



LIBERATION

**"M.R.A."
EXPOSED**

**KOREA: THE
BALANCE
SHEET**

A Journal of Democratic Discussion

ABOUT OURSELVES

WE have been greatly stimulated and encouraged by the reception accorded to the first printed issue of "Liberation," (No. 3) by freedom-loving people throughout the Union and beyond its borders. It is clear from the many congratulatory letters received that our magazine fills a deeply-felt need. Some (but not enough!) of the letters enclose contributions to the "Liberation Printing Fund." We must repeat the appeal made in our last issue: "Liberation" cannot live and grow unless it receives financial aid from its supporters.

The CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS (Johannesburg) writes: "We believe that the theoretical discussions which "Liberation" will provoke and foster will be of inestimable benefit to us in the course of our activities. We offer this small contribution to assist you in your endeavours to provide the theoretical guidance so necessary to those engaged in the struggle for PEACE, FREEDOM and DEMOCRACY IN SOUTH AFRICA." From London, England, SALLY MORGAN as a young and, I hope democratic South African," writes: "I should like you to know how much I welcome the appearance of your courageous magazine The task before us is likely to be both long and arduous but provided that unity of thought and action is maintained and strengthened among us, eventually we must build a strong and progressive South Africa. My thanks and congratulations for your uncompromising stand on the side of clear thinking."

We should like to emphasise once again that "Liberation" aims to give expression to all genuinely democratic viewpoints, and that the Editorial Board does not necessarily endorse any particular article which may appear. The challenging article on the Liberal Party by Mr. Nelson Mandela, which appeared in our last issue, has stimulated widespread discussion, and the Liberal Party has been invited to reply in our next issue. We extend, once again, an invitation to all democrats to contribute to our columns. We feel sure, for example, that Dr. Nhlapo's views on the language question will not pass unchallenged among our readers.

LIBERATION PRINTING FUND

The following amounts were received up to the 24th July: "Heberin" (Cape Town) £2-0-0, Congress of Democrats £1-1-0, J. Baker 10/-, P. Rissik, 10/-, Sally Morgan, London, 10/-. Total £5-11-0. Let's see a much bigger and better list in our next issue!



LIBERATION

A Journal of Democratic Discussion

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One Shilling

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PUTTING THE SCREWS ON

"O, God, that men should be so cheap,
And bread should be so dear."

TWOPENCE extra on the price of a loaf of bread!

It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that Mr. Havenga was not primarily concerned with the relatively small extra revenue that the bread tax would produce. A small extra tax on luxury goods would have produced the same results. The fact is that bread has become the staple diet of the urban workers, Africans and others alike. And the urban worker is the main target of the Nationalists new budget. He will be the chief victim of the 14 per cent increase in railway fares announced by Mr. Sauer. He is the chief victim of Dr. Verwoerd's new pass books, of the Western Areas plan in Johannesburg, of Schoeman's anti-African trade union Bill.

It is no accident that the African industrial worker has been the object of all these concerted attacks at the present time.

Many critics of *apartheid* take their stand on the arguments that "it won't work," it is merely election propaganda," "it is economically impossible," and similar themes. They assume that *apartheid* is a sort of fancy scheme for a "Bantustan." or some such nonsense: in this they are mistaken. True, the reality of *apartheid* is something far different from the fancy picture painted by Government propagandists, the gobbledygook of certain Stellenbosch professors, or the hypocritical pretences of D.R.C. predikants, attempting the impossible task of reconciling brute repression with the faith they profess.

By attacking these myths, these critics are demolishing straw men, leaving unscathed the savage reality of Nationalist policy towards non-white people as it has taken shape over the past five years, and continues to do so in one tyrannical legislative and administrative measure after another.

The true nature and purpose of *apartheid* will best be divined by an examination of some of the concrete measures being implemented and introduced by the Government.

Western Areas Plan

Dr. Verwoerd's "slim" talk in the Assembly about "home ownership on a leasehold basis for the displaced people of the Western Areas will not hide the truth from any person who has made the slightest independent investigation of the facts about the Verwoerd Plan

Briefly, the plan is as follows :

Approximately eighty thousand non-European men, women and children are to be expelled piecemeal from their homes in Sophiatown, Martindale, Newclare, Western Native Township and Coronationville. The non-white owners will not be compensated for their property (Verwoerd says they can sell to Europeans, or the N.A.D., so "the question of compensation does not arise.") There is no other land in Johannesburg where non-whites can acquire freehold rights, nor will such land be made available.

But this is no mere problem of the owners — "slum landlords" as the Minister sneeringly called them. (It is wonderful with what contempt Dr. Verwoerd regards a slum landlord — if he happens to be non-white !)

Above all, it is the problem and the tragedy of the thousands of African families, whom it is proposed to provide with little plots of

Of course, Sophiatown and Newclare are slums. Where else are Non-Europeans allowed to live but in slums? But at least these areas are provided with shops, schools, hospitals, churches, bioscopes, tarred roads, lights, water The dwellings are crowded and dirty, but at least they are weatherproof. These things are not perfect, but they are heaven, compared with the hell of Moroka! However imperfect the Sophiatown bus service, it is better than the Orlando-Pimville train service, already forty per cent. overcrowded, and perpetually late

Also, Sophiatown and Newclare are not locations where people are fenced in like animals in the Zoo, with a superintendent at the gate to supervise comings and goings, to collect lodgers' fees and examine visitors' permits

These are some of the reasons why a mighty wave of opposition is developing to the Western Areas Plan.

The Pass Books

Several Witwatersrand pass offices have already started issuing the new books which are being sold by the Native Affairs Department under the "Abolition of Passes and Co-Ordination of Documents Act." Never was legislation misnamed with crueller irony. The abolition of passes has been the cherished dream of generations of African patriots, who recognised in the pass system a cornerstone of the structure of African subjugation and the cheap labour system; the badge of slavery; the ticket of admission to the pick-up van, the cells, the farm jails

Verwoerd's Pass Books retain all the evil features of the old passes, with which we believe most readers of *Liberation* will be familiar. They also add a number of new features, which will make the pass system even more objectionable and onerous. Unlike the old service contracts, which were cancelled and replaced upon a man's leaving one job for another, the Verwoerd Books are designed to be permanent. A spiteful employer or pass office official, to whom you do not say "abaas" quickly or often enough, can put a black mark in your book which you will have to carry around with you for the rest of your life

Simultaneously with the issue of Verwoerd Books (and under the pretext of dealing with tsotsi problem,) the police have launched a major series of drives to round up tax-defaulters, temporarily unemployed Africans and men who are "unable to give a good and satisfactory account of themselves." Countless families are being broken up, countless children made fatherless, as men are picked up in the police-N.A.D. net and deported from the towns.

We have selected but two concrete items of current apartheid policy for analysis above. There are many others. There is Mr. ... ("... Bill")

camps designed to herd African youth into compulsory labour at cut rates. There are the innumerable legislative and administrative acts designed to stifle free speech, to silence popular leaders, terrify the opposition and suppress the people's resistance.

Behind It All.

What's behind it all? Race prejudice and the *apartheid* ideology? No doubt, Dr. Malan and his Ministers are filled with the spirit of racial arrogance and contempt for the non-white peoples. But it is more than ideology and prejudice that lies behind the vicious new *apartheid* measures.

In his annual report, Dr. M. H. de Kock, Governor of the Reserve Bank complained bitterly of the shortage of cheap labour.

Our main problem ... is the persistent shortage of both skilled and unskilled labour, which shortage has seriously handicapped the gold mining industry and some of our vital industrial enterprises and has also retarded the scope of farming and public services generally."

Dr. de Kock customarily speaks with the voice of the great financial and mining interests who dominate South Africa's economy and are the real masters of the country. They want labour diverted towards the mines and the farms, and such essential supplementary services as heavy engineering and the railways. Now, if you examine these industries, you will find that they are precisely those in which the lowest wages and worst conditions are offered for labour, particularly African labour.

There is no labour shortage in industries which manufacture consumer goods, and offer wages rather higher than those which the mines and farms provide. Go to any factory making clothes, furniture, footwear, where wages for labourers and semi-skilled workers range from £3 to £5 per week. You will find men outside looking for work. Dr. de Kock and the employers for whom he speaks know perfectly well that if they were prepared to offer living wages and tolerable conditions there would be no "labour shortage." The fact is that, against a background of steep increases in the cost of living, real wages have fallen to the extent where it is no longer possible for the mine or engineering labourer to support his family on his earnings.

Making It Compulsory.

But, to offer a decent wage to labour is the last thing South Africa's imperialistic Randlords and feudalistic farmers are prepared to do. Their attitude has not changed one whit since 1897, when the gold mines asked the Kruger Government to introduce taxation and other measures to coerce African labour on to the mines. A Com-

labour?"

Albu: "Certainly. A Kaffir cannot live on nothing."

Commissioner: "You would make it compulsory?"

Albu: "I would make it compulsory, and without using force. A tax would be levied."

Here, we have the crude reality behind the Nationalist "ideological" legislation backed up in all its essentials by the United Party. Catch the "Kaffirs" in the remorseless pincers of economic pressure and police terror. Tax their bread. ("If the effect of the budget was to get the Natives once again to eat mealie meal porridge it would have achieved one useful purpose" — Nat. M.P., van den Heever, 28.7.53) Drive them from their homes. Raid them and harry them and hunt them into the compounds and out to the farms.

This Is 1953

But this is 1953, not 1897. The Government is dealing today not with the scattered and leaderless tribes of Kruger's day, but with an awakened and fast-uniting African nation, spearheaded by a working class that has been disciplined and educated by half a century of industrial development, organised in such a formidable organisation as the African National Congress, and allied with progressive elements among other groups such as the S.A. Indian Congress and the newly-formed Congress of Democrats speaking for a growing and determined minority among the whites who seek a democratic South Africa. Despite Schoeman's anti-trade union Bill, the ~~time~~ is ripe for a rapid and militant growth of African trade unions. And as increasing sections of the white middle and working classes get caught in the cross-fires of the Nationalists' economic drive to cheapen labour, this alliance is bound to be joined by more advanced elements from such bodies as the Trades and Labour Council, the Labour Party and the Liberal Party in resistance to specific aspects of the Government's Nazi plans.

We may expect the Malanites to resort to more dictatorial methods. "Putting the screws on" is not merely an economic and police matter as it was yesterday. More and more political measures are resorted to, in an effort to batter down the structure of a new, democratic South Africa, that is arising within the crumbling shell of the old. Police raids, bans on literature, proscription of leaders, expulsion of elected trade union officials become the order of the day. Brian Bunting, elected by an overwhelming majority, who has proved himself as staunch a fighter for people's rights in Parliament as he has been in journalism, is given his marching orders from the House of Assembly. Malan and Strauss are bargaining over the price of the Coloured vote. A huge and extravagantly costly machinery of State repression is growing up.

All to no avail.

The fresh breeze of peace and freedom is blowing through the world. We South Africans have caught a breath of its sweet, live-

M.R.A. -- WEAPON OF THE "COLD WAR"

By DAN TLOOME

RECENTLY we have become aware of a new movement which aims to attract Africans. It invites them for free visits to conferences in Rhodesia (passports fixed without questions, all expenses paid), and even to Switzerland (again, all expenses paid, including luxury accommodation in a first-class hotel). Some African leaders accept these invitations without thinking very much about it. The movement seems harmless, of a vaguely religious character. It calls itself "Moral Rearmament." It claims to be based on the principles of "Absolute Honesty, Purity, Unselfishness and Love." Smooth-spoken emissaries come to see these African leaders. They flatter them with a show of respect and consideration. It all sounds so attractive and harmless. The rewards are tempting.

Fortunately, most of our non-European leaders have developed a sharp sense of suspicion against innocent-seeming advances of this type. They want to know what it is all about. One or two, however, are not so vigilant. They accept invitations to Lusaka in Rhodesia and Caux in Switzerland. They send fulsome birthday greetings to the M.R.A. fuhrer, Dr. Frank Buchman. They fail to ask the key questions: What is the M.R.A.? What is its background? How is it organised and financed? What are its real aims?

The Background.

In the 1930's there emerged in Britain a movement known as the Oxford Group, lead by an American, Dr. Frank Buchman. While it claimed to be religious in character, it showed a marked political bias. Its main political feature at that time was its sympathy for Germany Nazism. In 1936, Dr. Buchman paid a visit to Germany and met Himmler who was, of course, the head of the Gestapo, responsible during his career for the slaughter and torture of millions of innocent people in concentration camp. According to the German steel millionaire Fritz Thyssen (in his book "I Paid Hitler") Himmler was actually a member of the Oxford Group. A few weeks later after his return from Nazi Germany, Buchman made the following declaration:

"I thank Heaven for a man like Adolph Hitler who built a front line of defence against the anti-Christ of Communism." ("New York World-Telegram," August 26th, 1936.)

When the war broke out against Germany, leading British members of Buchman's organisation went to America to carry out a campaign for American neutrality. They said that the role of the U.S.A. should be limited to "Moral Rearmament." This was made the main slogan of the movement, and from then on the Oxford Group changed its name to that of Moral Rearmament.

Sir Alan Herbert, Conservative M.P., said about the Moral Rearmament Group:

"I know what I am up against with this vast, wealthy and ruthless organisation ... The language and technique of the Oxford Group Co., Ltd., is strikingly and sadly similar to that of the Nazis."

In January, 1943, the American Draft Appeals Board (a body set up to consider applications for exemption from military service) rejected appeals from M.R.A. members, saying:

"Such declarations (by Dr. Buchman) seem to us to be expressing the aims and philosophy of the Axis power."

M.R.A. leaders from foreign countries act as agencies of the American intelligence (spy) service. Delegates attending international M.R.A. conferences in America hold "international security conferences" with representatives of the U.S. Congress and State Department. Gen. Lucius D. Clay, the American Military Commander in Germany helped to pick 150 German leaders to attend the M.R.A. meeting in Caix in 1944, and in 1950 the Japanese M.R.A. delegation came to Europe and America "with the support and approval of Gen. MacArthur" (Congressional Record, July 24th, 1950).

Humble Gratitude.

The leaders of this Japanese delegation were received by the U.S. Congress, and their spokesman said:

"We realize that the precious blood of the sons of America is now being shed to protect freedom of the world and the Far East, and if we might be permitted as Japanese to bow our heads in deepest and humble gratitude and appreciation for this great sacrifice the United States is making, it will indeed be an honour and a privilege for us."

If such servile lickspittling is required of non-white M.R.A. members, African leaders may well think twice if it is not too high a price to pay for a free holiday abroad.

Both in the United States and Britain, M.R.A. is supported by the most reactionary and fascistic sections of the ruling class. Henry Ford and Harry Truman have backed this outfit for many years. In Britain Lord Nuffield, the Morris motor-car king, Lord Courthope, President of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, and former President of the Landowners Association, and many other Tory leaders and top capitalists are among M.R.A.'s backers.

A list of the Movement's chief supporters in other countries sounds like a register of the worst enemies of the working class throughout the world. Chiang Kai-shek and his Formosa clique back M.R.A. Its Japanese supporters include Hisuro Ichimido the Director of the Bank of Japan and other leaders of Japanese Industry who gave their full support to Japanese aggression in Asia. Other Japanese supporters include America's puppet Premier of Japan, Yoshida, and the Chiefs of Police in Tokyo and Osaka.

The biggest monopoly in India is Tata Industries. Its Chairman, Shri J.R.D. Tata backs M.R.A.

Singman Rhee is an M.R.A. man.

Karl Adenauer West German Chancellor ("the Butcher of Bonn") is an M.R.A. man.

Robert Schumann, former French Prime Minister, who was kicked out by the French Parliament because they could not stomach his plan for a new Nazi army in Germany and German control of French coal and steel resources, is an M.R.A. man.

What sort of company is this, for Africans who claim to be interested in the emancipation of their people?

In South Africa.

It is only recently that M.R.A. has been trying to penetrate among non-European leaders in this country. But it has for some time been seeking support among the Europeans. Where did it get the support?

As we should expect, from the sort of international connections described above, the Buchmanites sought and found a ready response among big business circles in the Union. And, in the first place, from the historic enemy of the workers and oppressed people of South Africa, the big mining interests who dominate our country

"The Chamber of Mines, which undertook the cost of sending a delegation of its own representatives to Caux, reports that there is 100 per cent. change in relationships between itself and the men (the white miners' union) as a result of M.R.A. influence. Personalities such as Mr. Paul Visser, President of the Union, and Mr. R. P. Erasmus declare that they have found a new way whereby disputes can be settled amicably in the light of the M.R.A. ideology."

("The Star," 23rd April, 1951)

Nationalist members of Parliament and leaders of the Nationalist dominated S.A. Mine Workers' Union availed themselves of the invitations to holidays in Switzerland. Mr. D. F. Ellis former Secretary of the Mine Workers' Union, was also connected with the movement for "Moral Rearmament," although his devotion to the principles of "absolute honesty, purity etc." would appear to be somewhat questionable.

To sum up:

"Moral Rearmament" is not, as it pretends to be, a quasi-religious body restricted to preaching high-sounding moral platitudes. It is an enormously wealthy international conspiracy devoted to undermining movements of the workers and oppressed people for emancipation in all countries. Its "message" of collaboration between workers and employers, between oppressors and the oppressed turns out to be a formula for getting the oppressed to submit to their fate, without struggle. By allowing a few leaders to sit down socially with their masters, they hope to emasculate the trade unions and national liberation movements.

They will not succeed in these objectives. The great majority of trade unionists and democratic leaders will refuse to be side-tracked by the soft soap of the Buchmanites. They will ask why M.R.A. members are not allowed to elect officials of the movement, and why its finances are kept a closely-guarded secret from the members themselves. They will ask why M.R.A. has no answers to any of the problems of poverty, misery, unemployment and war, but restricts itself to acting as a weapon in American Capitalism's "cold war" against so-called "communism."

And they will reject the M.R.A. with contempt, just as they rejected the "Bantu National Congress" of Mr. Bhengu, the so-called "Non-European Unity Movement" and all other similar movements.

THE WAR THAT FAILED

By L. BERNSTEIN

ONE SUNDAY morning in 1950, an unsuspecting world was startled by the announcement from the American Government in Washington that "The American Ambassador to the Republic of (South) Korea has informed the Department of State that North Korean forces invaded at several points in the early morning hours of June 25th." Frenziedly, the United Nations Security Council was summoned. In the space of a few days, North Korea had been named as an aggressor, America had been "asked to take charge of military assistance to the forces of South Korea in the name of UNO, all members of UNO had been asked to send troops against North Korea.

Only later, when the war had been joined irrevocably by all the imperialist powers, did it become clear that the American Government had swindled UNO and world opinion. The actual cable from the U.S. Ambassador in South Korea had stated: "According to (South) Korean Army reports, which are partly confirmed by (United States) Military Advisory Group field reports, North Korean forces invaded Republic of Korea at several points this morning." The vital words "...according to South Korean reports," omitted from the American Government announcement and concealed from UNO until decisions had been reached, could not have been omitted accidentally. Their omission was deliberate, part of a carefully prepared American scheme to make North Korea the aggressors, and the American puppet state of South Korea the victim.

Well Laid Plan

The plan for war in Korea had been well laid. Ever since the liberation of Korea from the Japanese armies by the Korean people themselves and the armies of the U.S.S.R., the Americans had concentrated on the destruction of the liberation movement and the establishment of a reactionary, military despotism in the Southern half of the country — the half agreed on with the USSR as the "American occupation zone." By 1950, they were ready. Mr. John Foster Dulles, adviser to the State Department, long known as a Nazi sympathiser and denounced back in 1947 by Vishinsky at UNO as one of the world's foremost "warmongers," left on a tour of inspection of South Korea. Four days before the Korean war started, he left Korea for Japan where he promised reporters "positive action by the United States to preserve peace in the Far East." On June 25, the war started, General MacArthur's biographer, John Gunther, states he was told by MacArthur's chief political adviser that "A big story has just broken. South Korea has attacked North Korea."

It was to be a bigger story than ever General MacArthur or Mr. Dulles dreamed. "As the largest producer, the largest source of capital and the biggest contributor to the global mechanism, we must set the pace and assume the responsibility of the majority shareholder in this corporation known as the world." These were the terms in which one of the United States' multi-millionaire oil magnates proclaimed the outlook of American big business in 1946. The politi-

become to be known as the "Truman Doctrine," laid down the right of the United States to intervene in any country anywhere to ensure the maintenance of the type of government favoured by it. By 1948 the doctrine of the "Cold War" had passed formally into every action and pronouncement of the American State Department, expressing the military-financial alliance of big business with the diplomatic and military organs of the American state machine to "set the pace and assume the responsibility of majority shareholder" throughout the world.

Korea was singularly attractive as a jumping-off ground for the new world-conquerors. As a result of Soviet-American agreement after Korea's liberation from Japan, the country had been divided across its centre — on the 38th parallel — into separate zones, the North occupied by Soviet troops, the South by American. Long before the outbreak of war, the Soviet troops had departed, leaving behind in the North a strong and flourishing democratic government, drawing its strength from the national liberation movement which had contributed powerfully to Japanese defeat during World War II. In the South, American occupation had been devoted to the destruction of the national liberation movement; to imposing, on an unwilling population, a Government headed by Dr. Syngman Rhee specially brought from Washington for the purpose; and to the building and equipping of a modern army, officered, tutored, equipped and controlled at top level by American Military "Advisory" Groups. Here at hand was all the raw material for a first venture in American expansionism in Asia, with a well armed and indoctrinated South Korean puppet government to attempt the "unification" of Korea by force of arms, and thus restore to the United States a small part of the empire in Asia which had vanished with the complete collapse and defeat of her former running-dog, Chiang Kai Shek in China.

Strategically, Korea filled the needs of the advocates of "cold war" against the U.S.S.R. and China admirably. As a base for future hostile operations, it was close enough to Japan, America's main Pacific military base, for easy supply and reinforcement; and also close enough to the Soviet eastern frontiers and to China's vital industrial regions to provide a jumping-off place for aggression. Together with Japan, Chiang's last stronghold on the island of Formosa and a chain of smaller islands, control of Korea would facilitate a strangling blockade of the China coast, thus enabling America to carry on by economic means the struggle against the People's Republic which she had formerly pursued through military aid to Chiang.

Dream and Reality.

There were further military-political considerations. North Korea, while rich in mineral and industrial wealth, particularly in nickel vital to the American re-armament programme was yet small enough to promise hopes of quick and easy conquest. A quick and hopelessly one-sided war would provide the opportunity for testing out under battle conditions, the new techniques of war and the new weapons developed in American laboratories and research stations since the end of world war in 1946. Furthermore, a quick and victorious war would be a signal lesson to the whole world, and especially to the colonial peoples, that when America spoke of "world leadership" and the "crusade against Communism" she meant business, backed with all the military might and political support which her financial dominance could muster.

Such dreams, taken over in their entirety from the author of "Mein Kampf," may have had some prospects in the world of 1939. But in 1950, in Korea, the

Britain "by quick and easy massacre of unarmed, unorganised and unbefriended colonial "natives." In place of the planned rapid advance of Rhee's troops to the North, came the shattering blows of the North Korean armies, sweeping the Americans and their puppets before them, till all that remained in the grip of their armies was the tiny bridgehead around the port of Pusan. What was to have been a minor foray, over in a matter of weeks, became a major war, straining America's military resources to the limit, forcing America to desperate resorts, to conscription for the first time except during world war; sending American diplomats pleading and demanding of her imperialist allies and satellites that troops, planes and equipment be rushed to Korea. What was planned to be passed off to the world as a "United Nations police action" became a large-scale war, costing more American lives than the whole of World War II. The 1950 empire-seekers had run up against a well organised, closely knit and determined national liberation movement, armed with modern equipment, steeled in struggle and united in defence of their land and their liberty.

Summoning all the resources they could muster, the American troops pushed painfully back to their jumping-off line, the 38th parallel, leaving behind them in their own puppet of South Korea a trail of devastation and destruction unparalleled in history. "The coolness of the welcome received by the liberators" said a United Press dispatch from Seoul, South Korean capital, after its recapture by American troops, "is understandable in the light of millions of dollars worth of damage." The "gooks" were being taught a lesson in American imperialist methods.

The American brass-hats, licking their wounds, and attempting to restore their shattered prestige issued a typically bullying, master-race declaration to the North Korean armies. "I bro. deare General MacArthur to the North Korean Commander, "as United Nations Commander in Chief, call on you and the forces under your command ... forthwith to lay down your arms and cease hostilities under such military supervisions as I may direct." The demand for unconditional surrender took other members of the United Nations by surprise. So did MacArthur's decision two days later, on October 1st., to cross the 38th. parallel into North Korea. The police action stood revealed for what it was, an aggressive American adventure against the Korean People's Republic. But this time, the colonial victims of imperialist aggression did not stand alone. In the Soviet Union and the People's democracies they had friends and allies in their fight for land and liberty.

China's Warning.

On the day that MacArthur ~~launched~~ his troops across the frontier, China's Premier Chou En Lai publicly warned that China could not supinely tolerate" an invasion of North Korea. While MacArthur's troops pressed on to the Chinese frontier in what they dreamt would be a "pushover," volunteers to fight with the Korean liberation armies began to gather in China. When the American armies, recklessly pushing forward to the Chinese frontiers, were joined by American planes bombing Yalu river power stations which supplied power to China's industrial plants across the frontier, the Chinese People's Volunteers, formed into units, crossed into Korea to stand shoulder to shoulder with their Korean comrades. The dreams of victory, exemplified by MacArthur's "lay down your arms" ultimatum, and by his later "Home by Christmas" communique to his troops, vanished into thin air. By Christmas, 1950, the American aggressors were once more back on the Southern side of the 38th parallel. They are there today, two and a half years later. The socialist sector of the world had come

Bitter as were the blows to American military prestige and reputation, the blows to the vaunted "superiority" of their equipment and armaments were more bitter. In the air, the Chinese MIG jet-fighter outfought and outflawed the best the American manufacturers could produce. On land, the Chinese and North Korean infantryman outfought the American, earning even from American newspapers the reputation of being "the toughest infantryman" in the world. Slowly, as the dead and the wounded multiplied, reality broke through the grandiose dreams of American militarists, proving once again and beyond the doubting that high morale and confidence, bred by understanding and conviction of the justice of a cause, makes better fighters than the best and most modern equipment lavished upon aggressive mercenaries. In the field of "super-weapons" of a new frightfulness, the dreams of easy victory have been demolished. The American "ideal" weapon of germ warfare has been countered and rendered largely impotent by the mass enlistment of the Korean and Chinese people in campaigns of mass inoculation, mass public health education and mass anti-bacterial defenses, possible only in the new lands of national independence, where the government is part of the people and the peoples' movement for progress.

And the atom bomb, whose alleged monopoly by the United States has been the decisive element for victory in the planning of the imperialist strategy, lies unused in its American stockpiles. For something new has grown up in the world since the Korean war started. The people of the world have entered into the struggle to preserve peace, in such overwhelming numbers in every land, America included, that their voice must now be heard. The last vestige of international toleration for American imperialism will vanish if atomic bombing is resorted to; and the American imperialists know it. Under the leadership of the World Peace Movement, the will of men and women everywhere for peace has become itself a weapon against imperialist war; a weapon which threatens such retribution that the stockpiles of atomic bombs dare not be used for military victory, because their use threatens drastic political defeat.

Back on the 38th Parallel.

In its three years, the Korean war has turned full circle, from the blustering and arrogant branding of North Korea and China as "aggressors," through the blustering and arrogant demands for unconditional surrender, to the present peace treaty now, after every American military movement has been defeated, every political and diplomatic manoeuvre to prolong the war been ended in disaster. The proposed truce line runs still, after three years, roughly along the 38th parallel. This is the territorial outcome of the first American adventure in conquest. For this, countless thousands have died, been maimed, imprisoned, rendered homeless. For this, millions have been impoverished, and all the material achievements of all the past generations of Koreans have been blown into ashes.

But not for this alone. The Korean war has reshaped the world and made it a better place for those who survived. It has helped to roll the plans of American world conquest in the dust of history. It has called forth a great international Peace Movement to plan the peace of mankind, where yesterday the American Government planned to lead the peoples towards war. It has helped forward the peoples, break-through from the bonds of imperialism towards national independence liberty and peace.

Now, the shooting has died down in Korea. The same Rhee and the same Dulles, who lit the fuse in 1950 manoeuvred desperately to prevent the cease-fire. They are doing and will do everything possible to sabotage the political negotiations and to get the war going again. The peace-loving peoples of the world

THE PROBLEM OF MANY TONGUES

By J. M. NHLAPO

In his comment on the urgency of the problem of international communication, the late Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch once said: "The want of some common 'world language' is, I assume, pretty generally admitted; certainly it has been felt by educated Europeans ever since Latin faded out as the common language."

With the shrinking of the earth as a result of modern transport and communications, and the multiplicity of international assemblies, no one can contradict Professor Guérard when he says: "the language obstacle is most emphatically not a theory but a condition."

Linguistic barriers do not only constitute an international but an intertribal problem. It is the latter with which I am just now specially concerned.

In South Africa ours is to suggest a solution to the linguistic barriers, whereas in other parts of Africa, the problem was foreseen and prevented from growing and ossifying.

When the question of reducing Ibo in Nigeria to writing, the multiplicity of its dialects reared its head. Each tribal group wished to have its dialect written. The writer of the language decided on 'Union Ibo' which was a fusion of the various dialects whose vocabularies became contributions to the combined language. Union Ibo was taught in schools and was used in the translation of the Bible. While the adults outside raised their voices in protest against this hybrid Ibo, the little one, silently absorbed it in the classroom.

The adults died and the combined language obtained a permanent place as the literary and standard language of the Ibo family of tribes. The same thing was done with the Shona dialects in Southern Rhodesia.

The Analogy of Swahili.

In East Africa Swahili which belonged to one coast tribe was adopted, and reinforced with words from Arabic etc. All tribes in Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya and other regions can understand one another through this *lingua franca*.

In South Africa the Ibo and Shona process was reversed. Xhosa and Zulu were forced apart and written as two different languages each with its own orthography. Tswana and Southern Sotho were treated in the same way while the difference in orthography was made even wider. After the use of Southern Sotho literature in the Transvaal, someone introduced written Pedi with an orthography that differed from that of Southern Sotho and Tswana in certain glaring respects.

In the Northern Transvaal, Venda and Tsonga each followed its own way.

The mixing of tribes has thrown the problem of linguistic barriers into sharp relief. A few years ago, when I proposed the unification of Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi, Ndebele, Baca etc. into one Nguni language, and Tswana, Pedi, Southern Sotho, Kgatla etc. into another, and that we begin building a bridge across the two, I found myself turned into a target of bitter criticism.

My idea was pronounced preposterous and impracticable. It is, in spite of

all this noise, gratifying that bridges are being built. The absurdity of spelling the same words differently just because of tribal difference has almost been removed. One education department has instructed its examiners to refrain from penalising a candidate just because he has, in his composition, employed a word from another dialect.

The free borrowing of words is taking place in large industrial centres in the teeth of harsh protests by the linguistic "purists." Xhosas are importing many Zulu words, and vice versa. Tswana and Pedi speakers use Southern Sotho words and expressions to an increasing extent.

All this is as it should be. This mixture is a good thing and we should all encourage it. A conference should be summoned and a standard process of unification agreed upon. Nguni words should be freely Sothoised and Sotho words freely Nguniised. There is nothing revolutionary in this. It has been going on for a century in the Eastern part of the Orange Free State.

Transvaal Ndebele spoken at and around Potgietersrust is a combination of Nguni and Sotho which is spoken fluently by the Ndebeles of that region.

In my suggestions, I am not unaware that there may yet be another way out of this linguistic tangle. Unity among non-Europeans which is so essential in this country renders my proposed solution merely partial. English is our non-European Esperanto. The question is: "Should English be among us in South Africa what Swahili is in East Africa?"

This should be left for future discussion. Our job just now should be the throwing of our Bantu languages into one pot, and the putting of fire under the pot. For, a start, however, two separate pots might be necessary.

THE ROAD TO SLAVERY

LONG before the Nationalist Party came to power they made it clear in their programmatic declarations that the system of collective bargaining would have to be substituted by a system of State supervision and "State responsibility."

This picture of a benevolent "State" settling the workers' troubles for them was drawn in order to persuade the workers to drop their independent vigilance in defence of their own rights, to give up the idea of free class organisation, to weaken the Trade Unions.

workers they first succeeded in dividing the Trade Union Movement. This was followed by starting to remove honest and class-conscious trade union leaders. Simultaneously, the Industrial Legislation Commission launched a full scale war on all traditional precepts of working class unity and defence Trade Unionism and in a series of devastating recommendations laid the foundations for the removal of the present system of collective bargaining and for its substitution by a "National Labour Board."

The Nats also succeeded in roping in the support of collaborationist trade union "leaders" for their schemes. It must have come as a shock even to many backward white workers that their leaders agreed to accept such recommendations: *ministerial and state control over the funds of their trade unions.*

The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Bill is one further step in this campaign of depriving the trade unions of their strength and influence. It is, of course, in the first place designed to defeat the increasing tendency of African workers to organise in trade unions. But it carries with it a number of threats not only to the freedom of the European trade unionists, but also to the hardwon conditions of work and standard of wages of many organised workers, who hitherto managed to achieve improvements by means of collective bargaining.

The Native Labour Bill.

The Bill proposes to set up elaborate machinery "for the settlement of disputes." A string of bureaucrats are to deal in long succession with disputes affecting workers. It all looks very impressive. There is a native labour officer, who will be the chairman of a Regional Committee consisting of three Africans. Of course, the three Africans are to be appointed by the Minister — there is of course no representation on this Board by the African workers themselves, not even those who are directly affected by a possible dispute. Where no regional committee operates, an Inspector may exercise its functions.

The Regional Committee is to deal with the dispute in the first place and if they fail to settle it, it is to be referred to a Central Native Labour Board, which in turn may refer it to the Minister of Labour with sundry recommendations, who in turn may ask the Wage Board to intervene. Finally, the Minister may make an "order" (note the term, so revealing of the dictator outlook) which then has the force of law.

Nowhere in this imposing array of boards, committees and bureaucrats is there any provision whatsoever for the voice of the affected workers to be heard. There is no form of representations, either oral or in writing and the Wage Board, which in terms of the present Wage Act is compelled to give all interested parties an opportunity to make representations to it, will now only be obliged to "consult such persons or bodies as in its opinion ought to be consulted."

Obviously, such machinery can never effectively settle labour disputes. All it will do is to impose arbitrary decisions on unwilling workers.

The Bill is designed to remove all African workers from the effects of other industrial legislation. They are to be completely excluded from the Industrial Conciliation Act, including African women who, the Courts have held, were covered hitherto by that Act. The Bill also gives the Minister power to override in his orders the provisions of the Factories Act.

Consequently orders made by the Minister in terms of this Bill have far-reaching

Native Labour Board and if the Board does not approve of them the Minister may be asked by it to issue an "Order" employing the wishes of the Board and overriding the conclusions of the negotiating parties!

Savage Sanctions.

Strikes are prohibited under threat of the most savage sanctions. Thus the penalty for a worker striking for a possible increase in wages of 2/6 per week will be open on conviction to a penalty of £500, imprisonment of three years, or both such penalty and imprisonment. And the draughtsmen of this atrocious law have made quite sure that there will be a conviction in each case, for the onus is on the accused worker to prove that he has not taken part in a strike. All the prosecution has to do is to allege that he has taken part in a strike.

Moreover the definition of a strike is wide enough to cover any stoppage of work, including sympathy strikes or protest actions against political repression.

What Should Be Done.

The entire trade union movement should unanimously oppose this Bill, for it is a threat to all workers, and to their established rights.

Experience has shown, however, that the methods of opposition hitherto adopted against the anti-labour legislation of the Government has had little effect, because it has usually taken the form of memoranda, written letters or deputations, which have been listened to politely but have just as politely been ignored.

...New methods of protest and opposition must be devised by the trade unions. The most important thing of all is to bring the danger of this legislation to the attention of the workers, not only at isolated branch meetings, but at the factories where the workers are assembled in numbers and where they can initiate their own methods of protest.

Resolutions signed by hundreds of workers at factory meetings should be sent to the Minister demanding the withdrawal of the Bill and insisting on the restoration of the workers' right of association and of free collective bargaining. Groups of workers should lobby their members of Parliament. Letters of protest should be written to the Press. Every device should be utilised to expose the anti-labour character of this Bill and to rouse every worker against it. Mass public opposition can yet win the freedom of collective bargaining for all workers.

Book Review.

PETER ABRAHAMS DISAPPOINTS

MR. ABRAHAMS is a Coloured writer who left South Africa some years ago and has lived in England since. During last year he

visit.

The book starts somewhat melodramatically; one gets the impression that Mr. Abrahams regarded his trip

boost sales in England, but it does not impress those who have to live every day with the perils that Mr. Abrahams so boldly went forth to encounter.

Mr. Abrahams is interesting when he discusses the effects of racial oppression on the non-European peoples and the re-adjustments which were required of him in moving from South Africa to England and back again. Unfortunately he cannot sustain these topics very long or investigate them very deeply, and ~~in~~ later chapters his book degenerates into the typical visiting journalist's pot-boiler. He trots out the statistics from "Black Man's Burden" which have become

the basic equipment of visiting journalists. He informs us (sometimes inaccurately) of a few commonplaces of South African history. He reproduces the "African Drum" report on Bethal. There is nothing which is new to anyone who is reasonably well acquainted with South African affairs.

We have had, over the last few years, rather too many hastily written books which attempt to summarise South Africa in 200 pages. Basil Davidson did it about as well as it can be done, and it might be advisable for those who cannot improve on his book to maintain a discreet silence.

—A. P. O'DOWD

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