Africans to the steadily increasing ranks of the fifth column which the Union is steadily

producing. Prudence alone should dictate caution here, but the lack of it would denote more than mere imprudence. It would denote folly, for which the future on each side of the colour line would pay.

The South African brief would appear to be that historically the territories have been pledged to the Union to which they are contiguous and upon which they depend for their economic survival; that their own security from external aggression and internal strife—and concurrently that of the Union—can be ensured only by incorporation, and that such incorporation would, in some miraculous fashion, synchronously promote African welfare.

In any detached analysis of the sequence of negotiations, it must be conceded that there were strong grounds for holding that, implicit in section 151 of the South Africa Act, was the principle of transfer at a later date, just as in the related Schedule, conditions were defined. In the years that have passed, changed circumstances have made it an issue of honour for the United Kingdom and one of prestige for the Union. It has thus long ceased to be primarily dependent upon the legal interpretation of legislation no longer binding.

No Voice for Incorporation

For what it is worth I would say that, having served for over 10 years in the two larger Protectorates, my experience amply confirms that of Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker to the effect that I have yet to meet an informed African in Basutoland or in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, who has a word to say in support of incorporation. Over the years I have met chiefs and commoners, members of the African Advisory Council in Bechuanaland, and of the National Council in Basutoland, headmen and tribal elders, priests and ministers, teachers and lecturers, civil servants and other employees, students at various levels, doctors and other professional men and women, farmers and artisans and the like. There has been a remarkable degree of unanimity. I withdraw the word "remarkable". It would have been indeed remarkable had they favoured incorporation.

Worthless Assurance

With consistent correctitude, legally considered, Her Majesty's Government have re-affirmed ad nauseam that they would not hand over the Territories without consultation with the inhabitants concerned. This reply has satisfied neither side. It has failed to give the Africans the assurance they naturally desire, and so far as the Union is concerned—where legislative measures under the present Government have ensured the position—there is no longer a single territory-wide statutory consultative body for the expression of African opinion, so that consultation with Africans has not the slightest official recognition, and would not be seriously entertained elsewhere.

Of real significance is the fact that the Memorandum prepared by the South African Government in 1939, on the conditions that might apply under incorporation, was never referred to the Africans of the Protectorates, and that since then no proposals have been placed before them for their consideration. In brief, the idea of consultation is ridiculed; documentation has become moribund; since the year quoted there has been a spate of restrictive legislation in the Union; the Africans there have learnt to speak in the language of democracy but have been allowed to do so less and less, and, since any tangible South African proposals would embarrass negotiations, they have neither been drafted nor referred to the Africans, although the cry for incorporation grows ever more clamant.

This is a typical example of Union arbitration at the highest level, although, concurrently, without any evidence, blame is attached to the political parties in the United Kingdom, the significance of whose essential agreement is overlooked, and to the collusion of administrative officers in the High Commission Territories, who have created suspicion "among the tribal and somewhat credulous inhabitants" in the Protectorates. To say that this over simplifies the position is a modest understatement. It is on a par with the point of view, stated or implied at political meetings, that the Mother of Parliaments maintains a diplomatic impasse with a Dominion on the basis of chicanery, equivocation or ineptitude.

Neither in Hansard nor in the South African Press, nor in statements on political platforms have I seen quoted the following excerpt from Command Paper Cmd 8707, published in December, 1952, and presented to the British Parliament:—

"An explicit undertaking has also been given that Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will not support in the House of Commons or elsewhere any proposal for transfer if it involves the impairment of the safeguards of Native rights and interests which the Schedule to the South Africa Act was designed to ensure." (parag. 8.)

Is there any valid evidence that this principle would be honoured by South Africa? To claim, as has been done, that the inhabitants of the Protectorates would have parity of treatment with those of the Union supplies contrary evidence.

Bias For Apartheid

Thirty-five years ago it was held that the members appointed to the Union Native Affairs Commission were selected for their specialized knowledge of "Native affairs"; that it could, therefore, offer impartial and objective views on the issues referred, and that accordingly, it could be counted upon unselfishly to guard African interests.

After but a few years its dependent status became evident, and it ceased to challenge the Government on points where the two were at variance. This tendency culminated when it became a party body, the main requirement being full acquiescence in the Native policy of the Government, and as from May 1st, 1951, it was laid down that the Commission should play an active part in promoting apartheid.

This is the negation of the spirit underlying the concept of native administration in the Protectorates, of which Margery Perham wrote twenty years ago:—

"the rulers have entered into working partnership with

the positive forces in native society, and have put themselves, as far as humanly possible, into psychological harmony with peoples who, under the abnormal conditions of Africa today, are easily driven into a fatalistic apathy."

With the fullest evidence in support, it can be claimed that in these Territories there is a genuine concern for African interests; that they have accorded their people the dignity of human personality, and that they have encouraged them to grow up and to stand on their own feet. Such things have no cash equivalent.

No Barriers Here

On a per capita basis of social service provision the Africans in the High Commission Territories may suffer in comparison with those in the Union, but they have no Bantu Education Act to contend with, which, in the opinion of many, would revive the African's past as a barrier against his future. They have no colour bar in industry. They are not prevented by edictal legislation from meeting together should they number more than ten. They are not subject to legislation which cannot be referred on appeal to any court. Their freedom of movement is not restricted within the land of their birth. Their right to sell their labour within the best territorial market is not denied them, neither are they denied trade union membership, nor subjected to the racial distribution of occupations. Nor are they repeatedly told that, since their development must be on their own lines, they must not aspire to parity of opportunity through the convergence of culture.

Instead, civic friendship is possible for them, and this outweighs any superficial disparity in financial appropriations within the neighbouring wealthy Dominion, for, whatever may be the present disabilities in the Protectorates, the basis of goodwill remains.

In the High Commission Territories, today, whatever may be their record of past neglect, it is an article of faith that there is infinitely less to fear from the free sharing of "our" culture with the Non-Europeans than from their cultural under-development. That, too, has surely a moral basis, but one, apparently, not recognised in Pretoria.

The underlying principles of racism are that since the law of natural evolution governs the world, it demands that a superior race be the master of inferior races. Applied to the Union this means that since the Europeans are superior, they must govern for all time, nor must that government be shared. So long as that view prevails, and it could hardly be more strongly entrenched, higher per capita expenditure on education—racially circumscribed education—is of little worth. Incidentally I have known a tribal treasury in the Bechuanaland Protectorate spend nearly 50% of its revenue on education, and until a few years ago it was probably true that the Basutoland Administration was spending on African education a higher percentile amount than any other territory in Africa, the Union not excepted, a feature overlooked when expenditure is related solely to school population and not to revenue.

Threat of Sanctions

Periodically, restrained but unpleasant references are made to trade wars, to discriminatory tariffs and to labour and other sanctions which are threatened unless incorporation be brought about. At intervals since 1936, the closing of the Union markets has been one of the

penalties to be invoked, unless the Union claim be conceded.

Thus General Hertzog abandoned his assurance that he did not desire incorporation except with "the full acquiescence of the populations concerned", and began to threaten "consequences of the most unpleasant character." Dr. Malan repeated the threat, issuing the warning that the Protectorates would be regarded as foreign territories and treated as such—terminology repeated in Parliament when passing amending legislation.

In less parliamentary language, but with more realism, the threat of economic sanctions clearly implies the concept of starving the people into submission, a course inconsistent with the honour of the Union or with that of the United Kingdom.

Guarding the Heritage

That does not mean that Britain can afford any complacency about her trusteeship, even though the well-founded charge of stagnation which could with some justice have been levelled years ago, is no longer valid. Although not dramatic, progress in the last 20 years has been remarkable and, assisted by more generous allocations from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, and the Colonial Development Corporation, there were grounds for holding that, in time, Bechuanaland and Swaziland should be comparatively wealthy.

Basutoland, the senior country of larger population, with its constant fight against soil erosion and its probable absence of payable minerals—although diamonds have recently been found—faces a more precarious future, but its recent achievement is most creditable. In brief, the hope is entertained that schemes already introduced, or projected, may well alter the whole economy of the three Territories. In that event the argument is strengthened that this estate should be held in trustee-

ship for the wards, pending the attainment of their majority, rather than that it should be mortgaged to envious neighbours. Of interest in this connection is the fact, that, already, Union publicity material has included the combined areas of the Protectorates to swell the percentile amount of land to be allocated to the Bantu,—a somewhat premature but naive claim for overseas consumption,—to illustrate a liberal land policy regarding them. It has publicity value in helping to obscure the fact that, in the Union, the 1913 Land Act provisions have not yet been fully implemented. However, title has not yet been passed—thank God.

It needs to be remembered, too, that assurances given by the Union today regarding African land would have little validity tomorrow, for—other considerations apart—the Governor-General may alter existing boundaries, divide tribes, and remove tribes, upon any condition he may determine.

The Challenge Remains

Dr. Ashton recently pointed out that with regard to the Union on the one hand and the High Commission Territories on the other, "they are now wider apart than they have even been before, and their paths promise to diverge still further."

It would seem impossible that public opinion in the United Kingdom today would countenance the transfer of the Protectorates, unless there should be a phenomenal increase in the Union, and one most urgently needed, in the number of liberal South Africans, with consequential reassurances.

It follows that a double challenge remains, and it is one of compelling urgency.

I must believe in civic friendship. I must believe in the unfettered development of the African. Until I believe that these will follow incorporation, I cannot support it.

CULTURAL CLUBS

An Answer to Bantu Education

EVERY day the number of children attending Cultural Clubs increases. That these Clubs are fulfilling an important function is appreciated by the parents of over 2,000 African children—and by the Nationalist Government. Whilst the African people are trying to build the Cultural Clubs, the Government is trying by raids, intimidation and arrests to destroy them. From the time spent by our police force in official visits to the Clubs, our rulers obviously feel them to be a most undesirable development.

Cultural Clubs came into existence as a direct result of the Bantu Education Act. People from all sections of the community realised its implications and rejected outright the principles behind the Act. Then the

African National Congress recommended the formation of a national education council to co-ordinate the

By

MYRTLE BERMAN

struggle against the Bantu Education Act. Father Huddleston was asked to convene a meeting in Johannesburg, all organisations and individuals who had voiced any opposition to the Act were invited and the African Education Movement was formed.

Three Aims

There are three aims around which most of the work of the African Education Movement centres. One is to assist and to expand as many private schools as possible—schools which

can follow their own syllabus, being financially independent. Then there is the provision of home education material. This material has been drawn up to assist parents whose children are not in schools teach their children the three R's. Finally, there are the Cultural Clubs. At the inception of the A.E.M., these Clubs were intended to cater for children not in private schools, that is, children attending Government schools as well as those not in any school at all. We wanted to supplement the Bantu Education syllabus by providing the history, geography, and civics so carefully left out of the official syllabus. We wanted to provide the *correct* facts about the conditions under which the African people live—the starva-

tion wages, the pass laws, The Bantu Education Act itself, the reasons for the Bantu Authorities Act, in fact all the machinery designed for the oppression of the African people.

Then came the spontaneous boycott of the Bantu Education schools on the Reef, the reprisals by Verwoerd which resulted in the expulsion of the children, and thousands of children were without schooling. The African Education Movement immediately decided that its first aim was to cater for these children. Wherever possible they were directed to private schools and where there were no private school facilities, Cultural Clubs sprang into existence almost overnight.

Today there are Clubs operating in the following places: Alexandra Township with 200 children and 5 Clubs leaders. Benoni, 327 children and 5 Club leaders. Brakpan, 800 children and 8 Club leaders. Germiston, 320 children and 6 Club leaders. Jabavu, 89 children and 4 Club leaders. Moroka, 49 children 1 Club leader. Nataalspruit, 289 children 2 Club leaders.

Cultural Clubs have also been organised in the Eastern Cape but as yet we have no detailed figures of attendance.

Tackling the Job

These Clubs are operating in the face of great difficulties and it is due to the enthusiasm of the parents, club-leaders and children that they run as smoothly as they do. To gain an idea of the difficulties involved, imagine yourself suddenly confronted with three to four hundred children of both sexes and from the ages seven to seventeen years. You may have had some teaching experience but it is just those formal teaching techniques you are now forbidden to use. The recitation of the alphabet or a multiplication table would be sufficient to convict you of running an illegal, that is, unregistered school. The sentence: six months in prison or a £50 fine.

You are not allowed to write sums on the blackboard, and to tell a group of children to "Get on with it." They may not practise reading or writing. The mere presence of a blackboard is suspect. Neither you, nor the two assistants you are likely to have, have ever been trained as Club Leaders. Your problem is to impart as much information as possible by informal methods—a technique far more difficult to acquire than that of formal teaching. So it is a case of taking a

deep breath, and preparing to learn by trial and error. There is, of course, a time-table, guide and set of instructions drawn up by the African Education Movement. There are also regular instalments of material, suggestions for games and crafts, history, geography and literary stories. You are expected to go to Club leaders' training groups and demonstrations once a fortnight. However, it is one thing to participate in a peaceful demonstration making puppets, doing finger-painting and general knowledge games; it is quite another to organise a hundred high-spirited children, half of whom are racing round an open square. Instead of doing one thing at a time, you are faced with half a dozen tasks. The groups have to be divided by age and sometimes by sex. You are just settling the older boys to make match-box furniture when a sudden gust of wind whisks away the stack of paper intended for the middle group's "mask-making hour." Unused to the hazards of open-air work you have forgotten to put stones on the paper to keep it down. The children scatter hilariously in an "undemonstrated" paper-catching game.

Of course the Club might be operating in a hall or rooms where you are protected from the uncertainties of our weather. However, few of the halls are really suitable. Many are depressingly overcrowded, badly lit. In either place you are likely to find shortages of material. Insufficient material for the girls to sew, not enough wood for the boys, these are constant problems. And there is not much to be done about it either. An urgent call to the African Education Movement may help. That will depend on how successfully seven local committees have collected such things as wool, material, crayons, cardboard, wood or footballs. For there is very little money available to buy equipment, and without the activities of these European local committees there would be little material for handwork or games.

How Effective?

With all these difficulties you may well ask the question: "How much of an alternative education do these Clubs provide?" And frankly we must answer: "In the narrow sense, not very much." As we have said before the Club leaders are not trained in group work. In many cases they have only Standard VI education themselves. On the other hand, we are sure that after the intensive training

course for Club leaders to be held in 1956, the position will improve.

We know there are insufficient funds for the numbers of children involved. Although the parents are charged approximately two shillings each month we have still to tighten up the collection procedures. At the moment the clubs are not financially independent of the African Education Movement which has to subsidise the salaries of the Club leaders. On the credit side we are keeping these children happy and occupied and without a doubt providing them with correct information about the country, its problems and its future.

Police Intimidation

One cannot leave the Cultural Clubs without mentioning the constant visits of the police, visits that are almost becoming part of the Club routine. They are likely to raid the Club premises at any time, searching the Club leaders, the children, the hall, the books and equipment. Looking for what? Well, nobody is too sure. The list of articles removed from one Club makes fantastic reading: a blazer with one shilling in the pocket; a blue jersey; a handkerchief with 6d. knotted in it; a pocket book with 1/6, and so the list goes on.

What is the reason for this police behaviour? You may well ask. Let me put it like this. It is difficult for children not to be frightened when they see several car loads of police racing across a square, not towards their Club leaders, but towards them. Some of them might run away. But all of them, and even the smallest ones, will be back when it is all over. I don't think the police realise that.

What is one supposed to be guilty of, anyway? Running an illegal school? Passes not in order? Treasonable activity? A Club leader may be arrested and either prosecuted or, after a while, released. One thing is certain. If his club is anything like those in Benoni or Brakpan he will have the active support of the older children. In both these places the older girls and boys demonstrated their protest at the arrest of their Club leaders. With spirit and understanding like this it is most unlikely that either the Club leaders or the children will become intimidated by this constant police activity.

In spite of the government's tactics the Cultural Club movement will continue to grow. There will be Cultural Clubs as long as there is Bantu Education.

APARTHEID CLAIMS A VICTORY

From Bunga to Chieftainship

By DR. H. J. SIMONS

THE United Transkeian Territories General Council unanimously decided in its 60th year to commit suicide and make way for chiefs appointed under the Bantu Authorities Act.

Apartheiders were jubilant. "The most significant conversion to the Government's Native Policy," exclaimed *Die Vaderland* (April 23, 1955), and *Die Transvaler* on the following day hailed the decision as "a real triumph for the Government and its policy of Apartheid."

Opponents were sceptical, suspicious or dismayed, and in any event at a loss to explain this apparent reversion to tribalism. Indeed, the decision could not easily be reconciled with previous Bunga resolutions. Let us look at some of them.

MEMBERS of the Bunga have been dissatisfied with the Council for many years, and have made many efforts to reform it, always in the direction of putting more power in the hands of the African Councillors.

The main complaint, strongly voiced for instance in the sessions of 1944 and 1945, was that the Council had only an advisory function and that real control was vested in the magistrates. "The District Councils are being regarded by the people as dolls," said a Councillor in 1946, "because when asked about matters appertaining to roads, Councillors can tell them nothing as they themselves are told and know nothing of what is going on."

The magistrates always resisted strongly these attempts to secure more authority for the African members. General Smuts's proposals of 1947 for the revision of the Native Representative Council's constitution did, however, contemplate the eventual setting up of wholly elected councils under African chairmen.

Constitution Amended

General Smuts's government did not last long enough to give effect to his ideas, but the Councillors themselves kept on pressing for a change. In 1949 a recess committee was appointed to draft a new constitution, and its report was presented in the following session. The draft was described as a measure for "the gradual handing over of the control of Council affairs to the Native people themselves", but some of the Councillors wanted a more rapid devolution.

"The time has now come when the election by the Governor-General should cease," said Mr. S. Mabude, "and when the people should themselves nominate all the District Council members." The African members of the recess committee recommended, and the majority of the Bunga accepted, contrary to the magistrates' views, a motion that District Councils should be free to elect one of their own, African, members as chairman.

These and other changes were embodied in a new constitution which came into force in 1952. As usual, the magistrates had had their way, and the transfer of authority was made dependant on the goodwill of the Governor-General or, in practice, the magistrates and Secretary for Native Affairs.

When they were satisfied that an entirely African

Council in any district was capable of conducting the affairs of the district, the election of an African chairman would be permitted. Similarly, when all the magistrates had been replaced by African chairman, the Administration could allow the Bunga itself to elect an African chairman.

Slow Progress

The magisterial view has always been that the whole of the administration would collapse if the White personnel were withdrawn.

This opinion, held after 60 years of so-called training in local self-government, amounted to a damning condemnation of the Bunga system.

When the Chief Magistrate addressed the Bunga in 1952 on the subject of the revised constitution, and described its aim as "the transfer of control of Council affairs to the Native people," he hastened to add that the speed of the transfer would depend on the African's ability and qualifications. "Apart from finding suitable Natives with the necessary professional and technical qualifications for a small number of posts, the whole question is very largely one of training the present Native staff to take over the duties of the European staff."

The lack of trained Africans must be attributed to the Administration's policy of employing them only in minor posts.

In this, as in other respects, the Bunga system failed. There were African Councillors who recognized the failure and who tried to remove the cause. The new constitution represented, in their eyes, an advance. Why then did they vote to scrap it in favour of "Bantu authorities?"

Councillor Chiefs

It is not generally known perhaps that, although tribal chiefs have not commonly been given administrative powers in the Transkei, the magistrates actually operate through and by means of a network of hereditary headmen who in many instances are petty chiefs and members of the old ruling houses.

Headmen are minor and badly paid officials, but are nevertheless in a position to bestow or withhold important favours. They are influential and can be tyrannical.

Headmen stand for election and are often nominated by the Government to District Councils and the Bunga. Most people are afraid to vote against their headmen when choosing the sectional representatives by show of hands.

Mr. R. S. Canca, who carried out research into the workings of the Council system in 1948, found that in a typical district three of the four local nominees were headmen—chiefs by tradition—and that it was almost a foregone conclusion that a headman would defeat a commoner. In one tribal group no commoner had ever been a member of the District Council. The General Council itself contained 55 headmen as compared with 27 commoners,

Object to Bantu Authorities

Yet this council of headmen did not like the Bantu Authorities Act. Two District Councils in 1952 and three in 1953 asked that the Act should not be applied to the Transkei, and motions to that effect were adopted by the Bunga without opposition on both occasions.

The Chief Magistrate assured the Council that there was no suggestion in the Act of abolishing the Bunga system, and that the Minister had stated more than once that he had no intention of abolishing it.

What happened to change the minds of the commoners, as well as those of the chiefs, on the Council?

Propaganda and Promises

Dr. D. L. Smit, speaking with the authority of an ex-Secretary for Native Affairs, attributed the change of front to "the misleading propaganda that has been disseminated among the Natives over the past two or three years, the promises that have been extended to the chiefs of additional powers and additional authority over their people, and last but not least, the promise of the ultimate elimination of the White man and the handing over of his assets to the Natives" (Assembly Debate, June 10, 1955 c.7520).

Mr. Stanford confirmed this account, though in more guarded terms. People in the Transkei, he said, had been given extravagant ideas about the benefits they would receive under the Bantu Authorities Act, such as great chances to expand, to become their own officials and their own magistrates. "I do not know," he added, "whether the opportunities are going to be made available for those people, but they are certainly not available now."

I do not propose to discuss here whether Africans will make more rapid progress under chiefs who are government agents and often illiterate and backward, than they would under councils democratically elected by the people themselves. The only point I wish to make in this connection is that *the demand for genuine self-government has been sidetracked just at the time when it seemed to be approaching realization.*

I should, however, like to discuss briefly one or two consequences of the attempt to tie chiefs up more closely with the administration, and give them greater powers as a means of implementing "apartheid."

Tribalism vs. Progress

The apartheid theory embraces two major and quite irreconcilable propositions.

One is that the Reserves can be transformed into up-to-date, highly productive centres of agricultural and industrial progress. The blue-prints for this great enterprise, it is said, have already been drawn by the Tomlinson Commission. Indeed, they have been ready for publication at any time now during the past 12 months!

The other proposition is that tribalism can be resuscitated. This proposal has not yet reached the planning stage, and we do not know if it involves the resurrection of totemism, polygyny, and the diviner's bones. About all we do know of it, in fact, is that the Administration means to put the chief back on the tribal stool and restore to him his traditional position of political leader in African society.

Hereditary chiefs at the head of an industrialized society are just about as useless and absurd as oxen hitched to an eight-cylinder motor-car. It is either chief-

tainship or progress, not the two together; and the present Administration's practice, whatever its theory, is to build up chieftainship in underdeveloped and stagnant communities.

Political Chiefs

The chief is undoubtedly a force to be reckoned with in the Reserves. He commands respect and wields real power. His followers are bound to him by training and tradition, and by the remnants of tribalism that survive: kinsmen, land and cattle—the tribal African's substitute for unemployment insurance, old age pension, paid holiday, sick pay, and the rest of a social security scheme.

Many other Africans also respect the chief, but for different reasons. They do not live in the Reserves or belong to a tribal community. Indeed, they have nothing to gain from his goodwill. Yet they honour him, because he is a symbol of past independence, and is still influential in his own sphere. Also, he has real favours to bestow in the form of the thousands of votes which he controls as an electoral college under the Representation of Natives Act.

For reasons such as these, African National Congress and other leaders have been reluctant to oppose the system of chieftainship. They have even urged governments to add to its powers and prestige, hoping thereby to win the confidence of the tribal peasants and obtain their support for African nationalism.

That uneasy alliance—or the expectation of one—must surely cease as the chiefs become the Administration's agents for carrying out its apartheid policy in schools, agriculture, the labour market and urban areas.

The Government's attempt to make the chiefs bear the burden of an onerous and detested policy may therefore bring the people into bitter opposition to, and so destroy the remnants of, chieftainship.

This South Africa!

Whites and Non-Europeans Mixing More in Europe

FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT

BLOEMFONTEIN, Monday. — The intimate relationship between Europeans and non-Europeans in Europe was most alarming, said the Reverend D. G. van der Merwe, the Dutch Reformed Church mission secretary in the Free State.

He has just returned from a visit to Europe.

"It is not unusual to see white women going out with non-Europeans. The mixing of European and non-European in some countries of Europe has progressed much. Generally the spiritual level in Europe could be of a much higher standard."

Rand Daily Mail
25/10/55

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

SIXTEEN STRIKES IN THE TRANSVAAL

Workers' Reply to the Native Labour Act

DURING recent months sixteen strikes have been reported to the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions. These strikes, which took place in the Transvaal, involved approximately ten thousand African workers employed in seven different industries. Three thousand agricultural workers at Nelspruit, 2000 building workers, 4000 textile workers, 300 laundry workers, 250 food and canning workers, 500 engineering workers and 100 toy workers have come out on strike.

Yet, during the last session of Parliament, Minister of Labour De Klerk said: "The Natives are not interested in strikes." He said it while he was amending the Native Labour Act to remove a loophole in the clause which makes strikes of African workers a crime. In that very week three strikes *that we know of* took place in Johannesburg.

For while strikes at one time received the publicity they deserve, this is not so today. Even trade union officials are cautious lest they precipitate a prosecution which could have been avoided. Employers, of course, always shy away from publicity which shows that their workers feel that they are being unfairly treated. The Labour Department, quite naturally, likes to give the impression that the Native Labour Act does indeed settle disputes, when in fact a number of strikes could have been avoided if the approach encouraged by that Act did not prevail.

So a movement of some importance among the workers is receiving little notice.

Workers Between the Grindstones

All these strikes are in one way or another related to the question of wages. In a number of them, however, the immediate issue was the right to organise and the refusal of bosses to recognise trade unions, shop-stewards or other spokesmen of the workers. These strikes are in fact bound up with a series of political decisions by the Government, and the workers' reactions are, knowingly or unwittingly, of a political nature.

The first of these decisions announced by both the Minister of Finance (then Havenga) and the Minister of Labour (then Schoeman) in the early part of 1953 was to the effect that no further increases would be made in the statutory cost-of-living allowances, which until that year had been increased twice a year,

By

ARNOLD SELBY

or at least annually, but which were still being outstripped by the cost-of-living index. The next was that Africans were no longer to be subsidised by the State, in other words, that a whole range of sub-economic services, as they affect Africans, was to be withdrawn.

The effect of these decisions was to cause a substantial drop in the goods and services which African workers could buy with their wages. Between February 1953 and August 1955, the retail price index increased from 188.9 to 202.5. But this index, based on European family budgets, is a very poor guide to African family living costs. And of course it does not measure such things as the loss of indirect income through curtailed school-feeding, and so on, that Africans suffered. The real incomes of African families probably dropped by about 20% during this period.

This was one part of the grindstone.

The other part was much more directly political. This concerned the passing of the Native Labour Act, and of the major offensive against the trade unions launched by Schoeman in 1953/54. It was during this time that the Labour Affairs Division of the Cape Chamber of Industries could gleefully report that the banings of leaders, and the threat of the Industrial Conciliation Bill, had cowed even the militant trade unions, and that the unions generally were not pressing their wage claims with

any vigour. In fact, as a result of repression, of refusal to recognise unions and by direct incitement of employers to resist the legitimate demands of the workers, the Government blocked the way to an adjustment of wages to compensate for increased living costs.

Workers Defy the Nationalists

With the passing of the Native Labour Act the wage picture for African workers, especially, has changed. The Wage Board which in 1943 produced 11 new wage determinations, produced in 1954 exactly one new wage determination.

African trade unions, of whom the Industrial Legislation Commission said that they were invaluable to the Labour Department in enforcing industrial laws and wages determinations, found their "administrative" recognition completely withdrawn. Instead, policy instructions were issued to the Labour Department to prosecute in the case of every single stoppage of work involving African workers, and to lend no assistance to organised African workers by means of conciliation in labour disputes.

Knowing full well that strikes are illegal, that their consequences are almost certain to be punitive police action, and definite prosecution leading to fines, imprisonment and whippings, African workers have taken strike action on a large scale. Nor have these strikes been spur-of-the-moment affairs. In many cases they have followed on lengthy negotiations, or attempts to negotiate.

In at least one case a stoppage of work took place as a direct protest against police action against the workers' trade union leader. This is what happened:

Workers at a certain factory formulated demands to be served on their employer and agreed that the Union organiser should present and discuss these demands with the boss during the lunch-hour. When the time came to resume work, the discussions were still going on. The organiser went out and told the workers to start working, while he continued with the negotiations. The discussions were still

going on when the police entered and arrested the organiser—for tress passing! When the workers saw their spokesman being marched off under arrest, they downed tools. Later in the day the employer asked the police please to bring the organiser back to tell the workers to start working. This was done and the workers resumed work. As a result of an inept ultimatum by the boss, there was a further work stoppage on the following day. But on the events we have related here the workers are being prosecuted for striking—and the organiser for inciting them to strike!

Role of the Unions

In most cases it was workers belonging to trade unions who struck work. With the passing of the Native Labour Act the stage was supposed to have been set for bleeding the African trade unions to death. But the Nationalists did not take into account the fact that they are dealing with men and women, nor did they take into account the aspirations of the workers for a better life. African trade unions have not bled to death. They have grown stronger. Trade union offices are hives of activity, shop stewards come to pay subscriptions, workers from different factories meet to discuss their hardships, exchange experiences and decide what to do.

It is perfectly true that people value most what they have to struggle to bring about and maintain. This is what has happened with the African trade unions in particular, and with wages and working conditions generally. There is no doubt that the fixing of wages by means of the Wage Board, industrial councils and conciliation boards has tended to take the process out of the workshop and into the board room. The clamping down on means of improving conditions through these channels, though the motive is undoubtedly to freeze African workers' wages, has reversed the process. In this way the Unions are being revitalised.

There is one aspect of trade unionism which is perhaps not entirely true of a purely political movement. The trade union is expected to, and its members demand, that it should produce immediate results in the form of increased wages, better treatment and the keeping of members in their jobs.

How do these strikes measure up from the point of view of results? A few were total failures, in that the workers got nothing and lost their jobs in the bargain. In at least one

case, the boss was very anxious to have his workers back, but they refused to a man to return to him. Others ended in apparent stalemate. There were no improvements, nor were any workers victimised. Others again ended in outright victory. In the majority of instances, the workers did succeed in improving conditions. This being so, the trade unions have in each case emerged stronger than before.

A tremendous task of organisation and education confronts the trade unions. They have individually and through the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions set about this task in a manful and determined way. Of all the acts of the Nationalist Government, the Native Labour Act is the one which has most successfully been resisted so far.

Political Lessons

The progressive movement as a whole can draw certain conclusions from this strike movement. We note that the will and the spirit to resist is present, not in isolated instances, but fairly generally. The same mood is noticeable in the disciplined and persistent bus boycott conducted by the people of Evaton, in the face of great physical intimidation and many spurious arrests.

We can also note that these struggles, although definitely of a political nature and with political consequences, centre around the peoples' immediate wants and that they are encouraged by the successes won. We should ask ourselves whether we relate our general political demands, as expressed in the Freedom Charter, sufficiently to the day-to-day problems of the people, whether active struggle cannot be extended to other immediate and local hardships of the people.

The African workers have answered the onslaught on their wage standards, and the attempts to destroy their movement. The people as a whole must answer the onslaught on their remaining rights and liberties and the attack which aims to destroy the whole progressive movement in the same way. Freedom in our lifetime is no slogan of a distant happy future. It is a closeness to, a standing by the side of the mother who has no creche for her children and is yet compelled to go out to work, the Indian family which is charged £100 "goodwill" for renting two slum rooms, the African who is "endorsed out of the area." Rally the people round them, campaign for them!

Take Your Choice!

"THE pass system has been abolished even for men."
(Dr. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, to the Federation of S. African Women, October 1955.)

"LEGISLATION on pass laws... severely restricts the movements of Natives, urban authorities may direct Natives to live in certain areas and may remove them from such areas, Natives may not come to or be introduced into such areas without the written permission of the competent authorities, contracts of services may have to be registered under regulations issued by the Governor-General, pass areas may be defined by Proclamation in the Gazette, and regulations for the control and prohibition of the movement of Natives into, within, or from such areas may be prescribed. Natives arriving in pass areas must report to the police station or Native Commissioner's office and authorised officers may refuse to issue or endorse passes for any Native to leave or enter or travel within a pass area, for any reason appearing to such an officer to be sufficient for instance, if the Native concerned is under an unexpired contract of employment.

"Violations of this legislation by Natives are punishable by fines, or imprisonment with hard labour in case of non-payment of the fines.

"In its comments the Governor (of S. Africa) states that pass laws have now been repealed by the Natives Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents Act, 1952.

"This Act, which consolidates the pass legislation, enables the authorities to issue reference books to Natives having attained the age of 16 years, in lieu of the various passes...

"... the Committee has found that the pass legislation in the Union of South Africa constitutes a serious handicap to the freedom of movement of the Native population and that it has, or may have, important economic consequences.

"... The State, through the operation of this legislation, is in a position to exert pressure upon the Native population which might create condition of indirect compulsion similar in its effects to a system of forced labour for economic purposes."

(Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour, United Nations International Labour Office, Geneva, 1953.)

The people need not be afraid. It is the ruling class which is hitting out desperately in fear. The people have everything to gain. The future belongs to them. Ten thousand workers on sixteen occasions have shown that they were not afraid. Let us take courage from them.

Intelligence Testing

SCIENCE OR CLASS BIAS?

By WILLIAM LANE

WHEN the mediaeval philosophers claimed that in nature everything was arranged according to an unchanging hierarchy they earned themselves the unqualified approval of their masters, the feudal lords. The latter saw in this theory a scientific justification of the hierarchical order of feudal society with themselves so fittingly at the top. To-day, we know that this theory has nothing in common with science; it was in fact a rather primitive example of pseudo-science. The mediaeval alchemist who pretended that he could produce gold by magic formulae and the phrenologist who imagined that a person's character could be read through the bumps on his head were other well-known practitioners of the art of pseudo-science.

Nor has pseudo-science lost its popularity in certain quarters during more recent years. Of course, these days the techniques have to be a little more subtle and the jargon a little more confusing, but in essence there has been little change in this field.

Moreover, it should not be assumed that the votaries of pseudo-science are only to be found among cranks and ignorant racketeers. A far more dangerous form of pseudo-science is often practised by those possessed of high academic qualifications because they are better able to wear the mantle of sham objectivity. Vicious and reactionary social theories that would be indignantly rejected by the people in their naked ideological form are much more likely to be accepted if they are presented in the guise of science. The theory and practice of intelligence testing is a very good example of this.

Link with Eugenics

Historically, the roots of the mental test movement lie not, as is often made out, in the field of educational psychology, but in the aspirations of the Eugenics movement. That movement, which arose among certain cliques of intensely reactionary intellectuals at the end of the 19th century, was devoted to the idea of breeding a superior type of human being, supermen who would rule the world. Their ideas were actually put into practice in Hitler Germany,

where S.S. men were used as stud bulls to perpetuate the "master race."

The Eugenics movement, a true precursor of modern racist movements, was wedded to the theory of superior and inferior races, and in order to convince a sceptical public of the correctness of this theory they had to produce evidence which would have at least the outward appearance of scientific objectivity. To that end they devised many so-called mental tests which were designed to show the superiority of the master race, upper class Western Europeans. Thus the Eugenicist Pearson endeavoured to show the inferiority of immigrant Jewish groups to English stock and the Eugenicist Burt attempted to prove the inferior endowment of the working class child. Gradually, the techniques of the French psychologist Binet began to replace the cruder efforts that had in some cases preceded them, but they were adapted so as to serve precisely the same purposes as the older mental tests.

These purposes have remained in operation ever since. On the one hand intelligence tests have been used as a justification for theories of racial superiority, on the other hand, they have been used to justify gross inequalities of educational opportunities between children of different social classes, on the grounds that those who had been denied better educational opportunities had not the intelligence to benefit by these opportunities, anyway. That has been the primary social function of intelligence testing, and we cannot understand intelligence testing, unless we are perfectly clear about the social role which it plays.

Test Bias

How has intelligence testing been able to fulfil this role? It has done so, in the first place, by introducing a strong class and cultural bias into the construction of the tests. In order to justify the claim that the tests really do measure intelligence they must be compared to some other performance of the person which is itself thought to be a function of intelligence. This is called the problem of validation. Now, in practice, the only performance against which the test is ever checked are other intelligence tests(!)

and school results. A test which correlates highly with school performance is thought to be good test of intelligence. Thus a person who does well in school, will tend to do well on an intelligence test. A further result of this method of test construction is that a person who has reached a higher level of formal education will tend to do better on the test than one who has reached a lower level.

Now, it is well known that a child's school performance depends upon his cultural background. The objects he is familiar with, his parents' degree of literacy, their attitude to education; these and many other environmental factors have a vital influence upon his school performance. At present the content of our schooling is such that the urban child tends to do better than the rural child and the middle class child better than the working class child. Hence it is not surprising that intelligence test performances show analogous differences.

Heredity?

However, the intelligence testers do not publicise their methods of constructing tests for the benefit of the lay public. But they do make the claim that their tests measure an innate intellectual capacity which remains the same, no matter what opportunities the individual's environment may give him. According to them, this innate and unchangeable intellectual endowment is transmitted by heredity, the middle classes having a richer supply of this intellectual endowment than the working class and Europeans as a whole having a richer supply of this endowment than Negroes or Africans.

Indeed, intelligence tests did "prove" the backwardness of the Negroes in the southern states of the U.S.A., but the gloatings of the racials were somewhat dampened when it was shown that Negroes living in the cities of the northern states of the U.S.A. had a higher average I.Q. than the Whites of the southern states, and that in South Africa, for example, the average I.Q. of English speaking children was higher than that of Afrikaans speaking children. The reason for these findings is simply that a population which

is largely rural will always show up more poorly on the usual type of intelligence test than one which is largely urban. This is not due to any innate inferiority of rural populations, black or white, but simply because the content of many intelligence test problems is such that the urban child is more familiar with it than the rural child.

Cultural Background

Significantly enough, the performance which correlates most highly with I.Q. is that on a vocabulary test. But this performance, of course, depends almost entirely on the cultural background, on the environment of the child. It has been shown by an American psychologist that if one substitutes for certain words in intelligence test problems (like the word "sonata", for instance), other words familiar to the working class child, then the superiority of the middle class child on the intelligence test

simply disappears.

In view of all this the reader will not be surprised to learn that there has recently grown up in England the large scale practice of intelligence test coaching by means of which the child's I.Q. can be increased in a few hours by a matter of 15 or 20 points (which constitutes a very appreciable change).

The claim that the intelligence tests measure an innate intellectual capacity, which is unchanged by all environmental influences, now becomes laughable. The point is that such unchanging capacities simply do not exist, except in the imagination of apologists for existing social inequalities. Man's endowment, intellectual or otherwise, is infinitely plastic; it is developed through his interaction with the world about him, and the level it reaches depends upon the opportunities which he is given by the world in which he lives.

In a society which is based on inherited privilege and on the restriction of opportunity in the educational no less than in other fields, we will always find some who wish to justify these restrictions in terms of the supposed innate inferiority of those who are discriminated against. In such a society it becomes necessary to pigeon-hole people so that the underprivileged shall not aspire to greater opportunities, and it is for such purposes that intelligence tests have proved themselves a most suitable tool in the hands of certain unscrupulous authorities.

But in a society where opportunity exists for the fullest development of everyone's capacities the theory and practice of intelligence testing has, of course, no place. Once the people achieve their freedom, intelligence tests will follow their pseudo-scientific ancestors to oblivion, and no one will mourn their passing.

PETER MEYER

REVIEWS A LIBERAL PARTY BOOKLET

SOMEONE has passed on to me a booklet called "The Policies of the Liberal Party of South Africa." It costs 1/6.

It opens with a foreword by Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, M.P., president of the Liberal Party, who declares: "A small country, we play an exceptionally large role in world affairs, thanks to our colour relationships. What we do can and does determine to a large extent the relationship between European and Non-European countries."

I don't want to find fault with the booklet right from the foreword, but isn't Mrs. Ballinger putting the cart before the horse? As I see it, the world has already decided the matter. Racial discrimination is unpopular *everywhere*. Even the colonial powers have to pretend that they are striving for the elimination of racial discrimination, as witness Britain's address to the United Nations the other day. It is only here in the Union that the White supremacists boast about what they are doing. The proof that they are in a hopeless minority in this attitude is shown by the world-wide hostility to apartheid. When South Africa has solved the racial "problem"—i.e. learnt to live and let live—the

world will not suddenly follow suit, as Mrs. Ballinger claims. It is already treading that path; reluctantly in some countries, but nevertheless treading it. The forces against racial discrimination are in the majority. We in the Union are not a test case or a turning point, but merely one of the last outposts.

Which Way?

Mrs. Ballinger, dealing with the internal party-political situation, states: "Today we are the only party in South Africa which really knows where it proposes to go." There is, of course, the Freedom Charter, Mrs. Ballinger!

Drawn up by the Congress of the People, the Charter is simplicity itself—but it shows clearly the new direction that South Africa must tread. It demands equal rights for all now, and sane and sensible administration for the benefit of everyone. If you read through the Liberal Party's booklet, you find that what the Liberal Party is after is a little more obscure. The road to freedom winds a bit.

First, let us give credit where credit is due. The Liberal Party, for the first time, has enumerated all the laws

to which it is opposed, and the list looks impressive. The Liberal Party wants total repeal of: the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, the Public Safety Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the various Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, the Natives Resettlement Act, the Mixed Marriages Act, the Immorality Act, the Immigration Amendment Regulation Act (1953), the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, the Population Registration Act, the Representation of Natives Act (1936) and the Bantu Education Act.

The Liberal Party also demands repeal of some of the provisions of: the Natal Code of Native Law, the Native Administration Act, the Natives Land Act and the Native Trust and Land Act, restrictive covenants in title deeds, the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Customs Act, Master and Servants laws and the Transvaal Education Ordinance.

Omissions

Fine. But a few points need mentioning. One is that, apart from the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act, the Pass Laws and the Representation of Natives Act, all the Acts

Which Way Liberalism?

whose total repeal is demanded are Acts passed by the Nationalists. Another point is that there appear to be gaps in the legislation passed by previous governments and singled out now by the Liberal Party for criticism. In fact, the list puzzles me. There are possibly good reasons for not naming all the objectionable legislation in the Statute Book. But what about the Native Settlement of Disputes Act, the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, the Departure from the Union Regulation Act, all passed by the Nationalists? And surely there are pre-1948 Acts demanding total repeal besides the ones mentioned in the booklet. Is the Liberal Party for or against these Acts? It might be argued that the booklet selects only a representative number of Acts, but why is the Mixed Marriages Act, say, mentioned and not the Natives Settlement of Disputes Act? I fail to see the purpose of the list. After all, the booklet is called "The Policies of the Liberal Party of S.A.", not "Some of the Policies of the Liberal Party of S.A." The list appears under the heading "Civil Rights Policy," but freedom of organisation comes under that heading, and the Native Settlement of Disputes Act infringes that freedom.

The list being inadequate, let us turn to the positive proposals. The first deals with the vote, and it states: "As it may be impracticable to introduce universal adult suffrage immediately, it may have to be achieved by stages during a transitional period. These stages would be marked by interim qualifications for the franchise designed to ensure an informed and politically experienced electorate." One of the mysteries of "liberal" franchise policies is the insistence on the "immaturity" of the African people to get the vote all at once. Why? So-called "educated" and "civilised" Whites have put the Nationalists in power, and they are still happily supporting one of the most evil governments the world has seen. But we know, of course, that there is no mystery. The device of withholding the vote from the African people until they are "ready" for it is used by all colonial governments. It means simply that a handful of selected "civilised" Africans are asked to assist the Whites in the exploitation of their countrymen. There is a simple test for all "franchise policies": is it proposed to give the vote to *everyone now*, or not? The Liberal fails this test. In this way, it ranges

itself for all practical purposes on the side of the White supremacists.

ECONOMIC POLICY:

Subject to certain conditions, "the most effective means of increasing the productivity of South Africa's labour force is through the encouragement of private enterprise." The Labour Party is more progressive here, and the Freedom Charter states roundly: "The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people. The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole. All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people"

MINING:

The Liberal Party recognises "the great national importance of the mining industry," and it pleads for permanently settled and housed mine labour communities. It does not specifically condemn any of the slave-labour conditions found on the mines.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS:

"In their aspirations towards economic, social, educational, and political advancement and in their desire for liberation from restrictions and humiliations which should be suffered by no human being, the Non-European peoples have the profound sympathy of the Liberal Party." Have you ever read anything more detached, more aloof? It shows that the Liberal Party does not want to be regarded as part and parcel of the Non-Europeans, that it is a White Party willing only to "represent" the

Non-Whites. I suggest the heading of this section should be changed to "Foreign Affairs."

Under "External Affairs" there is no mention of the struggle for peace. The Liberal Party turns to the Declaration of Human Rights for the answer to many of its problems. It declares that South Africa should be kept in the Commonwealth.

There are further chapters (Health, Housing, Education, etc.), but they don't take one much further. The points made in the booklet are often quite good, but a lot of things are left unsaid.

The Flaw

This is the fundamental flaw in "The Policies of the Liberal Party." This is what makes it almost an academic document compared with the precise language and realistic approach of the Freedom Charter. The Charter covers the whole field—of wrongs and injustices, of aspirations and endeavours. It does not mince words. It says what is wrong with present-day conditions and presents the alternatives. The Liberal Party document merely rambles on, touching on some matters and ignoring others.

The reason for this vivid contrast is that the Freedom Charter is a basis for a New South Africa in which everyone will share equally, whereas the Liberal Party wants to work within the existing framework, bringing in changes that do not strike at the root of the system which divides South Africa into two camps, the exploiters and the exploited. The Liberal Party wants a few reforms. The Freedom Charter proposes a New Life.

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What Treason?

By J. PODBREY

OF all the emotions evident on the faces of the two plain-clothes men as they surveyed the book-lined walls, enthusiasm was markedly absent. Finally the one with the attaché case spoke:

"You start this end, I'll start over there."

It was 9.30 a.m. and already warm. The day promised to be hotter. To search for treason through the pages of several hundred books was not a prospect to warm the cockles of the constabulary heart. It merely wilted the collar. However, my two detectives set about their task with commendable zeal. They had evidently been through a course of instruction since the last raid because their methods smacked of efficiency: one book at a time.

I ambled over to Attaché Case as he thumbed his way through *Uncle Tom's Cabin* ("Don't be misled by the cover—look inside"—Amended Rules, Special Branch Manual). The picture of a Negro on the cover decided him finally and Uncle Tom joined Gorky's *Mother* on the table. The Standard Oxford Dictionary was replaced after a brief perusal as was an equally unsemitic cookery book belonging to my wife, while the A.A. Guide Book received barely a glance.

I wandered over to the other fellow. He was sitting on the carpet completely engrossed in Plato's *Republic*. An avid reader, he was already on page three.

"I appreciate your taste in literature," I said rather nastily, "but at this rate you'll be here all day. Besides, this is not the Republic Mr. Strijdom speaks of so highly."

He jumped guiltily to his feet and searched on. In the meantime a tense little hiss from Attaché Case attracted me over to him. His eyes were riveted on the title *Red Star Over China*. He had never heard of Edgar Snow but "Red" and "China" were like two for the price of one. He stored it lovingly with a mounting bundle of books on the table.

By 11.30 a.m. a certain tediousness had crept into their work. Books were still being removed but the magic had gone out of the job. I watched from my sofa as Attaché Case waded grimly through the collected works of Robert Browning. Engel's *Origin*

of the Family meant nothing to him, but the stories of Alexei Tolstoy he confiscated, together with Berto's *The Sky is Red*. The other fellow was sneaking a couple of gems from the *Treasury of Jewish Humour*.

Russia, China and the three colours, red, white and black, exercised an irresistible fascination on these two sleuths. These, it appears, are the three basic colours of treason.

At 1 p.m. I drank a cup of coffee. Ostentatiously smacking my lips, I watched Attaché Case remove Volume II of Marx's *Capital*. He gave it the usual once-over and replaced it. He was already halfway through *Jerry of the Islands* when he did what is known in cinematic language as a "double take." He replaced Jack London and returned to Karl Marx, a slow suspicion hardening into a certainty. History was vindicated. Marx had rung a bell.

It was 4 p.m. The last shelf of books in the living room had been hurried through with a disdain that would have shocked Sir Percy Sillitoe. On the table lay some hundred books as well as a few dozen pamphlets, leaflets, circulars, personal letters and even a telephone account, but of treason not a whit.

I looked at my two detectives. Perspiration, cramp and mental exhaustion, not to mention hunger and thirst, were, to my non-medical eye, an easy diagnosis. The Hounds of the Baskervilles had degenerated into two fatigued, irritable and unlovely puppies.

I said: "I'll want a receipt for all these items, of course."

"Certainly," answered Attaché Case, without warmth.

The filling in of the six-page receipt was a task no less arduous than the previous. An hour and a half later I signed the receipt and received my copy of it. Their arms laden with books, the two weary constables paused at the door.

"I don't suppose there are any more books in the house?" asked the spokesman dispiritedly.

This, I thought vindictively, is where I break your bleeding hearts.

"Oh yes," I said brightly, "the bedroom is full of books."

To Our Readers

THE December number of *Fighting Talk* will be a **Special Issue**.

Among other articles, it will carry:

- A Farewell article by the Rev. Trevor Huddleston, who is leaving the Union in January.
- Short Stories by Richard Moore (author of "The Dagga Smoker's Dream") and others.
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Agents who wish to increase their orders should notify The Manager, *Fighting Talk*, at P.O. Box 1355, before November 18.

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Attaché Case looked at me with ill-concealed hate. He turned to his partner.

"Better have a look."

Slowly Detective Number Two lowered his share of the booty on to the table. Slowly and painfully he disappeared into the bedroom. Exactly two minutes later he returned, holding a brightly-coloured volume between his thumb and forefinger.

"I found this," he announced, "let's add it to the list and go."

He held it aloft so we could read the title. It was *Black Bess*—the story of a horse.


Ruth Reed
OF FIFTH AVENUE

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