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PRESIDENT KARUME
ZANZIBAR

**SANCTIONS AGAINST
SOUTH AFRICA**

Illeg on Algeria

EDITORIAL COMMENT

TURBULENT AFRICA



THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

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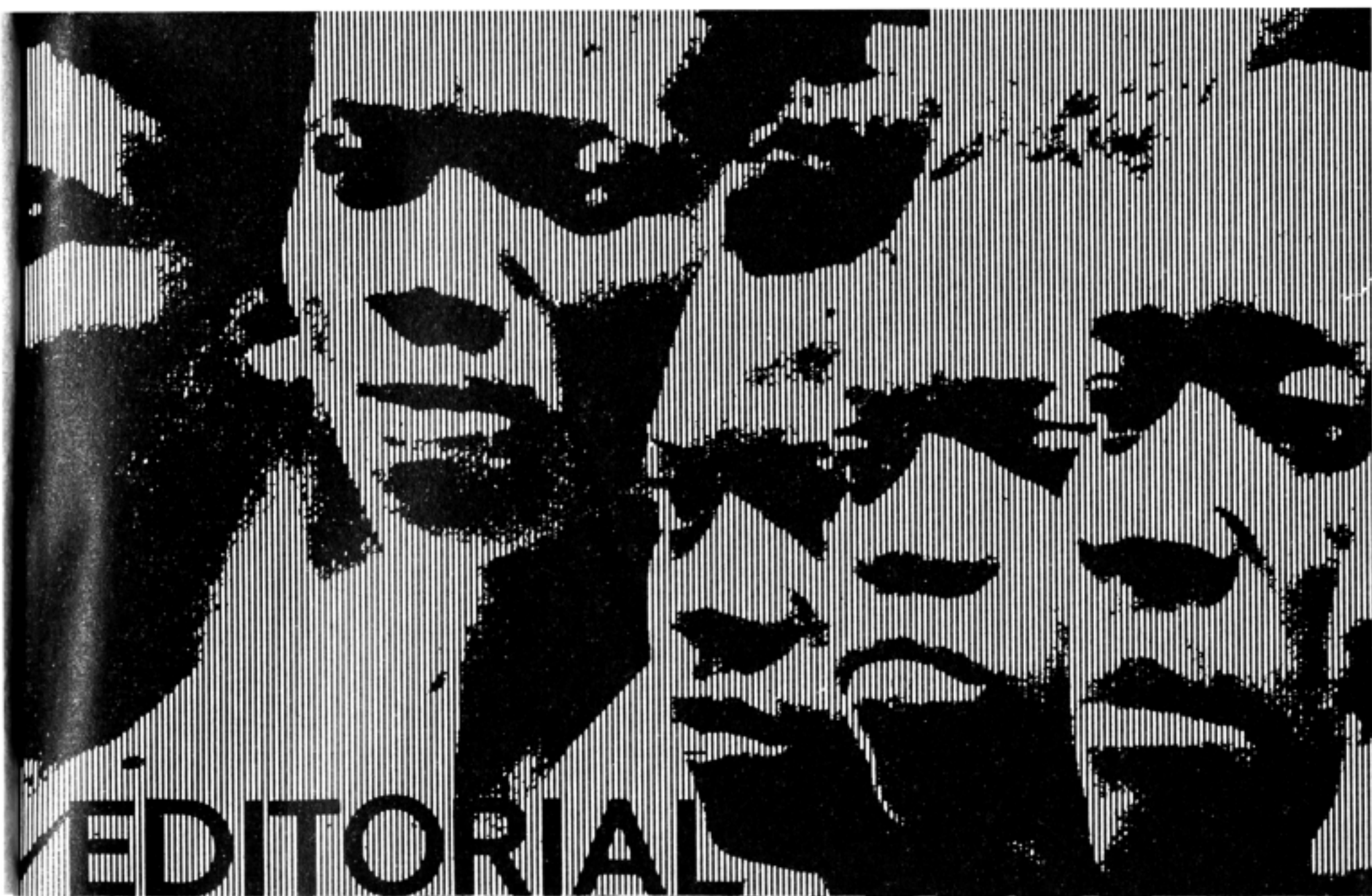
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NOTES

TURBULENT AFRICA

Our vast continent, its development thwarted for so many long years, is in the throes of a tremendous anti-colonialist revolution. One stormy event succeeds another in every corner of Africa, with bewildering rapidity. We have won and are winning splendid victories for the cause of African independence, freedom and unity. We have also suffered and will in future suffer more setbacks. Only against the background of our struggle as a whole, its essential one-ness of purpose and direction, can we understand the interrelation and significance of the momentous calendar of African events, East and West, North and South.

THE ZANZIBAR UPRISING

CONSIDER THE JANUARY Uprising in Zanzibar. The short-lived post-independence rule of the so-called 'Zanzibar National Party' collapsed like a house of cards. Elected by a minority vote in British-rigged elections, and representing only a privileged minority of the population, it rested heavily on British imperialist support and the outmoded Sultanate. Both proved shaky props indeed. Within hours the Sultan and his retinue were on their way to refuge in London. As for the British, they were ready and more than anxious to intervene against

the new-born Zanzibar People's Republic, headed by the Afro-Shirazi and Umma Parties who, despite all handicaps, had won the majority of the votes in the elections.

Troops in nearby British bases, aircraft and warships were placed on combat alert; *H.M.S. Owen* was cruising in Zanzibar waters with a landing party; the local commander announced his men were ready to intervene—and drown the picturesque little island in blood! But there were important factors restraining any such ambitions. The speed and completeness of the take-over, the utter collapse of the régime at the first breeze of revolt, proved that the Zanzibar masses are firmly behind President Abeid Karume's government. It was clear that any colonialist intervention would meet with bitter and protracted resistance. Hot-headed ideas of British invasion were also cooled down considerably by the stern warning of the Soviet Government that 'any forcible acts' in Zanzibar 'by those who do not want to abandon their former colonial privileges' would be fraught with 'dangerous consequences'. Recalling Khrushchov's words that 'every nation fighting against the colonisers felt the firm support of the Soviet Union and other socialist states', the statement pointed out that 'the time of colonial régimes has gone'.

The new government in Zanzibar lost little time in asserting the independence of the Republic. The American quasi-military base on the island was closed down immediately, and when the United States representative attempted to interfere in the island's internal affairs, he too was given his marching orders promptly. There is no doubt that the colonialists find it difficult to reconcile themselves with a genuinely independent Zanzibar. By the end of January, Britain had not yet recognised the new Zanzibar order, although—as Foreign Minister Abdul Rahman Muhammed Babu has pointed out, the British High Commission remains open and even demands special privileges, such as cipher facilities. There is an element of serious danger in this anomalous situation. It lends colour to fears which have been expressed that Britain still harbours intentions of aggression towards Zanzibar.

EAST AFRICAN SETBACK

These fears are strengthened by the reappearance of British troops to play an active role in the affairs of Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda, in circumstances which cannot fail to cause the gravest concern and anxiety to every African patriot, whether in East Africa or anywhere else in the continent. It is true that these troops entered with suspicious alacrity on the invitation of the elected Governments of the three East African independent states. We have too much confidence in men like Kenyatta, Nyerere and Obote as African patriots and popular leaders of the independence struggle to imagine they would take so

grave a step without considering it necessary for the good of their countries and their people. But if it was indeed necessary to call for assistance of so unfortunate a nature from the colonialists, it reflects major oversights and omissions on our part which we must hasten to correct. The return of colonialist military forces, so soon after we had hoped we had seen the last of them in this part of Africa, must not be regarded as a precedent for the future; indeed it is our duty to do everything necessary to see it never happens again. It has done grave damage to the cause of free Africa; the Verwoerds and the Salisburys are exulting at our supposed incapability of managing our own affairs. Above all, the return of the colonialist troops, though as invited guests, with some sort of mandate from our leaders, is filled with grave dangers to the freedom not only of the East African countries which are harbouring them, but also of neighboring Zanzibar and emerging Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The immediate task is clear and pressing. British, or any other sort of colonialist forces, are not a sort of useful fire-brigade to help African governments in an emergency. They have been the instrument of our conquest and our subjection; and no African can ever forget the painful sacrifices it has cost our people to expel them from a large part of our Continent. Our aspiration is to clear Africa finally and completely of foreign troops and foreign bases. Before these guests make themselves too much at home, and begin to outstay their welcome, it is a matter of the most urgent priority that their departure should be speeded up and expedited. The British military base in Kenya should be closed down and removed without delay; but a few months back, the very same base was used to fly troops—in collaboration with Verwoerd—to suppress a justified strike of workers in Swaziland.

The occasion of the calling in of British military assistance was the demonstrations by African troops—first in Tanganyika, subsequently in Kenya and Uganda—in support of their demands for pay-increases and Africanization of the commands. These demands in themselves seem hardly unreasonable. It comes, indeed, as a shock to learn that so long after independence Tanganyikan armed forces were still under the command of British officers. The soldiers behaved with sobriety and disciplined restraint. They acted against acts of rioting and looting indulged in by a section of the Dar-es-Salaam populations. The limited character of their demands makes it clear that wild talk of an attempted *coup d'état*, indulged in by certain 'Western' journalists, was mere panicky gossip. It was not so much the soldiers' demonstrations and demands themselves, but their implications which caused the young East African governments to take so serious a view of these events, and hastily to seek outside aid. Taking advantage of the absence of a large

part of the Tanganyika police force in Zanzibar, at the request of the new government, the soldiers not only demanded the withdrawal of the British officers, they arrested them and told them to get out of the country. They not only asked for more pay; they 'took over' the key-points in the capital, such as the airport, radio station and government buildings and enforced their demands on an administration which, for the time being, had no choice but to accede to them. The events of Dar-es-Salaam had immediate repercussions in Nairobi and Kampala. The three governments were suddenly brought face-to-face with the reality elucidated with such merciless logic by Lenin in *State and Revolution*: that every state, however democratic its forms, conceals a dictatorship; that all state power depends in the last analysis on the effectiveness of its instruments of force. The illusion, sedulously cultivated by the imperialists, that state power (as distinct from political office in a stable, institutionalized society) depends merely on election-results, crumbled into dust before this stark reality.

Certainly the new independence governments enjoy mass popular support and prestige. They have come into office as the result of a great revolutionary movement against colonialism that is sweeping East Africa, like the whole of our Continent. But the small armed forces, such as they are, have formed no part of this movement. Recruited, trained, equipped and still even officered by colonialists, they are not—like the soldiers of the F.L.N., for example, in Algeria—revolutionary forces, imbued with the spirit of patriotism, tested in battle for Africa's freedom, and sworn to defend it to the death. Their 'mutiny' (had it been more ambitious and politically-inspired, which happily it was not) might have ended in the snuffing-out of the nascent East African democracy and a period of military dictatorship, of a kind all too familiar both in developed and undeveloped countries. As it was it succeeded, for a period, in holding to ransom the elected leaders of the people and setting their authority at naught. It was this circumstance, rather than the inherent reasonableness of their demands themselves, which caused such concern in political circles, and led to the precipitate summoning of aid from the imperialists.

For the time being, this action has served its immediate purpose. The 'mutinies' have been quelled; government and civilian authority restored. But it has been done at a heavy price. It has created new and most serious problems which call for urgent solution if African freedom and unity are not to suffer severe setbacks as a consequence. President Julius Nyerere has been the first to show his consciousness of these problems, in general by proposing a quick session of the Organization of African Unity, and in particularly calling the T.A.N.U. youth to enrol in reconstituted armed services. It is regrettable that Mr. Mboya took

it upon himself to snub and rebuff the patriotic initiative of the K.A.N.U. youth to follow the same example in Kenya. The most immediate and practical lessons to be drawn from these unhappy events is that newly-independent African countries cannot afford, if they intend to maintain and extend independence, merely to rely on colonialist troops and colonialist institutions, including armed forces led by privileged foreigners. After two years of independence in Tanganyika, the highest rank held by any African soldier was that of captain, and as Mr. Odinga, Kenya's Minister of Home Affairs correctly pointed out in a 'serious warning,' 'British staff employed in responsible places failed to train Africans to fill their places. Instead they used their privileges to suppress Africans beneath them, thereby creating an explosive situation.'

The immediate practical necessity is not only to speed the departure of the British troops but also to create adequate African defence services, imbued from the lowest to the highest ranks with loyalty to Africa's cause and the defence of independence and democracy. But, more than that, the current developments in East Africa must lead us to a searching reappraisal of the whole character and direction of the African Revolution, its moving forces and its goals, the tempo of its phasing and the depth of its content.

THE 'PHASES' OF AFRICAN LIBERATION

Over the years, and particularly during the past stormy decade, however much we might differ in language or phraseology, a common concept has grown up all over our continent regarding the process of African liberation—what we of this journal have called the African Revolution—where it is going and what it is aiming at; the successive steps or phases through which we are passing. We may summarize this concept as follows:

PHASE ONE: ANTI-COLONIALIST.

The replacement of colonialist governments, from Cape to Cairo, by African governments, freely chosen by the people; Africanization of the armed forces and police, the civil services; elimination of foreign monopoly-capital domination of the economy to ensure complete independence.

PHASE TWO: SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

Elimination of vestiges of feudalism, tribalism, and other relics of the past deliberately preserved by the colonialists to perpetuate their rule by 'indirect government'. Massive agrarian reform, industrialization along non-capitalist lines, labour legislation against exploita-

tion, mass participation of workers and peasants in all affairs of state to ensure that the departed colonialists are not merely replaced by a new class of indigenous exploiters and parasites.

PHASE THREE: AFRICAN UNITY AND SOCIALISM.

The artificial frontiers drawn by the rival colonialists to define 'their' respective 'possessions' are eliminated. Regional federations are established by common consent, merging peacefully into a great socialist African Union, vanquishing all the legacies and backwardness left behind by colonialism, catching up the 'developed' countries with giants' strides to win equality in status and in fact in every field, and playing a powerful part for peace and progress among the nations and continents of the world.

Some such outline has long been in the heart and mind of every African patriot, in every corner of our mother Africa, everyone whose soul burned with anger and resentment at the innumerable crimes, atrocities and insults committed against us by the arrogant colonialists, every African who longed for, dreamed of and worked for a better future for our people. The colonialists thought and said that these were crazy, empty dreams, impossible of fulfilment. And their words were believed and echoed by those faint-hearted African intellectuals, conscious or unconscious agents of imperialism, who spread the gospel of the unconquerable superiority and might of the colonialists, who tried to teach our youth contempt for themselves and their compatriots, for every national tradition, for everything African.

A dream? Perhaps, but neither crazy nor impossible; indeed, it is coming true before our very eyes, to the dismay of the colonialists and the discomfiture of their former agents, now scrambling with comic haste to scramble aboard the independence wagon before it's too late. How fortunate, how happy we are to be living in these stirring days of the African Revolution! The dream of our pioneer patriots, the little clear spring of independence and freedom which they began, has become a mighty river, a turbulent torrent storming through Africa, cleansing our motherland of the filth and backwardness of colonialism. Woe betide those who try to halt it, to tame it or stand in its path!

But, in the very process of the realization of our aspirations we are having it forced upon our understanding that the phases of emancipation are inseparable, that there is no easy march to freedom, that independence itself is deeply bound up with social revolution, with the simultaneous advance towards a united socialist Africa.

Independence in its essence is not something that is gained by bargaining with the colonialists.

Some people, both in Africa and elsewhere, have had to fight for national liberation with arms in their hands, over long hard years of bloodshed and sacrifice. Others have gained independence with less hardship—although it should never be forgotten that the victories which Africa has won and is winning today are the result of generations of bitter struggle against imperialism, both violent and non-violent, both in Africa and in other parts of the world. The price of freedom has been paid in struggle and in blood; though those who claim the victory at the conference table are often not the same as those who have shed the blood. The leaders who travel to the capitals of the imperialist countries do not get independence as a reward for their skill at negotiating, or the persuasiveness of their arguments; nor do they bring it home as a gift to their fellow-countrymen. Like trade union leaders who negotiate a strike settlement with the employers, their strength at the conference table is precisely equal to the unity and militancy of the masses of the people at home: no more, and no less.

More, the victory at the conference table is by no means identical with the complete and final victory of the independence struggle. That struggle goes on, in new forms, even under nominally independent governments. Every inch of the way to liberation has been and will be bitterly contested by the colonialists and their agents. Even those who took part in the independence movements at some stage may be expected to resist the logical development and onward movement of the people's struggle. Classes and strata within African society who enjoy vested interests and privileges fear the advancing people's revolution will infringe on these interests. They may even become allies of the colonialists in resisting further advances to complete independence, economic and political.

The course of our torrential freedom-river does not and cannot run smooth, nor can it conform exactly to the path we may seek to lay down for it in advance, for life is always more complex, varied and rich than the vision of even the most far-sighted statesman. The 'three phases' outlined above are valid and correct in their broad main outline; they have been and are being borne out all over Africa, by the course of present-day history. But our phases interact and merge with one another; there is no hard-and-fast dividing line to be drawn between them. And the tempo of events, the impetuous revolutionary spirit of the masses, so long repressed, is fast making every paper 'time-table' out of date.

It is true enough, for example, that political independence must precede—is in fact the condition for—social transformation. It would be ridiculous to look to the colonialists to introduce the far-reaching measures of agrarian reform, industrialization and democracy essential

to consolidate independence and imbue it with reality. But no barrier, no full stop, can be placed between the phase of national independence, and that of social and economic revolution. In fighting for independence, indeed, our liberation movements must already work out the essentials of a people's policy to be implemented the day after the expulsion of the colonialists. Failure to do so will lead to grave consequences.

The masses who sacrifice and struggle for the cause of Africa are not fighting merely for the sake of a new flag, a seat at the United Nations or an African leader, however worthy, in the Governor-General's palace. The starving and the homeless victims of colonialism can neither eat the flag nor sleep in the palace. Yet, these masses *are* Africa; without them our freedom means nothing. It is they who must be mobilized in the freedom-struggle, and it is they who must be mobilized to defend Africa to the death against the innumerable adventures and conspiracies of the colonialists, who have only retreated, but not given up the struggle for Africa, who are still powerful and ever-alert to seize every advantage, to use every weakness, to retain by cunning, bribery and pressure the dominant positions in Africa which they were unable to hold by force. To mobilize the masses there must be immediate and sweeping changes to answer their needs for land, work, food and progress; changes such as those envisaged in the famous Freedom Charter, evolved by the South African resistance movement in the most arduous struggle in our whole continent; a Charter which remains to this day an example and an inspiration worth studying in Free Africa, East, West and North.

No more dangerous illusion can exist in the minds of our national liberation leaders than that it is possible merely to take over intact the institutions and the personnel created and built up by the colonialists for the purpose of suppressing the masses, and to use these institutions and personnel in the construction of the New Africa. To some extent we have learnt and are learning these lessons; the old sham colonialist 'Legco' makes way for an African Republic: this should be the symbol of a profound and all-embracing shake-up from top to bottom. All too often, however, we see a mere change of name, a facade behind which the old colonialist-trained civil service, police and military carry on in the old way, the way they have been taught by the colonialists with all their arrogant contempt for the 'common people' of Africa, their entire lack of the new patriotic spirit of change and people's construction.

LESSONS OF THE CONGO

Those who look back at the tragedy which imperialist intervention and intrigue brought about in the Congo may learn rich lessons. Patrice

Lumumba was a great African patriot, a deeply honest leader who enjoyed mass support and respect from his people. But faced with the crisis precipitated by international imperialism, by the breakaway plot carried out by Tshombe at Belgium's bidding in Katanga, and by the defection of some of his trusted lieutenants bought by the colonialists, all the great prestige enjoyed by Lumumba among the people, even among the majority of elected Members of Parliament, was of no avail. There was no instrument whereby the people's will, expressed by Lumumba, could be enforced. There was only the *Force Publique*, created, equipped and trained by the Belgians—not as an instrument of people's power, but as an instrument of domination by colonialism over the people. For these mercenaries, who had only yesterday been paid by the Belgians to break up meetings and to jail, torture and murder freedom-fighters, there could be no question of loyalty to the people's cause. Even though the Belgian officers had departed, their loyalty of their successors was only to those who could pay them most; for dollars Mobutu and his like were ready to betray Lumumba and all he stood for, to hand him over to Tshombe's merciless executioner, Monungu.

Those, like our fellow-patriots in Algeria and Cuba, who have had to fight hard and long, rifle in hand, for freedom and independence need no lessons in the truth of the Marxist teaching that a revolutionary state needs a revolutionary army and other institutions. There the army of national liberation is of course a political army, an integral part of the people, sharing their aims and aspirations. But many who have secured formal independence by negotiation—although their whole strength at the negotiating table when they met the colonialists was in reality backed up by the militancy of the masses and the fear of revolt—have been all too apt to ignore this truth, and to adopt the pacifist ideas which (though they are always ready for a fight themselves) the imperialists love to cultivate among Africans and Asians. They did not realize that in preserving intact the institutions of imperialism, the government departments and military and police cadres, officered and staffed either by Europeans or by indoctrinated Africans, trained in bourgeois-imperialist attitudes and ideologies at the military academies and universities of Britain or France, they were harbouring a dangerous fifth column, profoundly hostile to the African Revolution.

When in Ghana, a couple of years ago, the colonialists sought to use the crisis brought about by the fall of cocoa prices on the world market to stir up unrest, the London 'Times' let the cat out of the bag. 'The army and Gbedemah had become the natural rallying point of anti-Nkrumah elements,' it declared. The pattern and the plan was plain. But not for the first time in Africa—and not for the last time either, not

by a long way—imperialist plans were set at naught. The healthy patriotic elements rallied around President Nkrumah, Mr. Gbedemah and other pro-imperialists were removed, and the British officers (who had played such a dubious role in the Congo) were sent home.

It is deeply to be regretted that the lessons of the Congo have not been absorbed elsewhere in our Continent. Mistakes have been made, and continue to be made, and these errors of judgment, of omission or commission, have cost the cause of Africa dear. They spring above all from the failure of many of our leaders to study and accept the basic principles of modern political thought, the science of Marxism-Leninism. Arising from this failure they do not see the underlying and unchanging nature of imperialism, beneath the mask of benevolence, the fundamentally grasping, murderous, anti-human and anti-African reality. They do not grasp the urgency and importance of following the conquest of formal independence with dynamic and bold measures to transform the structure of the state and its organs, to better the lives of the working masses on the land and in the towns and mobilize their enthusiasm, armed with understanding, for the giant's tasks of national reconstruction.

THE SINGLE PARTY PANACEA

To carry out these tasks successfully and without serious mistakes requires that in place of the old colonialist institutions and colonialist-trained personnel, new institutions, civil services and armed forces, must be created which are suitable for and loyal to the new Africa we are building. Such forces and personnel can only be created by conscious patriotic organizations, by national united fronts embracing all the healthy national elements, and including in a foremost role the representatives of the working people in the towns and countryside, guided by the science of socialism, by Marxism-Leninism.

It has become fashionable in a number of African states to advance the theory and practice of the 'one-party state' as the panacea for all ills and the answer to all problems. We do not accept that this is always the case. Certainly we are in favour of national unity, which may take the form of a single state party, or it may take the form of a united national democratic front embracing more than one party. You do not solve profound political problems with a simple organizational formula, designed to cover every case; to attempt to do so may be to sidestep the problems and store up serious trouble for the future. In one country these problems may be quite different from those in another. In some cases the demand for a single party may be correct and progressive; in another it may merely cover up a desire to stifle democracy and rule by despotic methods.

The people of Ghana, by a massive majority, voted in favour of a one-party state. It is not difficult to see why. The opposition parties in Ghana have more and more revealed themselves as the enemies of the new Ghana, of every anti-colonialist step, every step towards socialism, taken by the governing Convention People's Party. One cannot think of them in terms of the parliamentary oppositions familiar in West Europe and North America, whose policies, to tell the truth, are almost indistinguishable from those of the governing parties. From such childish playing at politics may God preserve Africa; we have much more important things to do! In fact the 'opposition' in Ghana had turned itself into an 'opposition to Ghana', its methods including open sabotage and even attempted assassination. After the last attempt on Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's life it became clearer than ever that the 'Western' parliamentary pattern was a luxury the country just could not afford. Of course the imperialist press and radio are screaming 'dictatorship' at the top of their voices; staunch 'defenders of democracy' like the London *Daily Telegraph*, the BBC and the United States press have launched an all-out campaign to smear Ghana. Dr. Nkrumah will not lose any sleep over such attacks; only when such organs start praising him will Africans begin to wonder whether he has not made some mistake! Clearly democracy means that the will of the people should be carried out; if there are hostile forces which maliciously and treacherously seek to frustrate the people's will, true democracy consists in preventing that and in instituting a vigilant dictatorship of the people.

But this Ghana situation is by no means a universal pattern in Africa. Paul Delanoue writes in *Democratie Nouvelle*, 'The single party can be theoretically justified by the necessity for concentrating all available energies, mobilizing them for the building of the new State, avoiding conflict between racial groupings, preventing neo-colonialism or foreign imperialism from using parties as vantage points or for providing forces for their manoeuvres. But such a justification presupposes that the party will be linked with the masses and give expression to their aspirations, which is the very condition for mobilizing them. This condition is clearly very far from being realized in a number of African countries where the single party has been obtained merely by dissolving former parties, by the imprisonment or exile of national leaders (Niger, Central African Republic) or by wholesale repression and even the use of armed force (Cameroons).'

Thus when Youlou tried to impose a one-party system in the Congo (Brazzaville) Republic he was trying to use this idea to overcome mass discontent at misgovernment, corruption, unemployment and utter subordination of African to French interests. But the people would

not stand for it. They held a mass meeting to demand the release of militant trade union leaders who had been arrested, and the crowd then stormed the prison, released the trade union leaders and began the process which has led to the overthrow of the Youlou régime. The people knew very well that this 'single-party' system was not for their benefit but for the benefit of a small wealthy élite.

Similarly, at Dakar on the first of December 1963, blood flowed in the streets when Leopold Senghor, the darling of the West, saw his one-man dictatorship of Senegal crumbling, after his phoney election victory. The masses of unemployed and underpaid workers demonstrated on the streets. With all anti-imperialist elements, ranging from the militant Marxist leaders of the African Independence Party (PAI) such as Mahjemout Diop, to Dia, leader of the more moderate UPS, in jail and their organizations suppressed, the election was obviously a fraud. As *Al Moukafih*, Moroccan Communist journal points out: 'M. Senghor's party is not a revolutionary party, not a progressive party, not a mass organization. It is a conservative apparatus of government in whose name every expression of opposition by the masses is crushed and stifled'. Obviously, Senghor's 'one-party dictatorship' is one in the interests of colonialism and neo-colonialism, against the people, against Africa.

Here is the essence of the question of unity. Whose benefit does it serve? If it is a true unity, representing the masses of poor people, dedicated to further the anti-colonialist African revolution for independence, democracy, freedom, for African unity and the non-capitalist road to socialism—such a unity, whether expressed in a single party or a national united front, is profoundly progressive and essential. But if it is merely a manoeuvre by a privileged class or clique, aimed with neo-colonialism, out to stick to power and office, then it can only harm the cause of Africa. We cannot merely parrot an organizational slogan, without examining in each case what sort of party? Representing which social classes or forces? With what ideology?

REALITIES OF OUR STRUGGLE

The one abiding factor in all African politics today, in all the swift and unpredictable variations in every part of our dynamic continent, is the continuing struggle against imperialism and colonialism in all its forms, ranging from the concealed intrigues and economic pressures of the colonialists in the independent countries to the outright colonialist dictatorships in the Portuguese colonies and the special type of colonialism prevailing in Southern Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa.

That struggle has seen great victories over the past few years; inevitably it has also known some setbacks. Nothing will do us greater harm than to imagine that the victory is already won, or to forget for a single minute that imperialism is still in the world, still very much alive, still ceaselessly planning to re-establish lost positions in Africa and elsewhere, to take advantage of every weakness, disunity or mistake of the anti-imperialist forces.

Even as we are writing, British and United States imperialism are planning new bloody violence against Cyprus, to destroy the hard-won independence of the Cypriot people and recolonize their country as a NATO base. The United States is conducting a savage war against the people of South Viet Nam. The NATO countries are propping up the Verwoerd régime in South Africa and sabotaging every international decision to quarantine apartheid.

No one, especially in East and Southern Africa should lose sight of the sinister presence (apparently with the blessing of the Nehru government, as revealed by the Communist Party of India) of the American Seventh Fleet in the Indian Ocean. This aggressive imperialist force off our shores is a serious threat to African independence and freedom.

In the Southern bastion of colonialism and white supremacy, the Verwoerd-Vorster gang of fascist murderers are conducting an unceasing war of intrigue and aggression against free Africa. Britain continues to deny real independence to the Basuto, Bechuana and Swazi people, to enable them to resist economic and military pressure from the Republic. In Southern Rhodesia, backed by Verwoerd and influential imperialist elements in Britain, the wild men of Salisbury threaten a new bloody arena of conflict by seizing power in the name of 'independence'.

These are realities of our struggle; it would be fatal to ignore them or to forget for one moment the huge stake which the imperialists still have in Africa, and their determination to cling to and even extend their ill-gotten gains—by blackmail, cunning and bribery, by manoeuvres and intrigues, and always and everywhere if need be by mass murder and brute force.

We rejoice at the fine election victory of Dr. Kaunda and the United National Independence Party in what, very soon, will be independent Zambia. And yet we know that as long as the vast imperialist mining interests, based in Britain, America and South Africa, dominate the economy, so long the Zambia people will not fully be the masters in their own house, that the election victory was the beginning, not the end, of the independence struggle, and that a hard, long road still lies ahead.

In our fight to win Africa back for the African people, to wrest its

government and its wealth out of the hands of the imperialists, we are winning and we shall be triumphant; for the day has gone when imperialism enjoyed unchallenged domination over the world. Our cause has powerful support from the loyal friends of African freedom in the socialist and liberated countries. And the great masses of our people, awakened and on the march, cannot and will not be stopped short of the goal of a free, united, socialist Africa.

But our struggle will be more prolonged, bitter and bloody if we fail to reckon with the strength and stratagems of the enemy, if we harbour naive illusions about the benevolence of the imperialists or the disinterestedness of their 'aid', if we try to substitute mechanical formulas and slogans for a searching, scientific socialist analysis of all the realities of Africa today, in all their richness, complexity and variety.

Of course, the African Revolution is not taking the orderly, tidy sequence that might have been thought out by some idealistic abstract 'planner', or that would perhaps be wished by some well-meaning 'Friends of Africa' in Western Europe, who seem to imagine that a vast continent-wide social transformation can be carried out according to the rules and regulations of a British Parliamentary election. As the master-revolutionary, Lenin, once pointed out, the path of revolution is 'not like the Nevsky Prospekt'—a paved, straight, main street in what then was Petrograd. We could foresee with some confidence, the broad main lines of the African Revolution in its various phases. But no-one could have predicted in detail the exact timing, sweep, depth and phasing of a great historical upheaval such as is now taking place in our continent, with its infinitely complex cross-currents, reactions and interactions. They make serious mistakes, those shebeen-strategists and would-be generals, who imagine they can plan the timetable for liberation as if the millions of unorganized workers and peasants were soldiers at their command.

Even more serious are the mistakes of those who imagine that the African Revolution has more or less run its course, that it can be halted on the banks of the Zambezi or the Limpopo. They forget, or do not believe in, the boundless dynamic and creative energy of the masses of common people, once this energy has been set free, and set into motion, by the forces of history, by a just and invincible cause that answers their needs and their aspirations.

APARTHEID—THE END APPROACHES

APARTHEID—as readers of this journal will hardly need reminding, and as the United Nations has repeatedly and all-but-unanimously resolved—is one of the most diabolical and unjust forms of rule ever imposed upon any people, an intolerable danger and affront to the spirit of free Africa. It is also terribly profitable. One of the foremost objects of the structure of white supremacy is to squeeze the last drop of profit out of African resources, African land and African labour. For this, our people have been driven from their ancient lands, herded into the cruelly crowded and eroded ‘reserves’ (which Verwoerd’s propagandists now, with inconceivable effrontery, claim are the ‘Bantu homelands’ and shining examples of self-determination). Africans are forced by hunger and taxation to labour at starvation wage-rates on the white man’s ‘green pastures’, the rich mealielands and vineyards, the gold-fields and the diamond-fields, the flourishing industries and cities, all built out of African sweat and skill.

Apartheid is certainly cruel and unjust; it is also, in its essence, a vast system of robbery and slavery, yielding millions every year in profits, profits that flow not only to the gold and diamond emperors, the wealthy farmers and industrialists of South Africa itself, but also to millionaire investors in Britain, the United States and other imperialist countries. That is fundamentally why the imperialists shelter apartheid at the United Nations and elsewhere. As P. Tlalé shows so ably, elsewhere in this issue, they are in effect sleeping partners in the Nazi Verwoerd régime; they hamstring and sabotage every resolution for sanctions and isolation of the Republic of South Africa, and shamefully betray the interests of peoples of South-West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, as well as of South Africa itself.

Often the outside world misunderstands the significance of the call for boycotts and sanctions, raised in the first instance by the African National Congress and other patriotic organizations of the South African people. Some of our friends are under the impression that, finding the task beyond their capacity, our people have called our brothers in Free Africa and elsewhere in the world, to liberate us from the tyranny of apartheid. One even hears of far-fetched schemes to raise an army of liberation to march down Africa across the Limpopo. Such ideas, however well-meaning, reveal a major misconception of the nature and significance of the South African situation. Certainly, that situation is one of world significance and calls for world solidarity with the South African people. But the nature of that solidarity action is not in the form of intervention. Quite the reverse; it is Britain, the

United States, France and the other imperialist countries who are *intervening* in South Africa. They are investing vast sums in apartheid, supplying Verwoerd with the armaments and the armament factories he needs to sustain his inhuman rule, sustaining those diplomatic, commercial and other links which nourish apartheid and enable it to continue.

The future and destiny of South Africa must and will be settled by the South African people themselves, on the soil of the motherland. What we are demanding, with the effective and deeply-appreciated support of the freedom-loving peoples of Africa and the rest of the world, is that apartheid's backers in the imperialist countries should be compelled to break off their military and diplomatic alliances, their financial and trading partnerships, with the arrogant Nazi clique masquerading as the government of 'South Africa'. Dr. Verwoerd and his gang are completely and utterly dependent on their friends and backers, concealed and open, in the 'West', on the stream of money, weapons, oil, and other forms of aid constantly arriving at South Africa's harbours and airports. And they know it. This is the vulnerable point of the frightened men in Pretoria; the nightmare that haunts their uneasy slumbers. The issue of apartheid is raised by South Africa's tireless and faithful friends at every session of the United Nations and its agencies, at meetings of African and Asian statesmen, at the International Labour Office, the Olympic Games Committee, the World Peace Movement, Trade Union conferences . . . the list is endless. And at every debate and discussion the questions are sharper and more pertinent. Verwoerd's apologists are in full retreat, his concealed backers are being forced into the open. The day is not far off when the Western imperialists will have, once and for all, to choose. It is becoming clearer by the day that in continuing to back Verwoerd and apartheid, Britain, the United States and their NATO partners are forfeiting whatever good will and prestige they may still retain or hope to gain in the vast continents of Africa and Asia, comprising the majority of the world's inhabitants. Already the United States has had to cut short its arms supplies to South Africa; Harold Wilson, probably Britain's next Prime Minister, has promised to do the same. Under insistent and unrelenting pressure from the governments and people of Africa, Asia and the socialist commonwealth—and from the labour and progressive movements in the imperialist countries themselves, horrified at the murderous barbarity of apartheid—the world movement to quarantine the moral leprosy of apartheid has become a great and irresistible crusade, uniting the finest and noblest people of all countries. Verwoerd's supporters abroad care nothing for him or for South Africa; they are men without principle, concerned solely with their

advantage and their profit. He cannot hope that this crew of international financiers upon whom he depends will show any loyalty to his régime once it has served its purpose. Once they can see that their stake in South Africa is outweighed by the dangers it causes to their huge investments elsewhere; even more, once the current high yields on their South African investments are threatened by mounting unrest and instability in that country—they will abandon and betray Verwoerd with as little compunction as he himself once showed to his former colleagues in his upward climb to the Premiership.

The day is not far off when the Verwoerd-Vorster clique will find themselves alone in the world, deserted by their imperialist partners—and also by a substantial proportion of the whites in South Africa itself, who are by no means all indoctrinated Nazi fanatics, and who will be quick to prefer the preservation of a whole skin to the privileges of a fair one, once it becomes clear that the Nationalist Party is the losing side. That day, the frightened men of Pretoria will find themselves face to face with the wrath of the people whom they have so long oppressed, persecuted, robbed and humiliated. They will receive the mercy they have extended to their victims.

Though they are perfectly well aware, in their hearts, of all these realities, the high-priests of apartheid and *baasskap* do their best to conceal this knowledge both from themselves and the public at home and abroad. They dismiss with arrogant disdain the solemn appeal of the one hundred and six nations at the General Assembly to stop the 'Rivonia' proceedings and to release all political prisoners. They claim the grotesque Transkei 'Bantustan' farce as a shining example of 'self-determination'. South Africa, they say, is flourishing, indeed, enjoying boom conditions; all the agitators and saboteurs have been caught and destroyed by the brilliant special branch; never has the country enjoyed such tranquillity and prosperity. None of these claims can stand up to any serious examination.

BANTUSTAN FIASCO

Every precaution was taken to see that the elections for the Transkei 'Parliament' would result in the return as 'Prime Minister' of the Government's chosen quisling, Kaiser Matanzima. Although the 'Parliament' itself will enjoy little authority and no power (all the main functions of state power will be reserved for the all-white Parliament, and even in the little area left for local government any proposals by the 'Bunga', the Transkei puppet parliament, will be subject to a veto by Verwoerd) it would be embarrassing to Pretoria if the much-boasted 'Bantustan' should clash too sharply with Pretoria. Therefore the constitution provides that more than half (60 out of 109) the Bunga

members should be chiefs, appointed by and subject to dismissal by the white government. The elections took place in a 'state of emergency' in the Transkei, which has existed since 1960, and under which all outspoken opponents of apartheid have long been in prison or in hiding, their huts burnt down, their property confiscated and their womenfolk violated by the savage 'home guards' appointed by Commissioner Hans Abraham and his running dogs such as Matanzima and others. Despite this reign of terror and confusion, Matanzima's supporters were badly beaten for the elected seats. Even among the chiefs they were hard put to it to secure a majority. Outspoken and courageous chiefs like Sabata Dalindyabo and Victor Poto did not hesitate to denounce the whole scheme, and demand equal rights for all, white and black, in the Transkei and in South Africa as a whole. 'We are being offered the freedom of a fowl run', said Sabata. The only man Matanzima could find for 'Minister of Justice' was an attorney who had been disbarred for fraud; the resulting scandal makes it likely that a vote of no confidence will be passed at the very first session.

The more advanced people of the Transkei are finding that, instead of a total absence from anything to do with the so-called 'Legislative Assembly', it can be made use of to embarrass the Government, and to bear out the conclusion of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid that: 'The creation of Bantustans may be regarded as designed to reinforce white supremacy in the Republic by strengthening the position of tribal chiefs, dividing the African people through the offer of opportunities for a limited number of Africans, and deceiving public opinion.' Whether Matanzima survives as 'Prime Minister' or not, it seems clear that Verwoerd and his 'Minister of Bantu Affairs', de Wet Nel, have embarked on a perilous adventure. They cannot now avoid the growth of Transkei political parties and organizations which will either force Matanzima to demand a fuller reality for local self-government or do so themselves. Nel told Parliament last March that white officials would in time be replaced by Africans, but only 'gradually', 'always beginning at the lowest grade and progressively advancing to the top so that white officials would never work under Bantu'. This soothing soporific may have pleased the Honourable Members at Cape Town; it certainly won't please their counterparts at Umtata. They have already eaten dirt for the sake of their personal ambitions. If there is one thing they are likely to put up a fight over it is to get rid of Hans Abraham's swarm of arrogant and incompetent white officials in order to make place for their own nominees.

The 'Bantustan' bluff has been a total failure in its main intention: to impress the public at home and abroad. It has solved no problems for its authors. Instead it has created a number of new ones to which they

can see so solution at all. Not the least of these may turn out to be their cynical encouragement of Matanzima's 'nationalist' demagoguery: he may be riding a wild horse he is unable to control.

'PROSPERITY'—FOR WHOM?

The celebrated 'prosperity' of South Africa also needs a closer look. Certainly, higher gold production has set in train some feverish economic activity, highly gratifying to investors and speculators at home and abroad, though the masses of the people have seen very little of the so-called prosperity. The built-in cheap labour system means that ever-increasing commodity prices find the masses of workers worse off than ever. Normal trade union activity is all but outlawed—it is notable that one of Vorster's most vicious drives in recent months has been against the leaders of the South African Congress of Trade Unions and its affiliates. The National President, Mr. Stephen Dhlamini, has spent long months in solitary confinement under repeated spells of ninety-day detention without charge; so have the noted Cape Town trade unionist, Mr. Elijah Loza and many other trade union militants. Scarcely a week passes without some new ban. Now General Secretary John Gaetsewe (whose predecessor, Mark Shope, was banned) has been served with an order confining him to his house, day and night, for the next four years. Assistant general secretary Edward Davoren (whose predecessor, Phyllis Altman was banned) has been deported to Britain, where he was born. Innumerable officials of SACTU local committees and affiliated trade unions are in prison or arbitrarily banned from trade union or political work.

With wages thus artificially pegged to a level below the minimum needed to sustain family life, economic hardship and mass discontent is mounting. The stifling apartheid régime has further negative effects on the development of the country. The only sector of the economy capable of rapid expansion under present conditions is manufacture of consumer goods. But the low-wage structure imposed by apartheid limits severely the home market, and the natural outlet to the North of the Continent is being blocked more and more effectively by the boycott. The country—to a much greater extent even than other capitalist countries at a similar phase of development—finds it extremely difficult to adapt itself to the changing patterns of economic development. The rigid requirements of apartheid, job reservation, top-heavy militarization, and the deliberate stultifying of mass education—all these make it impossible for the country to measure up to the challenge of technology in the 1960's.

Thus the economic development made possible by the exceptionally favourable circumstances of nature has taken place in spite of and not

because of apartheid; it is made lopsided by the markedly colonialist deformities of the political economy of South Africa. So far from being attributable to the Nationalist Party régime and its policies, the 'boom' conditions expose even more glaringly its gigantic flaws and contradictions, and add to the fundamental instability of the situation as a whole.

DECEPTIVE PLACIDITY

The Nationalist government boasts that peace and tranquillity reign in South Africa. Certainly, the tourist of today will find none of the mass demonstrations and campaigns that marked the 'fifties; the defiance of unjust laws, the Congress of the People, the repeated nation-wide general strikes. But this outward placidity is deceptive indeed. With the whole country in the grip of Vorster's police state dictatorship, the rule of law abandoned, arbitrary arrests, prolonged detention in solitary confinement, gruesome tortures learnt by the special branch sadists from the O.A.S. scum who have drifted to South Africa from Algeria via the Congo, thousands of political prisoners now cram South Africa's jails.

Beneath the surface of this 'desert that they call peace', the spirit of the resistance movement is seething as never before. For the brave patriots of South Africa who are in jail many more have stepped into the breach. The tourist shepherded around the country by the information department does not see the thousands of resisters herded in the prisons, nor does he hear the cries of anguish as they are tortured and mutilated by floggings, electric shocks, suffocation in wet canvas bags and other 'refinements' of the special branch, described so tellingly by the African National Congress in the pamphlet 'Brute Force', issued by its London office. The newspapers deliberately suppress the reports of constant explosions due to sabotage continually taking place all over the country.

It is true that brutal methods and the treachery of Judases like Bruno Ntole (the notorious 'Mr. X' of the Rivonia trial) have brought some 'success' to the special branch. Many of the most outstanding leaders of the South African people have fallen into the clutches of the special branch. Some, like Mandela, Sisulu and the other accused in the Rivonia trial, face possible death sentences; and there are many other trials proceeding in all the main centres of South Africa under the notorious Sabotage Act (the General Law Amendment Act of 1962)—many of which are scarcely heard of, and many of which are conducted without legal defence because there is no money available to pay lawyers. Already a number of death sentences have been passed, and men have already been hanged.

Hardly a day goes past with news of some fresh arbitrary ban or arrest. Apart from outright banning of organizations such as the African National Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the Communist Party (banned since 1950), the police state systematically bans officials of organizations which are formally legal, making it virtually impossible for them to function. For example, practically every national or local official of the South African Indian Congress and its provincial affiliates has been prohibited from any political activity and victimized in his personal life.

No doubt all these fascist attacks have been heavy blows to the liberation forces in South Africa. It has become virtually impossible to carry on legal public activities, especially for non-whites, in all the main urban centres which are the traditional strongholds of resistance to apartheid. And many of the most capable and experienced leaders of the resistance have been driven out of activity, imprisoned or sent out of the country on missions abroad for their organizations.

Nevertheless there are ample signs that the unconquerable and inexhaustible forces of the South African movements of national liberation are withstanding these attacks, continuing their activities, regrouping for fresh advances, and fruitfully studying the lessons of setbacks and errors of the past period. Casualties of the struggle have been needlessly heavy; some of our leaders showed insufficient appreciation of the fact that, particularly with the Nazi 'no trial' detention law, South Africa had moved decisively into a full-fledged police state period. As a result mistakes were made for which a heavy penalty has been and will be exacted. Clearly some chosen for important tasks in the liberation struggle were ill-suited to their responsibilities. Sometimes recklessness was mistaken for courage. Cadres were not adequately studied, nor were they properly prepared for the ordeals which they might have to undergo. On the whole the freedom-fighters of South Africa have stood up to the barbaric tortures of Vorster's Nazi special branch with a fortitude and heroism of which our people will always be proud. But a few have broken down; made 'confessions' and even betrayed their comrades. Of these last, let it be said that even if they escape the traitor's fate at the hands of the people, their lives will no longer be worth living.

In the long run, the 'victories' of the special branch will prove hollow. Our people and our organizations will learn from past mistakes and find the answer to all the terror tactics of the contemptible fascist torturers. For every leader captured on the battlefield or put out of action, new militants will come forth from among the indestructible and creative ranks of the masses. Our movements, purged of weak and unsuitable elements, and strengthened immeasurably by new and

vital cadres called into struggle by the very atrocities and unbearable evils of apartheid, will become even more steeled, mature, determined and victorious.

Verwoerd and the Frightened Men of Pretoria are living a precarious existence, on top of a volcano, and they know it. They have turned South Africa into a prison—and the result is that they themselves have become prisoners. There is something deeply symbolic in this Reuter report from Pretoria on January 26, 1964:

‘A 7-ft. high fence two miles long is under construction around the homes of senior Government leaders and the British Ambassador here. The fence, topped with barbed wire, will completely enclose the Pretoria suburb in which President Swart, Dr. Verwoerd the Prime Minister and nine other cabinet members all live. The fence is designed to increase security in the area after recent sabotage incidents.’

Everything is quiet and normal, everything is fine and under control: this is Verwoerd’s repeated propaganda message to prospective investors and immigrants abroad and to the anxious public at home. There is nothing stable and normal in a country with over 5,000 political prisoners, where everywhere political opponents are being executed, tortured and faced with death sentences, where sabotage explosions mount every month, where the cabinet has to live behind a fence like animals in a zoo.

The struggle for South African freedom is taking place and will be decided on South African soil. It will be a grim and a hard one, but Dr. Verwoerd and his gang cannot win it. How much longer it will go on depends only in part upon the brave leaders and supporters of the fight against apartheid, who are sworn to win freedom at whatever cost. It will be cheaper and less costly if the friends of South African freedom beyond our borders act now to isolate the fascist administration from its source of support, by insisting on the application of solemn resolutions on boycotts and sanctions already taken.

There is a most disturbing tendency on the part of certain self-styled opponents of apartheid to sidetrack this plain straightforward issue and duty by playing with ‘compromise’ plans for the ‘South African problem’. Certain Scandinavian statesmen have been manoeuvring at the United Nations to promote such an idea; and a so-called Committee of Experts has been appointed to go into it; despite the existence of the highly competent and expert Special Committee on Apartheid which has already been functioning most effectively since April 1963. A Mr. John Hatch, supposed to be the Africa expert of the British Labour Party, writes along similar lines in the Right-wing Labour weekly the *New Statesman*. He calls on the Labour Party to seek an alternative

policy, other than apartheid or democracy, both of which he says are 'unacceptable'. On examination the 'alternative' turns out to be nothing but a new variety of apartheid; South Africa to be carved up into racial ghettos for whites and Africans: for the latter purpose Hatch proposes to hand over the High Commission territories and South-West Africa. It's about time everyone realized that there is no alternative or middle path between apartheid and democracy. They are mutually exclusive. It is particularly important that the African and Asian leaders should refuse to be pressured out of their very clear stand which they have hitherto taken on this matter. The imperialists must not be allowed to hide behind some cloudy formula which would enable them to continue the lucrative business of supporting Verwoerd while pretending to be doing something about the acknowledged scandal of apartheid.

BRIEF COMMENTS

CHOU EN-LAI'S AFRICAN TOUR

A number of African countries were glad to welcome a distinguished visitor, Premier Chou En-lai of the Chinese People's Republic, and it is unfortunate indeed that the difficulties referred to earlier in these Notes prevented the planned extension of this historic tour to several East African countries as well. This visit will have done much to improve Chinese-African relations and to create a better understanding on both sides of each other's viewpoint. All reports confirm that the unfortunate divergencies within the socialist commonwealth and the Afro-Asian group were not raised during this successful visit to Africa; this gives ground for firm hopes that the visit will serve a further and most important service in helping to resolve these divergencies. This is certainly the ardent desire of Africans in all parts of our continent.

A JOURNALISTS' CONFERENCE

Journalists from all parts of our continent came to Accra last November to attend the second conference of African journalists. President Nkrumah had some pertinent things to say about the role of journalists in our continent; those 'purposefully and unreservedly devoted to the cause of the African Revolution'—and those who, serving private capital or foreign interests, are not.

For some unexplained reason, however, those responsible omitted completely to invite the fighting anti-apartheid journalists of South Africa. A strange 'South African' delegation made its appearance, consisting of members of the Pan-Africanist Congress like Mr. Matthew Nkoane, whose main journalistic activities appear to have

been to serve as the correspondent of Verwoerd's paper *Elethu* while he was in Bechuanaland, and the dubious personage Mr. Lionel Morrisson, who represents no-one in South Africa (he was expelled years ago from the Coloured People's Congress as a disrupter) but keeps popping up at various international gatherings as a 'South African representative'. This is a great pity, for the real fighting journalists of South Africa who kept the flag flying for many years in the face of Nationalist persecution are in the most grave need of solidarity from their African colleagues. All the main journalists of the *Spark*—which had to cease publication after a quarter of a century through the vicissitudes of *The Guardian*, *The Clarion* and *New Age*—are being atrociously persecuted by the Verwoerd-Vorster dictatorship. The Port Elizabeth editor, Govan Mbeki, is in the Rivonia trial, facing a possible death sentence; M. P. Naicker, Durban editor, has for months been in solitary confinement; Alex la Guma, Cape Town staff writer is under house arrest; Ruth First, Johannesburg editor, after suffering 117 days in solitary confinement, has been banned from journalism altogether; editor-in-chief Brian Bunting has been driven into exile. It is deplorable that not a word was said about these brave colleagues at the journalists' conference at Accra; instead delegates were given the absurd impression that Mr. Robert Sobukwe was the only well-known 'anti-apartheid journalist' in the country. This will come as news to South Africans.

A NOTABLE CENTENARY

1964 marks the hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the First International—the International Workingmen's Association, under the inspiration and with the participation of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The significance of this notable event for our times, and for Africa in particular, will be the subject of an article in our next issue.

STRIVE FOR WORLD COMMUNIST UNITY

*A Statement by the
Central Committee of
the South African
Communist Party*

I. UNITY IS OUR DIRECT CONCERN

FOR SOME TIME our Party has been gravely perturbed at the differences within the world Communist movement. The points in dispute have been multiplied and sharpened, and the methods of discussion have become intolerably acrimonious and uncomradely. In some fraternal Parties factions and breakaway groupings have resulted from differences in the world movement. Differences about Marxist theory have not been confined to the Communist Parties, but have spread into international organizations and gatherings of peace, labour, national liberation and other progressive movements embracing both Communists and non-Communists. Even State relations between socialist countries were affected, with serious effects on their economic development and endangering the solidarity of the socialist camp.

We cannot take a detached view of this problem. Our Party is taking part in a grim struggle against the fascist apartheid regime, known, hated and despised by the whole world. Our people have embarked on the path of armed resistance rather than submit to the tyranny and degradation of continued White minority domination; foremost leaders of the South African people are being arbitrarily arrested, tortured and murdered by the Verwoerd-Vorster dictatorship.

Our struggle against apartheid is not only of local, but also of crucial international importance. The fight against the special form of colonialism existing in South Africa is an integral part of the struggle for the liberation of the whole African continent from colonialism in all its forms: the continuing African Revolution for freedom, unity and rapid social progress. The fascist South African regime with its powerful military machine, built up with the aid of the imperialists, poses an urgent threat to African independence and security and to world

peace. Solidarity with the struggle against apartheid, the international isolation of the Verwoerd regime, and the severing of its links with imperialism which sustain it and enable it to continue its rule of oppression—these questions have become a focus of international attention, discussion and activity: a rallying point of the forces of peace, national liberation and socialism everywhere. Unity of the progressive forces of the world will hasten the liberation of our people. Disunity prolongs the agony of South Africa.

The heart and soul of the unity of the anti-imperialist forces, both on an international scale and within each country, is the Communist movement. Fruitless and protracted disputes among ourselves both distract us from our great common aims and retard the achievement of unity of all anti-imperialist forces. For that reason in particular we South African Communists are vitally concerned with the world unity of our movement. International Communist unity is a correct slogan, an essential for the security and progress of the socialist camp, the defence of peace and the advance of national liberation everywhere. For us South African Communists it is also an urgent practical necessity affecting our work in many different ways.

2. SOME OF THE PROBLEMS UNDER DISCUSSION

In considering some of the specific problems under discussion, we are guided by our own independent judgment; by our understanding of Marxism-Leninism and our experience of forty-two years of struggle of our Party in extremely complicated and difficult conditions. Throughout the history of our Party we have been accused by the capitalists and others of being blind followers or agents of 'Moscow'. These were baseless and unworthy slanders. Communists in all countries have faced prison and death because they have the ability to think for themselves and the courage to say what they think. We supported the main lines of policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union because we considered they were correct, in the interests of the Soviet people, of the workers and oppressed people of our own country and of the whole world. We did not allow slander or persecution to deter us from expressing our views. In the same spirit we defended anti-imperialist struggles in all parts of the world, including the heroic Chinese revolution. History has vindicated the correctness of our understanding and judgment, on which we continue to rely today in considering various matters of international debate.

It is being suggested today that the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has abandoned revolutionary Marxism-Leninism in favour of revisionism, and that the policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems involves capitulation

to imperialism and the abandonment of wars of national liberation. We do not believe these suggestions are in any way justified.

We considered, and still do, that the Twenty-Second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Programme it adopted for the building of Communism, were outstanding contributions to the development of Marxist-Leninist theory. These conclusions are embodied in our own Programme, *The Road to South African Freedom*, which was adopted at our Fifth National Conference in 1962 after the fullest discussion among all of our members.

The policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, as the basic line of foreign policy of the socialist countries is not something new, that has been advanced in the past two or three years. It was put forward by Lenin, and it has been elaborated since the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in present day conditions. This concept was approved in the clearest terms by the meetings of fraternal Parties in 1957 and 1960. Our own Party participated in, approved and endorsed these decisions, and carried them out in its practical work. In our view the peaceful resolution of the Cuban crisis and the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty on atomic tests are positive results of this concept and proof of its validity; they were events which lowered international tension and helped to prevent the imperialists from plunging the world into the ultimate horror and disaster of a general thermo-nuclear war.

We regard the Moscow Treaty as a positive achievement of the progressive forces all over the world, including South Africa, which have long been campaigning for the ending of nuclear tests. The treaty puts a stop to the dangerous contamination of the air and the oceans. It helps, and is a step forward in, our continuing struggle for the abandonment and destruction of all nuclear weapons, and for eventual general, complete and controlled disarmament. We vigorously condemn the French government which intends to go on with nuclear tests on the soil of our continent and elsewhere, poisoning the air we breathe. And we regret very much that the Chinese comrades, by belittling and attacking the Moscow Treaty, weaken the international exposure and isolation of French imperialism on this matter.

We South Africans, like all fighters for African freedom, are keenly conscious of the solidarity, the support both moral and practical, rendered to our struggle by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. We remember Suez; we remember Algeria; we remember the innumerable occasions when our cause has been championed by the socialist countries; we know of their unqualified backing for African freedom today. No sincere African patriot will ever forget these things. The plain facts of present-day history disprove any suggestion that the

Soviet Union, or the policy of peaceful co-existence, or the demand for disarmament hamper or retard the national liberation of colonial or formerly colonial peoples.

As stated in our Programme, universal disarmament would not only free our generation from the nightmare of a catastrophic nuclear war; it would also 'greatly assist the cause of national liberation by striking the arms from the hands of the imperialists'. It is not the African patriots, fighting an armed struggle with inferior weapons, who are adversely affected by our campaign for disarmament; it is the powerfully-armed enemies against whom they fight. It is the imperialists and the armament-manufacturers, in particular it is the Verwoerds, the Salazars, the Chiang Kai-Sheks and their like, who profit from international tension and the cold war. International tension and the cold war facilitate the continuing support of these condemned regimes by imperialism, on the grounds that they are 'bastions of the West, of anti-Communism'. Already a certain lessening of tension has brought about a situation where an international arms embargo on South Africa could be passed by the United Nations, and a further relaxation of cold war pressures could enable this embargo to be enforced. Ending the cold war would help towards the liquidation of the remaining islands of colonialism and fascism both through mass political struggle and armed revolution.

The national liberation movements of countries which are fighting colonialism and neo-colonialism and the heritage of colonialism in Africa, Asia and Latin America are not alone in their struggles. They share common aims and aspirations with the working people of the socialist countries and the developed capitalist countries. They have a common enemy: international imperialism. There is a profoundly necessary and healthy trend for all the progressive movements of all countries to merge in a mighty stream for peace and the liberation of all mankind. Our Party is vigorously opposed to any tendency to isolate our national liberation movements from their allies and brothers in the socialist countries, and from the militant labour and progressive anti-imperialist movements in the capitalist countries. Such tendencies are fraught with the gravest dangers.

We in South Africa have striven ceaselessly to preserve and uphold the character of our people's struggle for freedom as a united movement both of the oppressed non-whites and the progressive whites. It is not the Communists, not the national liberation leaders, but Verwoerd and his kind, enemies of mankind, who try to divide people on lines of 'colour'. They try to present a picture of an inevitable conflict, in South Africa and all over the world: not a conflict between workers and capitalists, between oppressor and oppressed, but solely

one between the so-called 'white' and 'non-white' races. It is the duty of all Communists and other anti-fascists, everywhere, to fight uncompromisingly against any such utterly false, dangerous and anti-human ideas.

3. DIVISIONS CAN AND MUST BE HEALED

We believe strongly that the principles and interests which the world Communist movement and the socialist countries have in common are far more fundamental, permanent and binding than any temporary differences on day-to-day policy which have arisen or may again arise. We are sure that time will prove this view to be correct, and that these long term and fundamental factors will reassert themselves. We are vigorously opposed to any 'theory' that a split, an organizational cleavage in our movement is inevitable, necessary or 'healthy'. The only ones who would welcome such a theory are the imperialists, and those confused elements, unprincipled careerists and adventurers, Trotskyists and others who are always ready to profit by differences between serious revolutionaries in order to establish a platform for themselves.

Honest anti-imperialist fighters outside the ranks of the Communist movement, trade unionists, peace workers and others are dismayed by the sharp differences that have arisen in our movement and by the unseemly methods used to express them. They do not wish to be drawn into our dispute, and they demand urgently that we settle our problems among ourselves and get on with the innumerable practical tasks they and we have in common.

In the past, our great Communist movement has known many attempts to split it and to divert it from the path of Marxism-Leninism. Such attempts, for example, were made by elements like the anarchists and the Trotskyites. For some time they gained a certain amount of support among sections of the 'ultra-Left' middle-class intellectuals who always attach themselves to the revolutionary movement, and whose character was so brilliantly analysed by Lenin in his masterly essay: '*Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder*'. Again, on many occasions, opportunist, Right-wing tendencies developed in the working class movement, especially in the imperialist countries, based on the sharing of a portion of the imperialists' super-profits with the 'aristocracy of labour' as the price for their support. But all these erroneous concepts and theories have been tested and proved false by the unfolding of history, they have been rejected by the revolutionary working class and the anti-imperialist masses. Marxism-Leninism has been proved by history to be the only correct revolutionary theory, and Communism

the only alternative to capitalism with its poverty, exploitation and oppression; its crises, chaos and wars.

Moreover, we Communists, coming from all over the world, and with widely differing conditions of life and work, have reached, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, an extraordinary degree of unanimity. We have agreed on the new problems with which life has faced us, on the characterization of our new epoch and on the most pressing and urgent problems of the world we live in today. The only differences which remain among us are those relating to the detailed interpretation of agreements we have already reached.

There is thus no basis, in theory or in fact, in differences of class or national interest or outlook, for any split within our ranks. It would be idle to pretend that serious divergencies have not already taken place, and serious damage caused, by disagreements among us Communists, and by uncomradely methods of debate. But the damage is not irreparable. Our pressing need for unity must override all our differences. The immediate problem is: what is the way out of this situation? How can we Communists heal the breaches and restore unity, comradeship and confidence among all of us?

We think the first step is to bring to an end the unseemly type of unrestrained 'all-in' controversy we have been witnessing, regarding any methods as permissible for 'victory'. In reality there can be no 'victory'; all the Communists must be the losers. There can be no possibility of calm and rational debate. Issues are multiplied out of reason; the air is filled with recriminations and angry insults; state relations between socialist countries deteriorate to the point where economic development and even security are adversely affected; our friends are repelled; destructive factional struggles spread inside every Party; only the enemy rejoices.

We do not think any useful purpose will be served by discussing who was to blame for this deplorable state of affairs, or who started it. What is important is to make a new start, a new drive for unity. And we are sure that the first essential step is to bring to an immediate end the period of debate of our differences outside the ranks of the Communist movement itself.

By this we do not mean, of course, that we should not discuss our differences; without discussion and interchange of views there can be no agreement. But we do mean that the discussion should be brought under control; that before further discussions we should have agreement on exactly what subjects are to be discussed, and by whom, and in what manner.

We are of the opinion, in general, that detailed discussions should be limited to those directly concerned. In particular we think that the

detailed interpretation of questions of Marxist-Leninist theory should never be submitted for debate or arbitration to non-Communists.

We think that all of us should scrupulously observe certain rules of comradely discussion. It is impermissible to ascribe views to others which they have not expressed, or which are derived by inferences and out-of-context quotations. Nor is it permissible to ascribe improper and un-Communist motives to comrades with whom one disagrees.

We think that questions regarding the internal policy of any Party should not as a rule be generally debated by fraternal Parties. If one Party has criticism to make of the internal policy of another it should be made in a private and comradely manner.

We would urge, with all due modesty, that on the basis of some such preliminary understanding, and on the basis of ending the public controversy, discussions should be held between the leaderships of the socialist countries as a means of preparing the way for a general discussion by the whole Communist movement. Without an understanding and discussions of this kind we do not think any useful purpose would be served by a big meeting of all the Parties at the present time.

For our part, we shall do all we can to strive for unity in the world Communist movement. We shall discuss every issue on its merits, regardless of who puts forward any viewpoint. And we shall contest vigorously any viewpoint which disunites, diverts or confuses the Communist and working class movement, the anti-colonialist African Revolution and the great struggle for South African freedom.

We call upon all South African Communists to defend the unity of our Party, based on our Marxist-Leninist Programme, and to fight ruthlessly against any sort of factionalism, which in present day conditions of illegality and repression endanger the very existence of our Party and the lives of all our members.

In the name of our great world movement, as well as of our noble fight for South African freedom, the cause of all progressive humanity, we appeal to all the leaders and members of our fraternal Parties to strive for a new beginning, an overwhelming campaign for unity.

Long live Communism! Long live the unity of the world Communist movement!

SAVE SOUTH AFRICA'S FREEDOM FIGHTERS

- At least forty-six people have been sentenced to death for political activities since 1962 under the Verwoerd-Vorster dictatorship. Six were sentenced to lifetime imprisonment; twenty-eight imprisoned for terms from twenty to twenty-five years.
- Of the five thousand political prisoners many hundreds are detained without charge or trial in solitary confinement. Vicious physical tortures have been reported from all parts of the country, as well as 'psychological' methods designed to break the victims or drive them insane.
- 'Sabotage' trials, carrying possible death sentences, are being conducted in Durban, Maritzburg, Cape Town, East London, Port Elizabeth and elsewhere. The 'Rivonia' case in progress at Pretoria at the time of writing, includes many of the foremost senior leaders of the liberation movement among the accused, such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Lionel Bernstein, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba and Dennis Goldberg.
- The UNITED NATIONS General Assembly voted by 106 votes to one ('South Africa') demanding the calling off of these 'arbitrary proceedings' and the release of all political prisoners. Verwoerd and Vorster ignored this demand.
- Hundreds of organizations all over the world have responded to the call of the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners (15 Endsleigh Street, London, WC 1, England) to join in the protest and to contribute urgently needed funds for the defence in the political 'show' trials in South Africa.
- Our readers in all countries are urged to help this great humanitarian movement of solidarity with South Africa's heroic resistance leaders.

SANCTIONS AGAINST APARTHEID

P. Tlale

IN DECEMBER 1958, the first All-African Peoples' Conference, meeting in Accra, issued the first resounding call for a world-wide trade and diplomatic boycott of South Africa. Fifteen months later, in April 1960, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference held in Conakry and attended by delegates from fifty African and Asian countries, including the Soviet Union, China and other socialist states, renewed the call and demanded that the Afro-Asian countries take immediate steps to sever all trade and diplomatic relations with South Africa.

From these meetings there emerged what has since become a world-wide movement of struggle for all-embracing sanctions against South Africa. The movement has not only been a protest against the vile and hated apartheid regime in South Africa; it has become a powerful demonstration of active solidarity and support with the great South African struggle for freedom and liberation. More than that, the movement has been a signal force in converting the issue of apartheid into a major international question—into, what the United Nations Security Council recently called, 'a serious disturbance to international peace and security'.

The South African liberation movement and the African National Congress in particular, have always regarded the boycott of South Africa as an invaluable aid to the struggle against apartheid and the Verwoerd colonialists. While rightly believing that the liberation of our country will ultimately be achieved by the South African people themselves, our politically conscious liberation fighters have not only welcomed outside demonstrations of solidarity and support through trade and other boycotts, but have themselves called for such actions. For as our movement recognizes every outside pressure for boycott and sanctions reinforces the confidence of our non-white people, raises their spirit and enables them to face the formidable power of the South African ruling class in the firm conviction that they can and will win the seemingly unequal struggle for freedom and liberation.

THE AFRICAN STATES REACT

The policies of the emerging independent African states quickly embraced the demands for solidarity and support of the South African struggle. In June 1960, Ministers from ten independent African states, meeting for the first time in Addis Ababa adopted a ten-point programme for sanctions against South Africa. This programme not only accepted the demands for a trade and diplomatic boycott, but went further by calling for the closing of air and sea ports to South Africa, securing the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth, approaching 'the oil companies to stop the sale of Arab oil to South Africa', and for the intensification of the struggle for United Nations' action.

The African states at the same time became increasingly preoccupied with the threatening course of South Africa's policies: policies which by their nature were becoming increasingly provocative and insulting to the people of the continent, as well as seriously undermining Africa's peace and security. Inside South Africa, the colonial system of white supremacy and racial oppression was intensified by the ruthless application of the policy of apartheid: law after law was added to the already race-packed statute books to remove whatever little rights, opportunities and justice the non-white peoples possessed, and the police state with all its trappings of arbitrary power and Nazi-style ruthlessness, was enforced to the full.

At the same time, the Verwoerd regime commenced a massive and unprecedented build-up of its military power. Since 1960, expenditure on the country's armed forces increased from £40 million to £104 million. The all-white Permanent Force was increased from 9,000 to 15,000 in the short period of four years, in addition to the creation of a Citizen Force of 40,000 and a Commando network in which every white male was required to serve for four consecutive years. The South African armed forces acquired new and the most modern arms and equipment: aircraft of formidable range, flexibility and striking power were added to the country's air force. A large domestic armaments industry was created making the country virtually self-sufficient in a whole range of small arms and ammunition. And to support this powerful and increasingly offensive military posture, the South African government developed close ties of alliance with the Portuguese colonialists who control the adjacent territories of Angola and Mozambique, and with the white settler government of Southern Rhodesia.

The threat to free Africa which these military preparations now presented became a further and serious source of concern to the African states. For, as President Nkrumah explained:

'The military machine that is being built up in South Africa, presents a

most threatening danger, not only to the struggle for independence in Central, East and South Africa, but to the safety of the already independent states.'

Africa Must Unite.

South Africa had become more than a stronghold of colonialism and an outpost of imperialism in Africa. The Verwoerd regime's aggressive programme of militarization was now seen to be determined not only by its acknowledged plans to use the weapons of war to crush the anti-apartheid resistance movement in the country, but to create through the force of arms a vast zone of colonial domination in Southern Africa and in this way to undermine and threaten the independence and security of the free African nations.

And thus, when the Head of States of independent Africa met in Addis Ababa in April 1963, they were faced with a new and considerably more serious situation than they had three years earlier. They now decided to take new and more far-reaching and decisive measures to oppose South Africa. They called for the immediate implementation and enforcement of their own trade and diplomatic boycotts, which though previously decided upon, were by no means universally or uniformly applied by the African countries. Further, they decided to launch a concerted campaign for the removal of South Africa from all international organizations including those concerned with cultural and sports exchanges, and, next to request for the early convening of the Security Council to 'consider the explosive situation in South Africa' with a view to demanding the imposition of all-round sanctions including an immediate embargo on the flow of arms and strategic material to the South African Republic.

The campaign to remove South Africa from all international organizations found its first important expression in the May 1963 Conference of the International Labour Organization. Here the African delegates, supported by the socialist countries, left the meeting in a collective protest when the South African official delegate tried to speak. The Nigerian President of the Conference resigned and the conference broke up in disorder when the African delegations returned home.

In February 1963, the African members of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa forced the resignation of South Africa. In July, Kenya which was host to the United Nations Conference on Cartography refused to admit the South African delegates into the country. In August, pressure from the African delegations caused the United Nations Conference on Tourism to 'invite' the South African delegation to withdraw. The Thirteenth Session of the African Regional Conference of the World Health Organization had to be abandoned

altogether when the African representatives refused to sit with the South African delegates. In September, the African countries walked out of the conference of the Food and Agricultural Organization when they failed to secure the immediate removal of the South African delegation. The International Monetary Fund meeting in Washington in the same month saw a similar African outburst at the presence of the South African Finance Minister. This battle against South Africa has even been extended to non-governmental organization. In October, a group of airline representatives from Africa walked out of the meeting of the International Air Transport Association. At the last session of the United Nations General Assembly only six Africans were present when the South African delegate rose to speak.

The most telling example of this African drive has been the persistent pressure to exclude South Africa from participation in the Olympic Games. Here, despite the obstruction and prevarication tactics of the Anglo-American representatives, South Africa's participation in the forthcoming Games in Tokyo has been made conditional on firm evidence being provided that apartheid in sport is abandoned in South Africa and that equal sports facilities are made available to the non-white people. South Africa's failure to provide such evidence now makes its exclusion from the Olympic Games inevitable.

The force and persistence of the drive to exclude South Africa from these organizations, has gone a long way towards isolating the Verwoerd colonialists from the international community. And whether the Anglo-Americans like it or not, the future months will see continued and intensified pressures to drive Verwoerd's delegates out of all the important inter-governmental and other organizations. The African nations are uncompromisingly determined to achieve this aim.

The Addis Ababa decision to secure an early meeting of the Security Council on the South African question was the culmination of the long struggle which the African and Asian nations, supported by the socialist countries had conducted in the United Nations for all-embracing sanctions against South Africa. This article analyses the movement towards sanctions arising out of this struggle.

THE UNITED NATIONS MOVEMENT FOR SANCTIONS

For well over seventeen years now the United Nations has been 'discussing' the South African question. In 1946, at the very first session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Indian Government lodged a complaint against South Africa on its treatment of the people of Indian origin. From 1952, the issue of apartheid has been before every session of the General Assembly. In March 1960, the

Security Council for the first time became directly concerned with the South African question as a result of the large-scale killing of unarmed and peaceful demonstrators at Sharpeville. It then came to the conclusion that the situation in South Africa had 'led to international friction, and if continued, might endanger international peace and security'. By 1962, the General Assembly and Security Council had adopted no less than twenty-seven resolutions condemning South Africa's racial policies and urging the South African government to revise these policies and initiate measures 'aimed at bringing about racial harmony based on equality'.

Despite all these discussions and resolutions, the Verwoerd regime neither relented nor relaxed its policies; rather, these seventeen years have seen, more than any other period in South Africa's history, the most ruthless and systematic application of the rule of apartheid. And in the mandated territory of South-West Africa, the South African authorities, in gross and continuous violation of all their international obligations, forcibly extended their colonial rule over the people, evicting them from their traditional lands and applied their policies of apartheid in favour of the privileged white minority and the South African and foreign monopolies who now control, through concessions, over one-half of the territory.

Thus when the United Nations General Assembly met in November 1962, it was confronted with a situation of extraordinary gravity: never has a member state defied its resolutions and recommendations for so long a period with such brazen and reckless impunity. This was a direct threat to the existence of the United Nations and its peace-keeping functions. But this was not all. Apart from there having been no let-up in the tempo of apartheid legislation, there was the intensive military build-up in South Africa supported by the increasing flow of arms and equipment from the NATO bloc countries—a fact which severely aggravated the South African question for the whole of free Africa. The issue, thus, was no longer whether the United Nations should respond to the South African question with a purposeful policy of economic sanctions and other measures against the Verwoerd government; this was now a settled issue, and not even the Anglo-American imperialists found it possible to continue to lobby and mobilize opposition against such a United Nations policy. And accordingly, the General Assembly in November 1962, took its first decisive step towards the imposition of collective sanctions. It now recommended *specific measures* against South Africa, which as the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid explained, represented a 'new stage' in the seventeen-year 'confrontation' between the United Nations and South Africa.

The operative paragraph 4 of the November 1962 Resolution called upon all member states to take the following measures against the South African government:

- (a) **Breaking off diplomatic relations . . . or refraining from establishing such relations.**
- (b) **Closing their ports to all vessels flying the South African flag.**
- (c) **Enacting legislation prohibiting their ships from entering South African ports.**
- (d) **Boycotting all South African goods and refraining from exporting goods, including arms and ammunition, to South Africa.**
- (e) **Refusing landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belonging to the government of South Africa and companies registered under the laws of South Africa.'**

Further, the General Assembly set up a special committee to keep South Africa's apartheid policies under review and requested the Security Council 'to take appropriate measures, including sanctions' and to consider taking action under Article 6 of the United Nations Charter which provides for the expulsion of a member-state which persistently violates the principles of the Charter. This resolution was adopted *in toto* by a majority of sixty-seven to sixteen with twenty-three abstentions. The countries voting against the resolution were made up of the imperialist and capitalist countries of North America and Western Europe and certain other countries, like Spain, which were renowned for their fascist and reactionary regimes. These countries were either members of the NATO or the SEATO war blocs. And they, together, as Eric Louw, the late South African Foreign Minister, was quick to calculate, 'bought 79.8 per cent of South Africa's exports, excluding gold, and provided 63.7 per cent of her imports'. The abstaining countries were largely South American—under the pressure of the purse strings of the United States, and the Anglo-American lobby at the United Nations, the bulk of the Latin American delegations were not permitted to vote for the resolution.

But the November 1962 resolution of the General Assembly did represent a 'new stage'. The combined power of Africa, Asia and the socialist world had come out decisively to put the issue of sanctions well within the scope of realization and implementation. The South African 'sanctuary of colonialism and racialism' which (in the words of the Soviet delegate at the General Assembly) the imperialists had tried to make 'inviolable' had suffered its first effective and important breach, as country after country announced the measures it had or would take against the Verwoerd Republic in accordance with the United Nations resolution.

At the request of the African countries, the Security Council met twice in 1963 to consider the South African question. At its first meeting it called for an embargo on the supply of arms, ammunition and military equipment to South Africa. That paragraph of the Afro-Asian resolution which called for a boycott of South African goods had to be deleted as a result of the refusal of the United States, Britain, France, the Chiang Kai-shek representative, Brazil and Norway, to give it their support. In December, the Security Council decided to extend the sanction on arms supply by calling on all member states to ban the shipment of equipment and material required by South Africa for the domestic manufacture of arms and ammunition. Further, the Security Council added its influential voice to the world-wide demand for the release of political prisoners and for abandoning the trials of anti-apartheid leaders now taking place in the country. The 1963 session of the General Assembly added to its 1962 recommendation of specific measures for sanctions by calling upon member states to stop the supply of oil to South Africa. This resolution was adopted by a majority of eighty-four to six.* The report of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid of September 1963 went a step further in its recommendations to the Security Council and the General Assembly: 'The Special Committee feels that they should consider, without further delay, possible new measures in accordance with the Charter, which provide for stronger political, diplomatic and economic sanctions, suspension of rights and privileges of the Republic of South Africa as a member state, and expulsion from the United Nations and its specialized agencies.'

THE AFRICAN BOYCOTT

These important developments gave concrete shape to the international movement for sanctions against South Africa.

Algeria announced a total boycott of South Africa on April 30, 1963 and at the same time broke off all relations with Portugal.

Cameroon closed its sea and airports to South Africa on July 12.

Ethiopia which had no diplomatic relations with South Africa announced a total trade boycott and closed her air space to South African aircraft.

Ivory Coast closed her sea and airports to South Africa on July 16.

Libya closed her sea and airports to South Africa on August 31 and denied overflying rights to South African aircraft.

Mauritania announced a trade boycott and the closing of her sea and airports to South Africa.

* Unfortunately the six included the United States, Britain and France—the only suppliers of oil to South Africa.

Sudan broke off all trade with South Africa in 1962 and now announced the closing of her sea and airports to South Africa.

Tanganyika finally ended all imports and exports, direct and indirect, from and to South Africa, on September 30.

Uganda whose Prime Minister had announced a boycott of South African goods in November 1962, also banned Ugandan exports to that country.

United Arab Republic denied landing and overflying rights to South Africa on August 7 and on September 23, announced the ending of all economic relations with that country. The U.A.R. government informed the United Nations Secretary-General on October 9 that it had banned South African ships from entering U.A.R. ports and had instructed U.A.R. vessels not to call at South African ports. While South African ships would still be allowed to use the Suez Canal, they would be denied all facilities such as taking on water, food or fuel, loading or unloading cargo, embarking or disembarking passengers or being towed.

Several other African countries— **Congo (Leopoldville), Dahomey, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Nigeria, Sierre Leone, Somalia, Tunisia**—informed the United Nations Secretary-General and the Organization of African Unity that they had by September 30 fully complied with the November 1962 resolution of the General Assembly.

On November 13, the **Kenya** Government announced that it would impose a total ban on trade with South Africa from December 12, the day on which Kenya became independent.

The bulk of South Africa's exports to the rest of Africa is concentrated in the neighbouring territories of Mozambique, the Rhodesias and the Congo (Leopoldville). Together these countries account for well over 90 per cent of South Africa's exports to the African continent and about 11 per cent of South Africa's total exports.

South Africa's Trade With Neighbouring Countries (in £ millions)

	<i>Imports to S.A.</i>		<i>Exports from S.A.</i>	
	<i>January-August</i>	<i>January-August</i>	<i>January-August</i>	<i>January-August</i>
	1962	1963	1962	1963
Congo	7.9	6.5	2.9	2.7
Rhodesias and Nyasaland	9.0	10.5	32.3	28.2
Portuguese East Africa . .	0.8	2.0	5.0	5.8
TOTAL ..	17.7	19.0	40.2	36.7

Southern Rhodesia dominated by the white minority regime and the Portuguese colony of Mozambique can, of course, hardly be expected to join in the all-African movement against apartheid; as is well known the oppressive régimes of these territories are the staunchest upholders and allies of Verwoerd's dictatorship on the African continent. It is a different matter, however when it comes to the newly self-governing territories of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) and Nyasaland (Malawi). The oppressed South African people look forward eagerly to Mr. Kaunda and Dr. Banda, who head the governments of these territories, to show their solidarity with the South African struggle by complying with their obligations to carry out all-African decisions on ending trade and other relations—and also cutting off the stream of Nyasa migrant labour to the gold mines of the Witwatersrand. But there have been disturbing reports to the effect that the government of Mr. Kaunda has contracted to purchase a large quantity of South African maize, that it has issued a statement welcoming South African tourists and visitors and that it would co-operate with South African business enterprises stationed in Northern Rhodesia. According to *Newsweek* (February 3, 1964) 'Kaunda even goes so far as to state that he would be willing to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa, if his envoys are assured normal diplomatic treatment'.

Nor is the Northern Rhodesian government the only one to disappoint so far. The Government of the Congo informed the United Nations Secretary-General that it had complied with the General Assembly resolution of November 1962, but as the figures in the above table suggest, trade has continued between that country and South Africa up to August last year and that the export of Congo copper and other raw materials to the South African Republic has been maintained at a high level.

THE ASIAN COUNTRIES

Many of the important trading countries of Asia have joined the sanctions movement, and have complied with the November 1962 resolution of the United Nations General Assembly. In May last, the *Burmese* Government announced that it was not renewing its contract for the purchase of 300,000 tons of coal from South Africa. The *Indian* Government announced on July 13, that it was cutting off its last remaining links with South Africa by refusing landing and passage facilities to South African aircraft. In August, the *Indonesian* Government severed diplomatic and commercial relations with South Africa and announced the closing of Indonesian ports to South African vessels. In early October, the *Kuwaiti* Government, announced that it intended breaking off diplomatic relations with South Africa, would

cease all commercial relations and that Kuwaiti air and seaports would be closed to South Africa. Kuwait is the first of the oil producing states to announce its boycott of South Africa. The *Philippine* Government informed the United Nations in August that economic sanctions, including a ban of strategic materials, had been imposed on South Africa. This action has already affected the supply of Philippine hardwoods to South Africa, valued annually at £2 million. Several other governments in Asia, *Malaya* being the most prominent among them, have informed the United Nations Secretary-General that they have fully complied with the November 1962 resolution of the General Assembly.

Of the countries which have taken no action so far, *Japan*, *Ceylon*, *Pakistan* and the oil-producing states of the *Middle East* are the most important.

Driven by self interest and profit, the Japanese capitalists and their government, in their dealings with the South African racialists, have allowed themselves to become 'white Asians' accepting separate and privileged treatment for their representatives in Verwoerd's Republic, while Verwoerd applies his insulting race laws to the other Asian and non-white communities. The Japanese Government gives regular support to the resolutions of the United Nations and yet with barefaced hypocrisy becomes one of South Africa's most important trading partners. Japan takes well over 7 per cent of South Africa's exports and maintains a flourishing two-way trade with that country. After delaying for a year their response to the letter from the United Nations Secretary-General (requesting information on the measures they intend taking in fulfilment of the 1962 Resolution) the Japanese Government in December last made a 'formal' statement of their so-called 'strong opposition' to South Africa's apartheid policies and that they will 'co-operate' in the implementation of all measures to 'combat' them. Unless the African states bring sustained pressure on the Japanese Government, supported by the democratic forces inside Japan, this 'co-operation' will remain a dead letter.

Ceylon is in a no less similar position. At the United Nations and elsewhere the representatives of the Ceylonese Government have been vehement in their condemnation of apartheid and have consistently supported the campaign for sanctions. But in actual practice, Ceylon's trade with South Africa has continued with little change: while there has been a decline of Ceylon's purchase of South African goods, Ceylon's exports—mainly tea and rubber—have increased between 1962 and 1963.

South Africa's imports of oil from Iran amount to over £18 million a year. Oil also flows to South Africa from Aden, the Bahrein Islands

and Saudi Arabia, apart from certain countries in Europe and Latin America. The United Nations General Assembly session of 1963 specifically called for an oil embargo. But as is well known, these oil-producing states have had little control over the distribution of their oil exports; this has been largely in the hands of the international oil monopolies. But the states concerned have the power, through their organizations and in other ways to bring pressure on the oil monopolies to stop the flow of oil to South Africa. At the same time the trade unions of the Arab countries, who have given their support to the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa, can be called upon to request their dock workers to declare oil shipment to South Africa 'black' and in this way to force their governments to officially impose the oil embargo.

South Africa's Trade with certain Asian Countries (in £ millions)

	<i>Imports to S.A.</i>		<i>Exports from S.A.</i>	
	<i>January-August</i>	<i>January-August</i>	<i>January-August</i>	<i>January-August</i>
	1962	1963	1962	1963
Ceylon	3.9	4.2	1.2	0.4
Japan	14.0	18.5	23.5	21.7
Hong Kong	1.6	2.6	2.7	2.6
Iran	12.1	10.9	0.9	0.2
Pakistan	6.7	4.1	0.6	0.2
Philippines	0.3	0.3	1.7	1.5
Saudi Arabia	1.3	0.8	—	—
Aden	3.3	3.3	—	—

When the Indian Government stopped trading with South Africa in 1946, the Pakistani Government followed suit and a crisis in South Africa's requirements of jute products developed. But with the re-opening of Pakistan's trade and other relations with South Africa, the crisis was quickly overcome. Although Pakistan has supported the call for sanctions at the United Nations, she has not as yet informed the United Nations Secretary-General of the measures she intends taking to implement the Resolution of 1962.

THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

The socialist countries have now effectively ceased all relations with South Africa. Early in 1961, the *Soviet Union*, which had been a big buyer of South African wool, imposed a full trade embargo at the request of the South African liberation movement. In 1962, the Soviet trade organizations instructed their buying agents abroad not to include South African products in their purchases on international markets. The Soviet Union has no diplomatic or political relations with South Africa. The *Chinese People's Government*, again in response to requests from the South African liberation movement, announced a severance of all trade with South Africa in 1961. However, early in 1963 South Africa had shipped over £1 million worth of maize to China. The Chinese Government has since explained that these imports were made through various Hong Kong and British intermediaries. Since then all the Chinese trade organizations have been instructed to refuse acceptance of South African products and there is now a complete Chinese trade ban on South Africa. At the end of July the *Czechoslovak* Government announced the closure of its consular offices in Johannesburg and the severance of all commercial relations. On July 12 the *Hungarian* Government similarly broke off commercial relations with South Africa. The Governments of *Bulgaria, Albania, Mongolia, Ukrainian S.S.R., Roumania* and *Cuba* have all informed the United Nations Secretary-General that they have fully complied with the resolution of November 1962. The socialist *German Democratic Republic* broke off all commercial relations with South Africa in June 1963 and since October 20 has stopped its ships from calling at South African ports.

By the time the 1963 session of the General Assembly was convened, forty-six countries had formally severed all trade, political and other relations with South Africa and had closed their airports, airspace and seaports to South African aircraft and vessels. Another twenty-one countries, though not having replied to the United Nations Secretary-General's requests for information, had publicly declared, at various times, that they either had not maintained or had ended their trade and political relations with South Africa. And so over a half of the countries of the world have moved in the direction and are now implementing all-round sanctions against South Africa. This is a notable achievement in the struggle to isolate the apartheid Republic internationally.

THE IMPERIALIST SABOTEURS OF SANCTIONS

And yet, despite this achievement, South Africa's foreign trade is expanding and its economy is going through what is claimed to be an unprecedented boom. The armaments programme continues its relent-

less build-up and Verwoerd maintains his defiance of the United Nations. For only recently the South African government refused to allow the United Nations Expert Group set up by the Security Council from entering the country. Why?

The answer is found in the shameful policy of direct support which the imperialist countries, Britain and the United States foremost among them, give the Verwoerd regime; they sustain and provide the necessary props for the apartheid system with extended trade and capital investments and the supply of arms and equipment. In numerous other ways they sabotage the boycott of South Africa. Between 1962 and 1963 the imperialist and capitalist countries of North America and Western Europe pushed up their exports to South Africa by well over a quarter, increasing their share of South Africa's import trade from 65.8 per cent to 70 per cent. Further, they continued to maintain their high volume of purchases of South African products, taking over 60 per cent of South Africa's exports. The sharp rise in South Africa's imports from Britain, the United States, West Germany, France and Canada between the first eight months of 1962 and 1963 reflect, in part, the increased flow of arms and military equipment. What South Africa has lost through the trade boycott of the African, Asian and socialist countries, she has more than replaced by the increased economic co-operation she receives from the imperialist states.

South Africa's Trade with certain Western Countries (in £ millions)

	1962	<i>Imports to S.A.</i>		<i>Exports from S.A.</i>		
		<i>January-August</i>		<i>January-August</i>		
	1962	1962	1963	1962	1962	1963
Britain ..	155.2	99.1	118.2	145.2	99.4	111.3
U.S.A. ..	134.5	57.4	65.3	42.9	27.1	27.2
France ..	13.9	7.3	12.1	15.7	8.4	8.7
W. Germany ..	51.3	34.3	43.1	21.3	13.6	15.6
Belgium ..	7.2	4.0	4.6	19.2	12.3	13.5
Holland ..	12.5	8.1	8.7	13.0	12.4	8.2
Italy ..	14.5	10.1	11.8	22.1	16.0	15.3
Canada ..	12.8	8.2	15.2	4.9	2.8	3.9
TOTAL ..	401.9	228.5	279.0	284.3	192.0	203.7
Per cent of Total Trade	65.8	68.2	70.0	55.6	60.0	61.5

IMPERIALISM: VERWOERD'S COLLABORATOR

The role of imperialism in South Africa is not only considerable but possesses certain special features. In the other colonial countries, imperialism forcibly took control and monopolized the wealth and profits derived from the exploitation of the people and their resources, thus leaving the colonies poor and underdeveloped. Not so in South Africa. Here, British imperialism, through its massive investments in gold and diamond mining, found it increasingly necessary to create and develop an infra-structure of secondary industry and communications not only to meet the needs of the mining industry, but also to exploit the market opportunities provided by the white settlers and the flow of immigrants from Europe. Thus already in the early stages, British imperialism was devoting a share of the profits derived from the mining industry for the development of this infra-structure. But the basis of profit remained the intense exploitation of the African population who provided the cheap labour for the mines.

The immigrants and settlers came from countries already in the advanced stages of capitalism. Their ideas were determined by the production relations prevailing in the countries from which they came. They now superimposed these ideas and relations on the African people through the violence of numerous punitive wars, ultimately joining with British imperialism to create the special kind of colonialism which today rules by the name of apartheid. Economic and political power was shared between the privileged white population and the foreign imperialists on the basis of the gross exploitation of the African people. A vast social and economic superstructure of race and colour segregation was instituted; the people were evicted from their land and forced into the large pool of cheap labour to meet the labour needs of the mines, the white-owned farms and the growing industry. In this way the present partnership between foreign imperialism and the alien colonialist group inside the country came into existence, and as explained in the Programme of the South African Communist Party, *The South African Road to Freedom*:

'Effective economic domination in South Africa is thus exercised by an alliance of the local white monopoly interests in mining, farming and industry together with foreign imperialism and representatives of white monopoly capitalism. These interests have conflicts among themselves which are reflected in the main white political parties and groupings. But they find common ground in the perpetuation of the colonial-type subjugation of the non-white population.'

The collusion between foreign imperialism and the local monopoly groups for the maintenance of apartheid is today reflected in several crucial ways. The imperialists, mainly Britain and the United States,

continue to hold a substantial capital stake in precisely those industries mainly dependent for their high profits on cheap African labour. And in recent years they have regularly added to this stake by pumping fresh capital into the country. The seven mining and financial corporations, which together control the entire gold and diamond mining industry are in essence giant consortiums in which the British and the American imperialists hold a 25 per cent interest, the balance being shared by South African, French, Belgian and more recently West German monopoly interests. Together these corporations employ over half a million African workers.

Some 70 per cent of the estimated £1,600 million foreign capital invested in the country is owned by Britain and the United States. Foreign capital absorbs in profits, dividends, interest and other returns on capital, something like 10 per cent of the country's national income or about £240 million a year. Britain's share of this amounts to £145 million. Apart from the mining industry in which one-third of Anglo-American capital is invested, the imperialist countries have a foothold and stake in virtually every strategic sector of the South African economy: heavy engineering, chemicals, agricultural implements, motor assembly, textiles, shipping, etc.

The collusion between the foreign imperialists and the local upholders of apartheid is not confined to the private sector of the economy alone. Many of the state-owned monopolies created by the South African authorities to develop the petroleum, chemicals, arms, cellulose and other industries as well as the extension and modernization of the railway and communications network are jointly financed with foreign official and unofficial interests, various British overseas finance corporations, the United States Import-Export Bank and the International Bank.

For the main imperialist countries, South Africa has become considerably more important as a centre of profitable capital investment than for trade, though the latter is not unimportant to the imperialist economies. Britain's capital investments estimated currently at over £1,100 million produces goods and services within South Africa considerably more than the actual size of British exports to that country. A more accurate estimate of this relationship is available for the United States interest in South Africa: according to the United States Department of Commerce, the \$700 million of United States investments had produced goods and services more than double the value of United States direct exports to South Africa. In 1960 the value of the production of *manufactured goods* (i.e. excluding mining products and services) by United States direct-investment enterprises operating in South Africa amounted to \$305 million. In that year, the value

of *total* United States exports to South Africa amounted to no more than \$200 million.

United States Direct Investments in South Africa

(in the form of Plant and Equipment Expenditures in dollar millions)

	1960	1961	1962 (Planned exp.)
Mining and Smelting ..	15	12	10
Petroleum	10	12	28
Manufacturing	8	7	9
TOTAL	33	31	47

THE POLICY OF SABOTAGE AT WORK

The stakes of imperialism, concentrated as they are in those sectors of the economy heavily dependent on cheap labour and the apartheid system which sustains it, have risen and become more entrenched despite the political crisis in the country and the growing outside pressures for boycotts and sanctions. Rather than be deterred, the imperialists have gone to great lengths to protect South Africa and stave off these outside pressures; they have used every conceivable trick and subterfuge to sabotage and block all the international efforts to effectively deal with the South African question. As *The Times* recently put it, they 'skilfully manoeuvred to obtain innocuous wordings' to United Nations resolutions. Indeed, the imperialist conspiracy to block and negate United Nations action on the South African question is one of the most sordid examples of double-talk and deceit in the recent history of international relations. Let us look at some of the ways in which the policy of sabotage has been operated.

In 1946 a small delegation of representatives of the South-West African people arrived in New York to inform the First Session of the United Nations General Assembly about the plight of their people under the rule of the South African racialists and about South Africa's gross violations of the mandate under which she administered their territory since 1920. At the time, James F. Byrnes was the United States Secretary of State. And to quote the words of the American economist, Victor Perlo, this is what happened:

'The South-West African leaders demanded United Nations assistance in their struggle for release from the racist South African colonizers. The

United States delegates in the United Nations sabotaged effective action. The South African Government rewarded the Anglo-American imperialists by turning over to them the rich Tsumeb copper mines of South-West Africa, a former German enterprise confiscated during the Second World War. Morgan and Searle's Newmont Mining Company (one of the six largest copper mining monopolies in the United States) received a two-thirds share. With a one-million dollar investment, the new British and American owners cleared 9 million dollars in three years. In 1947 Mr Byrnes left his job as Secretary of State and soon thereafter was appointed a director of Newmont Mining Company.' (Perlo—*American Imperialism*, p. 39.).

The American journal *Fortune* called Tsumeb an 'outstanding example of Wall Street enterprise'. The 4,000 Ovambo and Herero workers at Tsumeb were paid 2s. 6d. a day with quarters bringing the costs of mining the ore to about 12s. 6d. a ton. At the then current price of copper ore, the net profits amounted to £4 a ton or over twenty-five times the abominable wages paid to the African workers. This fantastic super-exploitation of the local population of South-West Africa was made possible only by the system of forced labour and apartheid which the South African authorities enforced in the territory. Recently, the Newmont Mining Company announced that the annual profit from its South African operations amounted to 27 per cent of the capital invested.

Equally dramatic is the very much more recent example of the way in which profit and investment have continued to dictate the policy of Britain and United States towards apartheid. The United Nations Trusteeship Committee and the General Assembly threatened last year to plug the international pipe lines feeding oil to the South African Republic. This was how the Anglo-American imperialists reacted.

Sasol, the South African state-owned oil-from-coal plant currently produces some 40 million gallons of motor fuel which is less than 10 per cent of the country's annual requirements. The Verwoerd Government has embarked on a huge expansion programme in the light of a threatened oil embargo, but even if Sasol were to double its productive capacity it will never make South Africa self-sufficient in oil. And so, the South African Government invited several important and influential monopolies in the United States and Britain to search for natural oil in South Africa and South-West Africa. The foreign monopolies, encouraged by their governments, were not slow in showing interest or in agreeing to work with South African capital in what has turned out to be one of the most intensive oil explorations in the continent at the present time.

Within South Africa, three foreign oil companies working with South African companies have been granted extensive oil concessions.

In the mandated territory of South-West Africa, seven different enterprises are working over thousands of square miles searching for oil. Today about a half of the 318,000 square miles of South-West Africa is covered by mainly foreign-held concessions. Paul Getty, the American oil tycoon, operating through the locally registered subsidiaries, Tidewater Oil and Veedol Minerals, is exploiting diamond and the possible oil resources in the area of the North Western Cape Border as well as a part of the continental shelf on the Atlantic Coast. Another enterprise, the Artnell Mining and Exploration, a powerful American organization with headquarters in Chicago, has obtained rights for twenty-five years over the vast interior basin of South-West Africa as well as a concession running north-south along the coast. The Texas Eastern Transmission Corporation has formed the Etosha Petroleum to search for oil in what is the biggest single concession area—a stretch of many thousands of square miles running up to the Angola border. Apart from other American-owned concessions, the British interest is represented in the Consolidated Diamond Mines (De Beers) concession over the area of the mouth of the Orange River. The value of the foreign capital invested so far is estimated at over £30 million and in the light of the reports that the exploration so far ‘gives cause for confidence that oil in sizable quantities will be found’, the inflow of Anglo-American capital is expected to reach well over £200 million in the next five years. But even if the oil search turns out to be a damp squib, each of the concessionaires have rights for diamond prospecting especially along the coast. The Anglo-American oil monopolies are not only receiving every encouragement from their governments and, of course, from the Verwoerd regime, but are themselves rushing in to exploit the payable oil deposits they find. And in this way they are forestalling the likely impact of an oil embargo, and safeguarding the huge stake they have built up over the years in South Africa. The *New York Times* (August 18) had to admit the hollowness of the official American condemnation of apartheid:

‘Adlai Stevenson, the United States representative at the United Nations deplored apartheid as a “bitter toxic”. . . . The American investor calls it “politics” and hastens to point out that his decisions are “business decisions”.’

These ‘business decisions’ have in the period June 1960 and June 1963—a period of mounting attack on the Verwoerd colonialists at the United Nations and elsewhere—led to an unprecedented increase in American capital investments in South Africa. In this period the value of the American capital stake rose from \$590 million to \$700 million. This is already more than the size of total United States investments in the rest of Africa.

The British have necessarily been more direct and disruptive in their activities to protect South Africa from the threat of boycott and sanctions, despite the strong feelings of the British people as manifested in the anti-apartheid movement in Britain. Like the Americans they find it increasingly difficult to openly support South Africa or to maintain their opposition to the resolutions condemning apartheid. However, the British imperialists persist in their now heavily discredited view that the South African question is not within the competence and jurisdiction of the United Nations; they employ the full weight of their diplomacy and political resources to lobby and line up countries against effective United Nations action; they engage in diversions and tricks at the United Nations and elsewhere to blur the issues at stake. They have openly refused to be bound by the resolutions of the United Nations. Under the heavy fire of a recent African attack, the British had to admit that their policy on South Africa was determined by what Sir Patrick Dean, the British representative at the United Nations, has described as 'our considerable trade with and investments in South Africa' which was 'of great importance to the external economy of the United Kingdom' and the 'long historical connections, ties of kith and kin which compelled Britain to a deep concern for the alignment of South Africa'.

And no doubt in pursuance of these connections, British capital exports to South Africa since 1959 have continued at a lively pace. The British Board of Trade working on a sample of firms engaged in foreign direct investment (excluding those concerned with oil, banking, insurance and finance) through overseas branches estimates that some £18 million of British capital flowed to South Africa in 1960 (the year of the Sharpeville massacre), £8 million in 1961, £14 million in 1962. The earnings of these British overseas branches rose from an annual rate of £21 million in 1959 to nearly £29 million in 1962. Of the estimated £240 million paid out by South Africa in interest, profits and dividends on foreign capital, about 65 per cent accrues to British capital.

Britain has remained South Africa's most important trading partner, supplying 30 per cent of the country's imports and taking 34 per cent of its exports. Britain has continued to accord tariff preferences over a range of South African products and has renewed her contracts for South African sugar on preferential Commonwealth terms—and this, despite South Africa's enforced departure from the Commonwealth. South Africa's continued allegiance to the sterling currency system provides that country with a variety of important foreign exchange facilities and credits; the flow of capital from Britain to South Africa is not subject to any of the official controls on capital exports applying to the countries outside the sterling system and the Commonwealth.

Of the other capitalist countries which maintain extensive economic and political relations with South Africa in defiance of the United Nations policy, West Germany is the most important and deserves special mention. Within five years this country's trade with South Africa has more than doubled and today West Germany supplies over 11 per cent of South Africa's import needs. In July last, the Bonn Government extended a £10 million loan to South Africa. Herr Abs, the influential West German banker, head of the powerful Deutsche Bank, and representative of the large financial trusts currently concerned with what they euphemistically call 'overseas development', paid a visit to South Africa in September last for the purpose, as officially described, of 'preparing the way for the increased flow of private capital'. Already, the West German trusts are actively concerned with financing several investment projects in South Africa: they are now participating in the massive £37 million copper mining and refining project in the north-eastern Transvaal.

The Bonn Government is also reported to be actively supplying arms and modern military equipment to South Africa. Being outside the United Nations and at the same time an important member of the NATO bloc, the Bonn Government suffers from little restraint in either itself supplying arms or becoming the channel for the flow of NATO arms to South Africa in general. Recently the *Ghanaian Times* revealed that a group of West German firms headed by the firm Boelkow were working on the development of rockets in South Africa. This has since been confirmed by the South African Government.

Contrasting with this disgraceful policy of the Bonn Government are the inspiring actions of fraternal solidarity of the socialist German Democratic Republic. Apart from breaking off all trade with South Africa, the German Democratic Republic held a month of solidarity in November last, in which mass meetings and demonstrations were organized throughout the country in support of the South African freedom struggle.

THE ARMS EMBARGO

The imperialist conspiracy to support South Africa is nowhere more shameful and pronounced than in the matter of the arms embargo. Despite the demands of the United Nations General Assembly and the Security Council, several Western countries continue to connive with the Verwoerd Republic to maintain the flow of arms and capital and technical 'know-how' for the development of South Africa's armaments industry. So far only 43 of the United Nations' membership of 111 have pledged themselves to respect the arms embargo.

Soon after the Security Council meeting of August last, the London *Daily Telegraph* (October 24) reported that British, French, West German and Canadian aircraft companies were competing to supply the South African air force with jet training planes required to replace obsolete aircraft. 'But because the sale of military equipment to South Africa may raise objections', so the report ran, 'the firms are also investigating the possibility of their aircraft being made in South Africa under licence.' A Swedish firm, reportedly working with or for an international arms trading organization in which all the capitalist and imperialist countries participate, offered to sell South Africa machine guns, ammunition, big calibre guns, armoured vehicles and other military equipment including aircraft. The large Belgian armaments firm, Fabrique National d'Armes de Guerre, controlled by the Société General trust has opened a branch in South Africa to manufacture the F.N. rifle which presently is standard equipment for the armed forces of NATO. The £20 million deal between the South African Government and African Explosives, a subsidiary of the British Imperial Chemical Industries will put South Africa well on the way to becoming self-sufficient in small arms, including automatic weapons, and bombs and shells for its more heavier armoury. Under this deal, British blueprints, designs and specifications will become available to South Africa apart from the capital contribution for the construction of a complex of armament-producing factories in the country.

And in this way, the imperialist countries conspire to undermine the United Nations call for an arms embargo.

The Americans and Canadians have informed the United Nations that they will honour their commitments to maintain an embargo, but this is still to be seen to be effectively put into operation: both these countries are considerable operators in the seemingly elusive international traffic in arms. The other capitalist states have been calculatingly vague in their response to the arms embargo; they make the unwarranted and impractical distinction between arms capable of use for external defence and arms for use against the local population, and in this way have found what for the moment is an escape from their United Nations obligation and a way to continue their profitable trade in supplying the weapons of oppression to the Verwoerd fascists.

The British imperialists have by their own interpretation of the United Nations resolutions virtually repudiated the arms embargo. The British representative at the United Nations while on the one hand supporting the resolution for an arms embargo, claimed on the other, that;

(a) the resolutions were not mandatory on the United Kingdom;

- (b) the British 'ban' would not extend to 'items of a general or a dual purpose character';
- (c) the 'ban' would operate 'without unacceptable dislocation or complications to our export trade';
- (d) and, as subsequently explained by the British Government, the 'ban' would exclude equipment and material required for the maintenance of arms in South Africa.

Earlier in August, the present British Prime Minister announced that Britain was 'committed to supply naval aircraft to South Africa', and so in the light of all these interpretations, we can expect a continued flow of British arms to South Africa, including spare parts for the Saracen armoured cars (which fired on the demonstrators of Sharpeville), for the Centurian tanks, aircraft and other equipment which have been supplied recently to the Verwoerd Government.

And so, as we see, the political survival of the Verwoerd dictatorship is no more than a function of and dependent on the extent to which the colonial system of apartheid is being maintained through the continued economic, political and military support of the imperialist countries, Britain and the United States foremost among them. It is this fact which enables the Verwoerd regime to defy world opinion and the United Nations, to persist in its policy of unrestrained violence on our people and to incite the whole of Africa by its provocative arms build-up. It is this fact which the Security Council denounced when in its resolution of July last, it expressed its 'regret' that 'some states are indirectly providing encouragement in various ways to the Government of South Africa to perpetuate, by force, its policy of apartheid'. And, above all, it is this imperialist support which undermines the effectiveness of the sanctions measures so far instituted against South Africa through the United Nations.

STRUGGLE TO ENFORCE SANCTIONS

The enforcement of the United Nations programme of sanctions cannot be achieved by the mere passing of resolutions at the United Nations General Assembly or by hoping that the governments of the imperialist countries, especially Britain and the United States, will abide by or comply with their obligations under these resolutions. Only the most sustained struggle by the people of the world can bring about the conditions for the effective enforcement of all-embracing sanctions against the South African apartheid republic. And such a struggle has now become profoundly urgent and important for the maintenance of peace in Africa and the world.

This is no trite or pious contention. The United Nations has repeatedly warned in its various resolutions that South Africa's policies

have created 'friction among states' and 'international tension', that these policies have led to 'serious international repercussions' and have given rise to 'provocations' which are 'a serious threat to international peace and security'. Verwoerd's abusive and contemptuous disregard of world opinion threatens disorder and anarchy in the international community and has become, as the report of the United Nations Committee on Apartheid recently put it, 'a provocation of people everywhere'. The Charter of the United Nations is flouted and relations among states severely aggravated. The imperialists persist in linking their support for the apartheid regime with their cold war aims by claiming interests of strategy in South Africa and in this way continue to supply arms to Verwoerd. In turn, South Africa claims the avowed role of being the bastion of reaction and counter-revolution, determined to hold fast against the aspirations of the African people to complete the liberation of their continent and build their lives in peace and freedom. And, today no other issue agitates and causes more tension and insecurity among the people of Africa than the presence of this aggressive apartheid regime in their midst. Thus the fight against apartheid, through enforceable international sanctions, has become a vital aspect of the general fight for peace.

In this struggle the responsibility of the people of Britain and the United States is all-important and great. For it is in their own deep interests that their governments immediately abandon their policies of betrayal and sabotage of the United Nations call for sanctions and implement a policy of total boycott of South Africa. These governments have brought discredit to the United Nations and have imperilled their relations with the emergent forces of independence and freedom in Africa and elsewhere; they are earning the disgust and wrath of civilized people everywhere. Their claims of trade benefit and of dependence on trade with the present South African regime is shortsighted and against the fundamental interests of the British and American people. For the continuance of such policies can only reap a harvest of boycotts against these countries in the future which will prove more harmful to the long-term prosperity and economic progress of the people of these countries, especially of Britain. On the other hand, a total boycott of South Africa will quickly—indeed, in a matter of months, according to the experts—bring an end to apartheid and racial oppression in South Africa, and so create the conditions for a major and substantial leap in mutually advantageous trade and other economic relations between themselves and the South African people. And by winning such a change of policy, the people of these imperialist countries will earn the lasting goodwill and respect of the people of Africa as a whole. It will represent a resounding repudiation of the

claims of Verwoerd and his ilk that their hated regime and policies represent 'Western Civilization' in Africa and serve, in some way, the interests of the people of the 'West' and of 'Christendom'.

The struggle for sanctions is essentially a political struggle—a struggle to change the political policies of the capitalist and imperialist states towards South Africa and to secure the implementation and enforcement by the African, Asian and Latin American countries, of decisions they have already taken. Some, including sincere opponents of apartheid, conceive the movement for and the enforcement of sanctions as an exercise in the adjustment of international trade patterns, or of solving certain related legal and policing problems. They raise, as if it was a brand-new idea, the desirability or enforceability of sanctions as an international policy against the Verwoerd regime. Such questions have long been settled, both inside and outside the United Nations. Rather, what is now called for is a sustained spurt in the international struggle to secure the enforcement of the already agreed and settled programme of international sanctions against the South African apartheid republic.

The fruits of such a struggle will amount to more than the ending of apartheid in South Africa and of Verwoerd's colonial rule in the territory of South-West Africa. Such a struggle will enhance the prospects for peace and will blaze the trail for the complete liberation of the African continent. Rather than weaken, sanctions against apartheid will strengthen the United Nations: it will for once establish the United Nations' role as a true and independent force for world peace and progress.

'SANCTIONS AGAINST APARTHEID'

Reprints of the above article are available in pamphlet form for readers and others who feel, as we do, that the maximum circulation should be obtained for this valuable and informative analysis. Copies are available in bulk for the nominal price of 3s. 6d. (British postal order or equivalent) per dozen, post free. Single copies 4d. post free.

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ALGERIA REBUILDS

Henri Alleg

HENRI ALLEG, writer of this article, played a notable part in Algeria's heroic struggle for national liberation. His book, 'The Question,' written from experience as a victim of French imperialist brutality, drew world attention to the torture inflicted on captured Algerian patriots.

WHERE DOES ALGERIA stand today, eighteen months after independence? Despite the gloomy prophecies of the supporters of 'Algerie francaise' who claimed that once they had gone everything would be in ruins, Algeria is not doing too badly and one can predict that she will go from strength to strength.

Of course this view is not shared by those who have seen their lands nationalized and handed over to the agricultural workers, now the owners of the farms on which they had toiled as slaves for years. Nor is it the view of those Western politicians and businessmen who look askance at the anti-imperialist and Socialist decisions of the Algerian Government. But the 'pessimism' of such people merely confirms that things are not going badly in Algeria for the workers and the ordinary people.

In an extraordinarily short space of time, the country has emerged from the chaos in which it was left by 132 years of colonialism, including more than seven terrible years of war, of OAS destruction and atrocities.

Little more than a year ago it seemed as if Algeria was about to topple into anarchy and bloody battles between rival factions. This was what the defeated imperialists hoped for, because a divided and weakened nation would have provided a more favourable terrain for neo-colonialist revenge. But thanks to the maturity of the Algerian people, there was no 'Congolization' of Algeria. This maturity upset the calculations which certain people were making on the basis of the inevitable difficulties facing a newly-independent people. It broke through (and with what speed!) the obstacles erected by the French experts in the Evian agreement, in the hope that they would prevent the winning of independence from opening up the struggle for social liberation.

The Evian agreement provided, for example, for prior consultations between the Algerian and French Governments on all matters concerning the expropriation of the French settlers in relation to indispensable agrarian reform. This method was intended to limit, control and guide the future policy of the new Algeria in the countryside, for the

French 'experts' considered, and correctly, that on this depended the whole future of the country.

But at the time of the signature of the agreement they never thought of the possibility of more direct intervention by a third force which till then had only fought. This third force was composed of the people, the workers and poor fellaheen who were not at all prepared to wait for 'permission' to regain their lands. The O.A.S., by burning all the bridges behind the Europeans whom it had dragged in its bloody wake, also assisted paradoxically in rendering null and void all this part of the Evian agreement even before the ink on it was dry.

In fact, the European settlers and landowners, fleeing from Algeria, abandoned their property and the agricultural workers had no need to wait for a slogan before organizing themselves and starting to work these lands in place of the former landlords. In the course of a few weeks over two and a half million acres passed into the hands of those who before were the pariahs of colonialism. What is more, instead of dividing the lands between them, the workers decided to manage them collectively under a council elected by themselves.

The protests of the settlers, supported by the French Government, had little effect, and the workers finally masters of a land which they had for decades watered with their sweat, will now never let it go. They would sooner be killed defending their gains and are ready to fight in the same way as they fought to win their freedom.

THE DECREES OF MARCH 1963

President Ben Bella's decrees of March 1963 only served to extend these initiatives of the people by legalizing and organizing them. But the decrees are nevertheless of historic importance, for they show the profound agreement which exists between the aspirations of the masses and the views of Algeria's leaders. After these first decrees came those of October 1963 which practically liquidated European colonization and handed over all its lands to the agricultural workers and the fellaheen. Other decrees are being prepared which will limit to 125 acres the amount of land which an Algerian can own. Thus the agrarian reform will cover a total of 15 million acres out of 25 million acres of arable land, of which 7½ million acres will be lands of former colonialists and another 7 million taken from the big Algerian feudal landowners, after the limitations on private property.

The best lands, those which were cultivated in almost industrial fashion by the European settlers, have here and now been made part of the collective sector which indicates what weight this sector will have in the economic and political future of Algeria.

Cutting their losses, the French colonialists would have liked to

limit these revolutionary measures to the countryside, but workers' self-management has widely and rapidly gone beyond the agricultural sector. The workers in the towns, with Government encouragement, have not been left behind. In Algiers, Oran, Constantine and other towns, they have taken over control of the factories and commercial undertakings abandoned by the French owners and started them up again. That is how the workers' self-management committees in the industrial and commercial sector have come into being. By now some 500 enterprises have been taken over, varying in size from those employing several hundred, such as the Oran Glassworks (former property of the Saint-Gobain trust and which is functioning thanks to technical help from Czech engineers), or the Acilor foundry (offshoot of the Pont-à-Mousson group), and the iron-ore mine at Béni-Saf. A number of transport and tobacco firms as well as hotels and blocks of flats have also been nationalized.

None of this was foreseen, not even in the 'Tripoli Charter', drawn up before independence was proclaimed, though this was itself a bold programme. But the action of the masses was yet more bold, giving birth to this workers' self-management sector which has laid the first basic foundations of a socialist sector in Algeria's economy.

THE SOCIALIST CHOICE

It is today clear to the majority of our people that there is no other choice possible for Algeria except Socialism. This appears to them to be so indisputable that it is inscribed in the Constitution, Article 10 of which states:

'The fundamental objectives of the Algerian Democratic and People's Republic are . . . the exercise of power by the people whose advance guard consists of the fellaheen, the workers and revolutionary intellectuals . . . the construction of a socialist democracy, the struggle against the exploitation of man in all its forms.'

President Ben Bella has explained this choice on many occasions. On November 1, on the occasion of the celebrations of the anniversary of the beginning of the armed insurrection, he stated precisely what this new power is, replying at the same time to those who accuse the regime of dictatorship.

'What we want,' he said, 'is the dictatorship of the humble, the dictatorship of the poor, that of the peasants and the workers. This dictatorship will have a long life in this country.'

Such a revolutionary orientation could not but arouse the opposition of all those who felt their privileges and ambitions threatened by the measures which it implied. For a section of the Algerian bourgeoisie, whether they did or did not participate in the liberation struggle, in-

dependence meant above all new possibilities to enrich themselves, and possibilities of access to economic positions which before independence had been held by the French colonialists. Part of the petty bourgeoisie in its turn, while wanting to be protected against the big boys, saw in independence above all the possibility of being able to acquire shops and the like at low prices, as well as good jobs in the administration and in private companies. Thus those whose interests were directly encroached upon and those who feared that their prospects for advancement might be limited, found themselves united against the measure taken by the Government and its non-capitalist choice.

That is basically the reason for the clash of the various tendencies which have torn the F.L.N. since independence and right up to the last crisis in Kabylia. Those opposing forces, whatever flag they fly, in fact defend directly or indirectly the class interests of those who do not accept the political orientation of the new Algeria.

Thus the situation becomes clearer every day—one is either for the Ben Bella Government and its revolutionary measures, or one is against it.

The seekers of personal wealth, of all sorts, have already chosen their side. Rather than accept this 'dictatorship of the poor' they are ready to ally themselves with the neo-colonialists whose positions remain strong. They have sent their money to France and Switzerland and they are plotting more or less openly for the overthrow of the government. And on the other side, the workers in the towns, the agricultural workers, the unemployed, the fellaheen, the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie are with President Ben Bella and his Government.

Abroad the same cleavage came about between the true friends of the Algerian Revolution and those who took fright at the position it took up alongside the world peace forces, alongside those who are building socialism.

MOROCCO

The most recent example is the conflict unleashed on Algeria's western frontiers by King Hassan II, representative of Morocco's big bourgeoisie and feudal lords, because he fears that the Algerian revolutionary 'virus' might contaminate Africa and his own country in the first place. Behind the Moroccan aggression are the imperialists of every hue, who have only been made more prudent by the setbacks suffered over Cuba and the lessons they learned there.

The crushing diplomatic defeat sustained by Morocco at Bamako has shown in striking fashion which side had the sympathies of the African people, and what pressure these sympathies can bring to bear.

Indeed it is this pressure which has forced reaction in Morocco finally to accept the proposed arbitration and to submit to the decisions taken at Addis Ababa by all the independent countries in the African continent.

Nor is it only a question of Algeria's relations with Africa. The path Algeria is choosing, which is becoming clearer day by day, is helping to bring about a coming together and a real alliance between her and the countries in the socialist bloc.

During the Algeria-Morocco crisis, the solidarity of the socialist countries made itself evident, nor was it lacking in helping in the great construction tasks which face Algeria. The most important assistance was that provided by the Soviet Union in a long term loan of 50 million francs to help build sixty sites for public works, twenty to thirty dams, and the establishment of a network of machine and tractor stations as well as supplying a whole range of agricultural machinery.

Thus, as the Algerian revolution is being 'radicalized'—as they would say in Cuba, she can distinguish more clearly between her real friends and the neo-colonialists who only smile upon her deceitfully and whose help is subject to conditions.

A REVOLUTIONARY ORIENTATION

Foreign observers are sometimes sceptical about statements by leaders of the Algerian Revolution on the beginning of the march towards socialism. They point out that Algeria has not yet rid itself completely from the imperialist control contained in certain articles of the Evian agreement. Consequently, they claim, Algeria's struggle must be directed towards the complete political and economic liberation of the country, and the social revolution can only come later.

Of course Algeria's independence has still to be completed—the French imperialists are still at Mers-el-Kebir and Oran. They have not given up the idea of using the Sahara for atomic tests, and their position is still very strong in certain sectors of the economy, particularly in the oil industry, which is the most important. The Algerian Government, though it does not reject co-operation with France, is conscious of this and has already begun the battle for the revision of the Evian agreement which no longer corresponds to the realities of the present situation.

But must one conclude from this that it is impossible to talk about 'socialist liberation' so long as the French are at Mers-el-Kebir? This would be to forget the example of Cuba which although not completely liberated has nevertheless carried through a socialist revolution.

The process of social revolution can very well begin and continue without the great task of liberation having been completely accomplished. Indeed one of the most remarkable aspects of the Algerian national liberation movement has been the fact that from the beginning of the insurrection it has had a profound revolutionary content.

This is explained, among other things, by the weakness of the national bourgeoisie and the outstanding part played in the struggle by the poor peasantry allied with the industrial workers in the towns and the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie. These classes were already formulating their social objectives in the course of the struggle, when colonialism had not yet been defeated.

Right through the war of liberation, this revolutionary content became clearer and more precise. Under the pressure of the masses and with the experience acquired in the internal struggle of the F.L.N. the essential characteristics of the new society to be built, began to appear. Once the war of liberation was over, the word 'socialism' was suddenly endowed with the same prestige and gained the same mobilizing force as the word 'independence' during the years of battle.

Thus the rapid overtaking of purely anti-imperialist objectives, which paves the way to the radical transformation of the structure of society, was already written into the liberation struggle.

One cannot conclude from this that the process of building socialism has already begun. What can be said is that the revolution has begun, under new forms, and is fighting for victory. This does not mean that everything is now clear and that the 'socialism' everyone is talking about means the same thing to everybody. We know very well that many are using this word to conceal bargaining which has nothing in common with socialism.

But it is above all deeds and not only words which show that the country's orientation is correct. There is the powerful participation of the masses in the elaboration of the new society and also the declarations of the leaders of the revolution making it clear that by 'socialism' they mean the form of society already achieved in the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist countries. Thus there can be no confusion as to the sort of socialism which has been chosen.

President Ben Bella recently gave greater precision to this matter when he stated in an interview with the Syrian newspaper *El Ahram* that 'the socialism chosen by Algeria is scientific socialism.' Replying on another occasion to a reporter of the Finnish Radio, Ahmed Ben Bella also indicated that he accepted all the Marxist conclusions in the economic field. These declarations reflect not only the progress already made by Marxism-Leninism among the most revolutionary cadres

but also the decline of idealist conceptions and anti-communist, prejudices.

A PARTY OF SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Nevertheless other important steps need to be taken to formulate the ideological bases on which will be formed the indispensable Party of the Revolution without which it would be impossible to fulfil the tasks which must be accomplished.

The F.L.N. which was the gathering together of all classes and all national tendencies during the struggle, can no longer play this role. What is more, under cover of the proud banner of the F.L.N. certain opportunist and counter-revolutionary elements are taking advantage of their position to act as a brake on progress.

The revolution cannot obtain in the present organization the necessary 'conveyor belts' capable of carrying out the decisions taken and of inspiring everywhere the spirit of renewal. The Algerian leaders and Ben Bella in particular are very conscious of this serious weakness and of the need to get rid of it.

In an interview with French journalists, Ben Bella said: 'The F.L.N. today must be the party of the socialist revolution. It therefore has a task fundamentally different from the other F.L.N. which was responsible for the struggle for independence and whose objective was national independence. This new F.L.N. will itself also be forged in action starting with workers' self-management, starting with nationalization, starting with the co-operatives which are in the process of being formed. It is in the fire of everyday action that we will be separating the most valuable elements for the formation of the party.'

This idea of the formation of a powerful, united Party of the Socialist Revolution is supported by the Algerian Communists who, before playing an eminent role during the war of liberation had the historic honour of propagating Marxist ideas in Algeria. Thus, the paths of the genuine revolutionaries who emerged from the F.L.N. and from the ranks of the Algerian Communists, would logically meet. In practice an alliance in fact already exists between them.

When will the new Party be born? The experience of the past months shows that the conditions for its realization could ripen relatively quickly. But it is obvious that it could not come about unless all the revolutionary elements accept not only a common programme but also the essential elements of a common ideology.

How will this Party be born? It will be born in action, for it is in the fulfilment of the tasks set by the revolution that the best people will come forward. There is no doubt, and experience has already proved this, that they will be recruited above all among the workers in town and

countryside. They will come from among those who have already freed themselves of the employers and settlers, who know what capitalist exploitation is and who have at the same time become accustomed to organized action.

The Communists have as their watchword to give the example in sacrifice for the country and for the revolution. Their ambition is to be among its most far-seeing and devoted supporters of unity, the most devoted to the interests of the masses. It is not surprising therefore that in these conditions many are today being requested to become leaders of trade unions and national organizations. And these requests will increase as anti-Communism retreats and as the agents of imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie whose classic weapon it is, are definitely beaten.

There is no doubt that by expressing these aspirations, the majority of the delegates to the forthcoming F.L.N. Congress will advance the realization of the Party, the advance guard of the workers and the entire nation. Armed with this party, the Algerian people will not only complete its liberation, foil the plans of the neo-colonialists, face up to all the problems of transition, but also definitely assure the triumph of the socialist revolution in Algeria, harbinger of the liberation of the entire African continent.

The African Communist

With this issue, our journal adopts a new type of 'news' cover, which will change with each issue, and will draw attention to the more topical items of the contents.

Collectors, librarians and others interested will note that we have reverted to the serial method of numbering each issue from number one, issued in October 1959. Most back numbers are out of stock, but a few copies of some issues are still available at 2s. 6d. per copy.

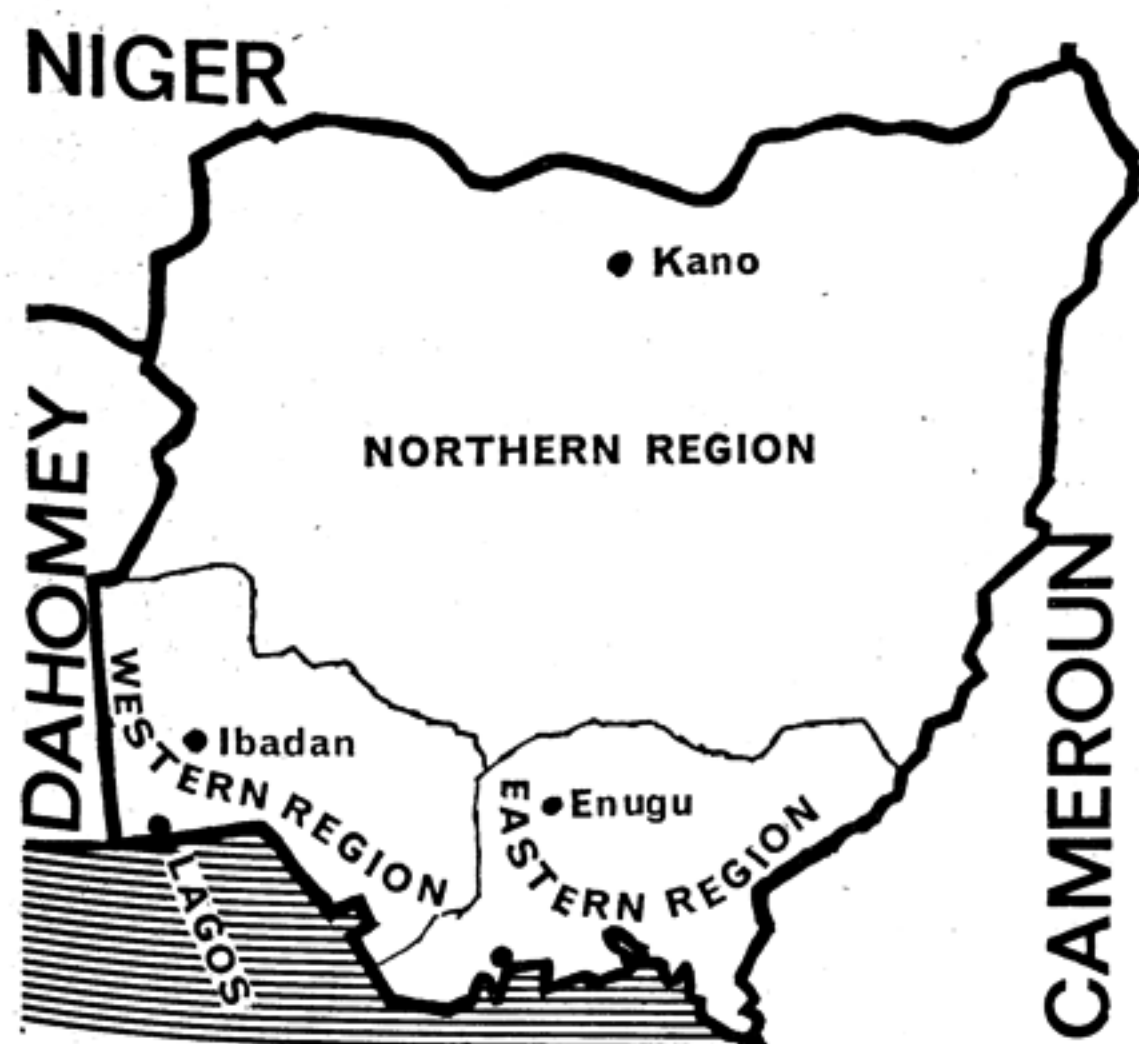
Readers will notice other changes designed to make their magazine more attractive and readable. The price remains unchanged, but a special appeal is made to friends of our magazine and our cause to assist by sending donations to our London agent. It will also help a great deal if all agents would settle their accounts, and subscribers renew their subscriptions promptly.

NIGERIA'S FIRST MASS SOCIALIST PARTY

*by a Special
Correspondent*

THE INAUGURAL CONFERENCE of the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria was held in August 1963, and by November it had already enrolled 2,000 members in twenty branches. Its officials confidently expected this membership to double by the end of the year. The greatest concentration of membership is in the capital Lagos, but there are branches in all the regions of Nigeria—eight in the Western Region, four in the mid-Western, four in the Eastern Region and three in the Northern Region. The formation of new branches was usually preceded by the staging of mass demonstrations, the largest of which brought together at least 50,000 people. Secretary-General of the new party is Dr. Tunji Otegbeye, formerly secretary-general and still a member of the Nigerian Youth Congress. The Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party is supported by many well-known trade union leaders and by the more progressive section of the Nigerian trade union movement as a whole.

The manifesto of the Party makes it plain that it accepts Marxism as the basis of its policy. 'The Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party is the party of the toilers of Nigeria, guided by Scientific Socialist ideas,



NIGERIA



whose aim is the realisation of a Socialist Nigeria through the process of national democratic revolution. . . .’

After analysing the development of society from ancient communism through slavery and feudalism to capitalism, the manifesto adds: ‘Our era is that in which capitalism is passing away and a new system is being born. The new system is the socialist system. The message of socialism is none other than the total abolition of all exploitation of man by man. The Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia in 1917 ushered in the first socialist society in the world. By breaking the chains of imperialism, feudalism and capitalism in Russia, the workers and peasants of that great land of socialism showed mankind the road forward from the misery of feudalism and capitalism, the misery of class society. Inspired by the Russian example, the people of China broke for ever with exploitation and waged the great Chinese revolution which defeated imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic and comprador capitalism, and brought the people to power throughout the vast land of China in 1949. The great socialist revolution has spread and is spreading to other lands.

‘The socialist revolutions have greatly inspired the exploited nations of the world in their struggles to free themselves from the domination of imperialism. Colonial revolutions are sweeping through the world as part and parcel of the great revolt of the poor, the proletarian revolution. The struggles of the African and the Nigerian people form an important part of the proletarian revolution of our time.’

The Party’s manifesto makes it clear that the struggle of the African people is not only directed against the imperialists but also against the lackeys of the imperialists, the section of the African bourgeoisie which has sold itself for foreign gold.

To achieve progress, to march away from the backward past, the African must wage a determined struggle against imperialism. To this end the unity of the African people is essential. Our party is out to build up the full and unflinching support of the Nigerian people for the African revolution. In waging a battle against imperialism, however, the African people cannot ignore those classes in Africa whose aim is to collaborate with imperialism for their own selfish ends. It is a lie to picture Africa as a classless continent. Our party is committed to waging a relentless battle against the internal enemies of the African people who collaborate with imperialism.’

COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The sufferings of the Nigerian people first under their own feudal rulers and later under the imperialists are graphically described in the manifesto. ‘Our people began a great struggle against colonial

oppression. In this revolt the Nigerian people aimed at three things: (a) complete independence, (b) democracy, (c) social and economic progress for everyone.

'These were the aims of the Nigerian people generally, but it is now clear that a section of the Nigerian businessmen and professionals who took part in the revolt did so in order to push out the British colonialists, set up a government of businessmen and place seekers, and use the State to enrich themselves. As for the chiefs, the majority of them opposed self-government, whilst some businessmen and professionals sided with the British colonialists.'

The manifesto catalogues the bitter strikes and struggles of the people for a better life from 1929 onwards. 'Without these bitter struggles of the people, self-government would never have been won. For oppressors respect action, not words. But it is clear that the people have been cheated. A few people have achieved their private ambition, but what the common people fought for has not been realised . . .

'Nigeria today, irrespective of ethnic group or religion, is divided into two nations: the nation of the rich made up of the rich classes and the nation of the poor made up of the poor classes.' And while the rich are getting richer, the poor are getting poorer.

The extent of imperialist domination of the Nigerian economy is analysed in detail. Since independence, foreign investment has expanded by leaps and bounds. 'Our entire economy is dominated by the Unilever group of companies.' One-third of all goods imported into Nigeria and about one-fifth of all the products exported are handled by one Unilever subsidiary alone—the United Africa Company. American monopoly business has also established an empire for itself in Nigeria. The biggest American banking firms, Bank of America and Chase Manhattan, have opened up branches and American oil companies have sunk millions in oil exploration and distribution.

'This country is rich in resources, but it has become a flourishing garden only for foreign firms and their few Nigerian partners and hangers-on.'

As against the imperialists and their local agents and allies who want to maintain the present régime of oppression over the people, there are the actual creators of wealth of the country, and those who desire a change in Nigeria for the benefit of all—the wage and salaried workers, the farmers and peasants and the small businessmen threatened with ruin by the operations of the monopolists.

'The people need first and foremost a party of a new type, a party of workers, farmers and patriotic and progressive citizens. Such a party is the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria—the Party of the oppressed . . .

‘Our party is guided by a science of society—the science of Marxism-Leninism. This is a science which brings together all the experiences of mankind in struggle and from there draws lessons for the guidance of the common people in their fight to overthrow capitalism and imperialism and build socialism . . .

‘There have been many recommendations in the past and there are still a few today on how the struggle for socialism should be waged to achieve success. But it is only in countries where the battle for socialism has been guided by the Marxist-Leninist science of socialist struggle that the battle has actually been won and socialism established. Every worker, every farmer, every artisan relies not on a tool that looks beautiful but cannot do the work but on one that has been proved by experience to be strong and equal to the appointed task. Such a tool is the science of Marxism-Leninism, the reliable science of socialist revolution which can be applied in any country at any stage of development to guide and enlighten the people.’

UNITED FRONT

The manifesto recognises that apart from the workers and peasants there are other groups in Nigeria that also wish to change the present state of things in Nigeria in the direction of true independence, democracy and progress—progressive businessmen, professionals and intellectuals who oppose neo-colonialism and desire a democratic rule of the people in a truly independent Nigeria. ‘A national democratic united front becomes a revolutionary necessity. We call on all progressive and patriotic businessmen, professionals, intellectuals, youths, women, ethnic organisations, students, ex-servicemen, the anti-imperialist fighters in other parties and other democratic sections of our people to rally round our party and build a national democratic united front of the people against imperialism.’

Having defeated imperialism and its allies, the revolution will establish a state of independent national democracy. ‘The state will: (a) achieve true as distinct from nominal independence; (b) establish true democracy in which the common people will have real and not merely nominal power; (c) carry out progressive economic and social reforms.’ Ultimately the nation will have to choose between capitalism and socialism. Capitalism is immoral because it is based on the exploitation of man by man. ‘Therefore the nation must go in the direction of socialism. By socialism we mean the ownership of the means of production and distribution (mines, factories, banks, etc.) by the community as a whole, so as to end the exploitation of one man by another, to end the division of the country into rich and poor, the

powerful and the weak. The movement to socialism in Nigeria can only proceed by stages, but our advance must be in that direction.'

THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM WILL NOT BE EASY

The enemies of the people, says the manifesto, are not asleep. They are busy inventing all sorts of 'socialisms' to confuse the people. 'We hear of "pragmatic socialism," "democratic socialism," "conventional socialism," "commonwealth socialism," "Arab socialism," "African socialism," "Fabian socialism," "Christian socialism," "agrarian socialism" and what you will. Some who call themselves socialists have even come out to say that socialism means whatever anyone cares to mean by it.

'The reason for this multiplication of "socialisms" is obvious. Everywhere in the world, everywhere in Africa, everywhere in Nigeria the people are dissatisfied with capitalism and find no alternative other than turning towards socialism as the answer to their problems, as the only system that can give them independence, food, clothing, shelter, education, health, justice and peace. Since the enemies of the people cannot turn the people away from the path of socialism, they have to pose as interpreters of socialism. Thus every corrupt nationalist, every opportunist politician, every barely progressive liberal finds the label "socialism" useful to cover up actions, policies and programmes that are essentially capitalist.'

It is true, says the manifesto, that many differences exist between one country and another. Experience has shown that precisely because of such differences the form of struggle for socialism will vary from one country to another, but the struggle for socialism has everywhere to be guided by the socialist science of struggle which is Marxism-Leninism. Socialism is not a foreign ideology. It is a system opposed to capitalism, and wherever capitalism exists, socialist thought and struggle must arise to liberate the people from exploitation. 'Just as Nigerian capitalism is Nigerian, so is Nigerian socialist thought Nigerian. . . . There is nothing foreign to any people in the idea that the wealth of the land should belong to the people in common and that the fruits of such wealth be fairly distributed to all.'

The long-term aim of the Party is to transform Nigeria into a truly Socialist Democracy which will guarantee for the people of Nigeria:

(a) all social rights—the right to work, education, rest and leisure, and to social security;

(b) full unrestricted suffrage—all Nigerian people to enjoy equal social status irrespective of birth, sex, religion or ethnic origin;

(c) the opportunity to take a direct part in the management of production and in the distribution of the fruits of their labour;

(d) the radical solution of the women's question—equal opportunity to both man and woman in our society;

(e) the conditions for genuinely solving the question of the different ethnic groupings and minorities in our society and ensuring their rapid social, cultural and economic advancement.

However, the short-term aims of the Party in the present situation when neo-colonialism and their agents constitute the main enemy of the Nigerian people is to defeat neo-colonialism, isolate its agents and attain complete independence. For this purpose the Party will strive to secure and guarantee:

(a) a strong united conscious labour movement;

(b) a strong united conscious alliance among the people of our country;

(c) a strong United National Democratic Front of all anti-neo-colonialist and anti-feudalist forces in the country;

(d) the attainment of complete national independence (social cultural and economic) and the establishment of a popular National Democracy in which the entire masses of our people will play a fundamentally new role in the life of our society.

At the end of the manifesto the party sets out in detail its programme for the reconstruction of the Nigerian society under five headings: Political Objectives, Economic Objectives, Social Objectives, Policy on Africa and International Policy. Its African policy is to fight for the immediate independence of all African countries, the unity of all African states and the abolition of all foreign bases on African soil.

'In the realm of world affairs we shall:

'Fight actively for peace, for our revolution is endangered and retarded so long as the great powers arm for war;

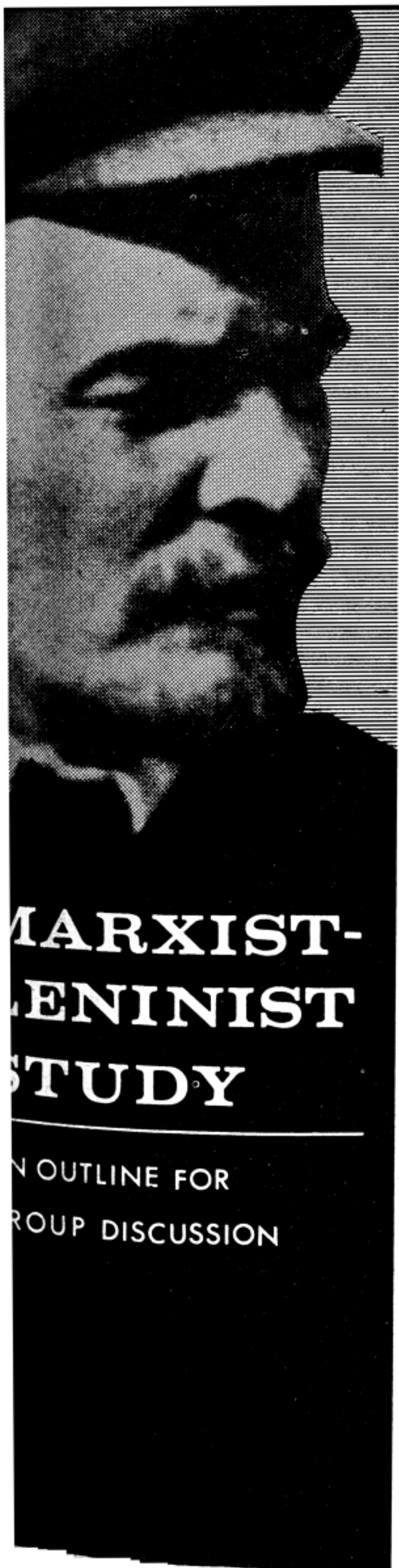
'Support the fight of all nations to self-determination, for the denial of self-determination to any one country is one step to its denial to other countries;

'Support the cause of all countries fighting against imperialism;

'Support the cause of progress—of the workers and farmers of all countries against cheating and backwardness.'

The programme concludes: 'These specific steps shall pave the way for the people to build a free socialist society where wealth shall begin to be distributed according to the principle, from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.'

The Nigerian Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party is the first socialist party in Nigeria with a fully Marxist programme and a mass base. If it can survive the attacks which will undoubtedly be directed against it by the ruling class as it gathers strength, it can play an important role in the development of socialism in Nigeria.



**MARXIST-
LENINIST
STUDY**

**N OUTLINE FOR
GROUP DISCUSSION**

THE ROLE OF IDEAS IN HISTORY

Sol Dubula

EVERY IMPORTANT SCHOOL of philosophic thought falls into one of two broad categories—idealism and materialism.

Philosophical idealism believes in the primacy of spiritual things, ideas over reality, matter. Some idealists claim that matter has no objective existence, being merely a reflection of ideas in the minds of men, indeed of ideas in the mind of an intangible super-being, a god, who has created everything.

Philosophical materialism rejects this mystical concept, the basis of the various religious schools of thought. It insists on the primacy of reality, of matter in all its various forms. Ideas themselves are only true if they correspond to realities of the material world; and ideas are but the product of a special form of matter: the human brain. Marxists belong to the materialist school of Philosophy. They believe in the objective existence of the universe in which we live. It was not created by any supernatural being. It has no beginning and no end. Truth consists in the discovery of all the facts concerning

the universe, in all their innumerable interrelations and interactions for there is no reality but matter. Man has not yet succeeded in discovering everything there is to know about our material universe in wresting all the secrets of nature. But ultimately there are no unknowable mysteries, and with each new advance in science we advance closer to our goal of the conquest of objective truth.

In this article we concern ourselves with the conflict between idealism and materialism in the field of historical and social science.

The idealist conception of history explains social development in terms of *ideas*. Somehow the first impetus of a forward social movement is given by an idea which captures man's imagination. This idea then stimulates the creation of institutions which govern life in the society.

Of course not all idealist philosophers express their theories in this simple fashion. The idealist content of many philosophies is often hidden behind 'clever' jargon which serves to hide its real meaning. But boiled down to their basic premises all idealist schools of philosophy believe that historical change comes about as a result of changing ideas in the minds of men.

By and large this view of history suits those who rule, because men's minds are, in the result, diverted from the real conditions of life which call for radical change. History, according to idealists, does not follow the sort of pattern dealt with more fully in our last article, but is a series of mysterious and accidental events which have their origin in some vague and indefinable 'absolute idea' in the mind of a man or a group of men.

The pure idealist explains the origin of the idea as having been planted in man's mind by an outside, supernatural force—a God.

There are more subtle variations on this theme. But what is common to all idealist schools is the idea as the cause of all social change and—what is more—the 'idea' has a sort of independent existence of its own which is unrelated to the concrete conditions in which it is born. As Engels puts it:

The whole previous view of history was based on the conception that the ultimate cause of all historical changes are to be looked for in the changing ideas of human beings . . . But the question was not asked as to when the ideas came into men's minds.

When this question was asked by idealist philosophers, the answer usually consisted of a reference to some mysterious supernatural being or to some 'absolute idea' floating in the ether. It was never related to the concrete conditions of life which give birth to thought. As against this approach the materialist conception of history:

'seeks the ultimate cause and great moving power of all important historical events in the economic development of society, in the changes

the mode of production and exchange, in the consequent division of society into distinct classes and in the struggle of these classes against one another.' (Engels: *Socialism Utopian and Scientific*).

Or, as Marx puts it:

'it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness.' (*Preface to Critique of Political Economy*).

We saw in our last article that before society was divided up into economic classes, mankind lived under a system of primitive, communist equality. There was no private ownership of the means of production. This 'social being' determined primitive man's 'consciousness'. His ideas and institutions reflected the objective economic conditions. It was only when his 'social being' altered; when (for reasons already dealt with) the mode of production altered, that man began to alter his 'consciousness'.

The emphasis on communal life and communal property gave way to the proclamation of the holiness of private property and its protection against the community. This process can be explained in only one way. It is not that private greed and selfishness are suddenly discovered to be a desirable thing but rather that the new material conditions of life gave rise to new ideas and new institutions. As stated by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*:

'Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in a word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?'

Do we not experience this process on a smaller scale amongst our own people? We find that the worker in the factory is more receptive to ideas of revolutionary social change than the middle-class shopkeeper. We find the same with the peasant on the land when compared to the government's appointed chiefs. Why is this so?

Since no man is born with the thoughts of a shopkeeper the only possible explanation must be that his particular consciousness reflects his material existence, the way he makes his living.

It is not difficult to speculate what Matanzima's ideas would have been had he been an ordinary peasant living below the bread line on a miserable piece of land, and not a man whose bread is buttered by Verwoerd. No man is born a 'good boy' or a 'running dog' of his master. He can easily become one if his material conditions are such that he can live more comfortably that way. The fact that there are exceptions to be found amongst some chiefs and other privileged individuals who throw in their lot with the people's struggle does not

disprove the rule. All who genuinely side with the struggle are, of course, more than welcome. But it remains generally true that (few exceptions apart) the most militant and revolutionary fighters for freedom are to be found amongst those groups whose material existence has given them a revolutionary consciousness.

The materialist conception of history enables the scientific revolutionary to determine which is the most revolutionary class of society. Under capitalism there is no doubt that it is the working class because—deprived of all property—it has nothing to lose but its chains. Hence revolutionary consciousness in a worker does not demonstrate his superior mental qualities but rather his receptiveness to revolutionary ideas because of the material conditions of his life.

The scourge of racial prejudice and racial discrimination in Africa, as in other colonial territories, cannot be properly understood without a thorough grasp of the materialist conception of history.

We know only too well that all the ideas and institutions which have been developed by the white state in South Africa, have as their purpose, a continued subjugation of the non-white people. Every instrument of propaganda from the church to the newspapers; from Bantu Education to the South African Broadcasting Corporation, has been mobilised to propagate the idea of the inherent superiority of the white races and the inferiority of the non-whites. We know enough about South Africa to realize that the origin of this type of racial religion is in the fat profits which can be made from a system in which cheap black labour gives a life of wealth and luxury to the minority.

It follows that racial arrogance and racial prejudice is economic in origin. The 'consciousness' of the whites is determined by their social being and not the other way about.

When the white man first landed at the Cape of Good Hope he did not come with the sort of barbaric mental attitude towards other races which is too typical of him in South Africa today. In fact in the early stages van Riebeeck, the official father of the 'white nation' was so lacking in modern type prejudice, that he and his colleagues freely entered into marriages and other intimate relations with the indigenous peoples. Many leading government men of today, including Cabinet Ministers, originate from this stock. As the potentialities of the wealth that could be made by the exploitation of cheap labour became more and more obvious, the stage was set for the creation of institutions from which the Africans have been suffering for over 300 years. And on this foundation grew the religion and the rationalization that whites are 'superior' and born to rule, whereas blacks have from time immemorial been ordained by the Almighty to be hewers of wood and drawers of water.

Of course, in the process the origin of the idea is deliberately blurred. The process appears to be reversed. A number of well-meaning people begin to believe that the cause of the trouble is due to the backward and wrong ideas which people have on the question of race.

People who think like this have fallen for the crude propaganda of the ruling class. And here one can see how the idealist serves the master and the oppressor. Instead of tackling the problem at its root the 'liberal', mesmerized by idealist philosophy, wastes much of his energy in activity which might change the outlook of the few isolated individuals but which will leave the basic structure unaffected. More than that, by creating the illusion that the cause of race oppression is to be found in the first place in wrong *ideas*, he creates the further illusion that re-education instead of struggle, will end white supremacy.

Thus, whatever his motives, he in fact assists the white rulers to perpetuate the evil of white oppression.

The Communist, imbued by the teaching of Marxism, understands the historical truth that, whatever frills it is given, race oppression is basically a product of economic exploitation in general and capitalist class exploitation in particular.

The 'white' man as a whole creates and supports the ideas and institutions of the white state because he benefits economically from it.

Thus, from a long term point of view, there is only one real guarantee for the abolition of race discrimination and incorrect ideas on race and that is to remove the economic system which nurtures these false concepts. It is only under socialism that the barbaric ideas of racial superiority will begin to die because under socialism the conditions of material life will suffocate these thoughts until they are finally thrown on to the rubbish heap of history.

If one approaches this vital problem from a correct historic standpoint a great deal of confusion about the emotion-packed problem of race falls away. One sees it as a relation between what Marx calls the 'basis' and the 'superstructure'.

The 'basis' is the objective interests and economic necessities of life which a group acquires as a result of the existence of a given social system with given relations of production and distribution. The 'superstructure' is then built up on this 'basis' and consists of the development of a special set of ideas and institutions including religion, art, philosophy, politics and organisations to preserve the system and to propagate and develop these ideas. The basic institution is the State, which in the last resort imposes ideas favourable to the ruling class by force. (The precise role of the State will be dealt with in a future article.)

Once the 'basis' is altered the old aims, outlooks and beliefs cannot

in the long run survive because they no longer answer the needs and interests of the new relations of production.

Indeed the dramatic advances in the field of the abolition of racial and national oppression in socialist countries like the Soviet Union and China, have in real life proved the correctness of the Marxist thesis. Russia before the revolution was known universally as a prison house of nations. Today, the real equality of all racial groups is undisputed.

Are the Russians more moral people? Yes and no.

Yes, if one means to convey that the new 'basis' of socialism has laid the foundation for a higher morality in all fields including the question of the abolition of race discrimination. No, if one means to convey that there is something inherently superior in the Russian character which makes it less susceptible to ideas of race conflict.

Whenever you find a conflict of ideas or different standards of political or social morality, the explanation is usually found in something more basic than mere intellectual differences of opinion.

An approach which starts off with the idea as a thing in itself; as the mystical starting point, is usually fraught with so much confusion that it is of little value in our endeavours to tackle the problems of real life.

We know, for example, that the whites in South Africa, faced with the danger (for them) of true democracy are tending to overlook some of their differences and are all creeping into their backward laager. But we also know that for a long time there have been differences amongst the whites on the best methods of maintaining white supremacy.

These differences have been the subject of many learned tracts by professors and journalists. Sometimes they are related to inborn variations of the character of the Afrikaner as compared to the Englishman. At other times rural as opposed to urban origin has been the attempted explanation. Of course, the history of a group and its tradition often give a particular stamp to the precise form in which an institution develops. But we must not confuse form with substance. To really grasp the essence of the more 'liberal' approach of the secondary industrialist towards the question of pass laws and even wages and skilled jobs, one must look to the different positions occupied by the secondary industrialist in the productive machine as compared to the rich farmer.

The rich farmer relies on forced labour which the pass laws divert to his lands, whereas the secondary industrialist has, like most big urban capitalists (except the mines which operate on a different level altogether) an interest in easing the flow of labour reserves from one part of the country to another.

Thus again it is not a question of superior morality but the idea related to basic economic interests.

It is vital to grasp this approach, not only because it is important to understand which are the most revolutionary groups in our society which make for fundamental change, but also to be able to make use of the differences which may, even temporarily, appear in the ranks of the enemy.

What of the future? If our analysis is correct, then the approach based on a grasp of materialism as opposed to idealism in philosophy, gives us some pointer to the real possibilities of the future. Those who would have us look at racialism as an inborn diseased idea which is unrelated to its economic base see the future in terms of an inevitable local and even world conflict between the white and non-white races. This approach has nothing in common with scientific thinking and, whether it comes from the ranks of the enemy or from a few misguided individuals who claim to be in the camp of the forces of national liberation, it must be fought.

From a long term point of view the achievement of national liberation and socialism will lay the basis for a final smashing of backward racial ideas and for the creation of one South Africa working for the good of all.

As stated in the programme of the South African Communist Party, *The Road to South African Freedom*:

The system of colonial domination over and robbery of the non-white masses is not in the genuine, long-term interest of the workers, small farmers, middle-class and professional elements who make up the bulk of the white population. White domination means more and more police and military expenditure to burden the taxpayer and divert men and resources from useful production. It means that the poverty-stricken masses are unable to form an adequate market for South African industry and agriculture. It means more and more dictatorial police-state measures, the extinguishing of civil liberties for whites as well as non-whites. It means a South Africa despised and shunned by the whole world, subjected to economic, diplomatic, cultural and other forms of isolation, boycott and sanctions. It means a future of uncertainty and fear. The maintenance of white supremacy involves ever-increasing repression and violence by the government, resistance by the oppressed people and the steady drift to civil war. Only the complete emancipation of the non-white peoples can create conditions of equality and friendship among the nationalities of South Africa and eliminate the roots of race hatred and antagonism which are the greatest threat to the continued security and existence of the white population itself. The national liberation of the non-whites which will break the power of monopoly capitalism is thus in the deepest long-term interest of the bulk of the whites. Progressive and far-seeing whites ally themselves unconditionally with the struggle of the masses of the people for freedom and equality.

MECHANICAL MATERIALISM

As is the case with all general systems of thought and, in particular,

those which have an important bearing on man's social development, we must continuously be on our guard against a dogmatic, mechanical and over-simplified application of general propositions.

Big historical changes in society do not originate from changes in men's ideas; they spring from the practical needs and problems of man's social, and above all, his economic life. It is precisely these needs and problems that bring about changes in men's thinking and ideas. But that does not mean that the ideas of every society and group accurately reflect its real economic and other interests. Nor does it mean that ideas play no part whatever in the bringing about of social change and revolution. People who believe these things are not Marxists, they are vulgar or mechanical materialists. Everyday experience proves they are wrong.

For example, in many parts of Africa which have long passed the period of tribalism, we find tribal ideas and customs persisting. Although many of these ideas and customs are no longer useful—indeed they may actually be harmful to our cause of a united, modern and progressive Africa—people cling to them because they once played a useful and essential part in the past. Old prejudices, superstitions and errors die hard, it is only by conscious education of the most advanced sections and by being tested in the fire of experience by the masses, that the old ways of thought can be overcome. We shall make a great mistake if we imagine that automatically, overnight, the day after independence, Africans will cast off the wrong ideas of subservience which colonialism has inculcated, or the individualistic, money-grabbing, self-seeking code of conduct which capitalist development cultivates. These wrong ideas, harmful to African freedom and socialism, must be consciously and tenaciously opposed by our freedom-fighters and socialists. Even today in the Soviet Union, after nearly a half-century of workers' rule, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union still fights a hard daily battle to overcome the relics of centuries of capitalist and pre-capitalist Russian history, and to mould by education the new socialist man imbued with socialist ideas, the builder of communism.

As we all know, from our own experience, ideas do play a powerful and indispensable part in the process of historic change. During the French and other democratic revolutions in Europe long ago, the ideas of 'liberty, equality, fraternity' seized the minds and the imaginations of men; they fought and died for them, and overthrew the old feudal tyrannies. And today the ideas of African independence, unity, freedom, are a powerful and necessary factor in our great continent-wide revolution. However, these ideas are only powerful and valid because they answer the real needs of our people in the circumstances

of today, because they are understood by the masses, because they are capable of being put into practice, now. There is no force so powerful as an idea which meets these requirements, an idea, 'whose time has come'. But to put forward an idea, even a good idea, in a context where it is irrelevant to the practical needs of the people, means it will not become a valid historical force.

For example, Communism is a great and wonderful idea, the noblest vision of man's future, and the road of the future for all mankind. It would be a poor Communist, however, lacking in deep understanding of Marxism-Leninism, who would attempt to advance 'the building of Communism' as an immediate plan in a society where the basic requirements for this task were lacking, and where the energies and thoughts of the masses were absorbed by quite different, though historically progressive tasks. Imagine a poor, undeveloped country, a prey to colonialism and neo-colonialism, with little or no industries, where the landless peasants were starving, the people crying out for land, food, education, democratic rights. Anyone who started a movement in such a country concentrating on preaching abstract socialism or communism, and neglecting the vital needs of the people for unity in the national liberation fight, would not be acting as a Marxist-Leninist, nor would he be successful. Instead of an important movement, helping the people forward, he would be starting a sect. Instead of helping the cause of Communism, he would discredit it by giving the people a false idea of what Communism, Marxism-Leninism, stands for.

Marxist materialism differs from mechanical materialism because it takes into account all the factors of a given phenomenon, including the role of ideas in social development. And ideas, it should be noted, are themselves the product of matter—the human brain.

Marxism also adds another important element, the study of the process of change—a dialectical process of inner conflict and contradiction. We shall turn our attention to the dialectical process in our next discussion.

BOOK REVIEW

VERWOERD'S RULE IN S.W. AFRICA

Idris Cox

SOUTH WEST AFRICA · Ruth First
Penguin African Library 5s.

ONE IS ACCUSTOMED in recent years to the increasing output of new books on the African continent, and on individual African countries. Many of them have put the spotlight on apartheid rule in South Africa, but few of them have given adequate attention to South-West Africa. This was formerly a German colony which became a League of Nations 'mandate' territory under South African administration after the first world war, and a Trust Territory of the United Nations after the second world war, also to be administered by South Africa.

This scarcely disguised colony of South Africa is the subject of a recent book by Ruth First, a brilliant writer and journalist, who herself has long been active in the freedom struggle against apartheid rule in South Africa, and was banned and kept in solitary confinement for more than three months without charge since she wrote this book.

Few authors have such a magnificent grasp of their subject, or are so capable of expressing their thoughts. Moreover, the book itself is the outcome of an extended visit in South-West Africa, made possible by the exercise of considerable skill in face of close and persistent police supervision, and the whole-hearted co-operation of its inhabitants who recognised the author as one who would tell the truth to the whole world.

It is a powerful indictment of a vicious police state system which is

many respects is even worse than that of South Africa itself. This has arisen partly from the legacy of former German colonial rule, the open enticement of Boer settlers after it became a 'mandated' territory, and the later development of trade unions and the liberation movement—compared with South Africa itself.

Nothing was easy for the author, except the friendliness of ordinary Africans. She describes how interviews were conducted on street corners, in motor-cars, under a tree, and in crowded shops. Some had to be cancelled, for it was most unusual for a white woman to have friendly talks with Africans. But what she was unable to gather on the spot Ruth First more than made up for by the most intensive study and research of earlier works on South-West Africa and of the available documents and reports.

Vast Area

South-West Africa is two-thirds the size of South Africa itself, bigger than France and Britain put together, and with only 520,000 population (4 per cent of South Africa) it is the most sparsely populated territory in Africa south of the Sahara. Africans number 428,000, six times the White population of 73,000, of whom nearly one-fourth are Germans. Among these there was a growth of Nazi ideas from 1932 onwards, and many of them became Nazi soldiers and pilots in the second world war.

Much as in South Africa, two-thirds of the land is for the exclusive use of the Whites, only one-seventh of the total population. About 6,000 farmers out of the total White population of 73,000 occupy and farm 40 million hectares of land. Nearly half the African population (170,000) are confined to a closely-guarded 'Police Zone' of less than one-seventh the White farm land. Outside the 'Police Zone' there are 260,000 Africans living on 16 million acres.

Poverty and Huge Profits

Within the 'Police Zone' Africans must have passes for travel, work, residence, and for almost every facet of human existence. Employment depends mainly on contract labour (one or two years) and the daily wage in mines varied in 1962 from 1s. 9d. to 2s. 3d., and on farms from 1s. 0d. to 2s. 6d.

For the year 1958-59 the average cost per child in White schools (excluding hostel expenses) was £42 19s. 0d., for an African child within the 'Police Zone' £13 19s. 4d., and outside the 'Police Zone' £1 16s. 2d. Total expenditure on education that year for White children was £1,121,585 (12,740 of them) and for African children (numbering over

32,000) it was less than £200,000—about one-sixth of that allocated for a far smaller number of White children.

In striking contrast to the African mass poverty and the small pittance allocated for the education of African children are the gigantic profits made by the big overseas monopoly firms. Most of these are not exclusively confined to South-West Africa, but also have widespread interests in South Africa and elsewhere in the continent, as well as other parts of the world.

They include the Consolidated Goldfields of South Africa, South African Minerals Corporation, and the Selection Trust, which also has vast interests in the Rhodesias, West Africa, and in the United States. Linked with the latter is the American Metal Climax which controls mining, metallurgical, oil, and gas industries through its subsidiary companies. There is also the Tsumeb Corporation, which is a giant complex of American mining companies, and Tsumeb Mines is its registered company in South-West Africa.

One example of the huge profits will suffice. In 1961 the Consolidated Diamond Mines (part of the giant Anglo-American gold, copper and diamond empire of De Beers) made £15,553,197 in profits, nearly twice the total £8,079,710 budget for South-West Africa that year!

White Minority Rule

In the whole of South-West Africa there are only 30,000 voters (less than one English constituency) and all of them are White. All decisive matters are under the control and authority of the South African Government, and the South-West African Assembly at Windhoek (the capital) is left to handle education, health, public works, agriculture, and mining. It has recently been given powers to deal with 'Native' or 'Bantu' affairs, and is now engaged in creating a segregated 'Bantustan' on similar lines to that of South Africa.

Not only is the eighteen-member Legislative Assembly confined to Whites, but it is Whites only who occupy the key positions in the civil service. Outside the towns and the big villages the classic British method of 'indirect rule' is applied by choosing traditional Chiefs or Headmen to run local affairs.

A World Challenge

This then, is the United Nations 'trust territory' for which South Africa was appointed the 'guardian'. The growing opposition to exploitation and apartheid rule began to express itself over a decade ago—though there were numerous rebellions against pre-1914 German rule and since, particularly by the Herero people.

In the early 1950's trade unions came into being, and in 1954 was

formed the South-West African National Union (SWANU) led by Jariretendu Kozonguizi, as well as the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) led by Mburumba Kerina. Though there are differences between the two organizations the pressure of the growing tense struggle for the liberation of South-West Africa has brought them closer together, and now there is more to unite than there is to divide them.

Just as the liberation movement in South Africa (among other forms of activity) exercised its pressure to influence the United Nations to condemn apartheid rule, so have the Herero and Nama Chiefs and the liberation movements in South-West Africa made the fullest use of their opportunities. In 1946 there was only one solitary petition to the United Nations, but in 1960 there were no less than 120 of them.

However, experience has proved that even majority or unanimous condemnations of apartheid rule by the United Nations are not sufficient; and this is also the experience of South-West Africa. Even more, Verwoerd has either done his utmost to prevent U.N. Commissions of Inquiry reaching South-West Africa, or cleverly distorted the findings of the two-man U.N. Commission of Inquiry which was allowed on a ten-day restricted visit to South-West Africa in the early summer of 1962.

The obvious failure of the United Nations to take decisive action explains why there is growing impatience among South-West African liberation leaders. Ruth First correctly points out that 'an awareness is spreading among Africans that the United Nations will act only for those who first act themselves'. The first necessity is for closer relations between the liberation movements in South Africa and South-West Africa, for 'the struggle for rights and independence of the two peoples must be joined, the sooner the better'.

It's a crucial issue not only for the people of these two territories, or even for the African continent on its own. The situation in South Africa and in South-West Africa is a challenge to the whole world. The outstanding merit of this book by so brilliant an author is that an unanswerable case has been made for international action.



MORE ON AFRICAN SOCIALISM

THE THEME OF AFRICAN SOCIALISM continues to engage the attention of readers who have written from various parts of the world to comment on the article by Terence Africanus in our September 1963 issue. Mr. Si Whiza, a student from the Republic of Uganda now in the Ukrainian Republic, writes:

‘Whilst it is our major aim as African freedom fighters to uphold African unity, that very unity is a fake and dangerously works against us if it is built on sandy ground. This was the orientation I got after reading Comrade Terence Africanus’ view on scientific socialism, as opposed to many opportunistic socialisms as presented by men like Mr. Tom Mboya.

‘The workers and peasants of our continent have suffered for centuries under the yoke of exploitation by colonialists. In the recently-emerged free African states, exploitation has not been destroyed although the colonialists no longer have political power in these countries. What has happened is that the exploiters have changed in colour, from white to black. A national bourgeoisie has cropped up in almost every country. Private ownership of the means of production is still in vogue in all countries in Africa. Private ownership of the means of production will never relieve the pain and drawbacks of centuries of exploitation.

'It is therefore indispensable in our beloved country to have such a guide, such a watchdog, such scientific views as propounded by the *African Communist*. It is necessary to have such great sons as Terence Africanus who won't be cowed from speaking out and speaking out only the truth. Shoulder-patting will never take our continent a step forward. Africa is very thirsty for such men and will wipe out bourgeois and petty-bourgeois opportunism and empty poetic phrasemongering and other verbiage of politicians who are in parliaments only to swell their bellies at the expense of the sweat and blood of the workers and peasants of our continent. The opposition to scientific Marxism-Leninism and the preaching of 'another socialism' is nothing but reactionary revisionism.

'In addition to the correct theory as propounded by Marx, Engels and Lenin, Africa needs courageous and bold men who have the honesty (despite the anti-Communist witch hunt) to lift ever higher the banner of Marxism-Leninism. And this, not for themselves, and not for a national bourgeoisie of Africa, but for the peoples of Africa.

'The workers and peasants of Africa are suffering today because such a journal as the *African Communist* did not appear in the past decade, otherwise many who are in parliaments and supporters of a national bourgeoisie would have known the right path. True representation of the toiling masses can only be achieved in a workers' and peasants' state.

'Long live the South African Communist Party!

'Long live the *African Communist*.

'*African Communist*, I am with you. The whole world is with you, brothers. Let not fascism eat away your spirits. It won't be long. The waves will wash away only those who hesitate.'

Another correspondent **African Reader**, Bombay, who says 'Your periodical has done much to help crystallize my ideas on Africa; I wish your journal well!' also submits a contribution on the same theme. He writes:

'I wish to commend Terence Africanus for the remarkable exposition on African Socialism, and for having exposed the hollowness of Mr. Mboya's bogus interpretation of this very important concept. (Refer: *African Communist* July-September issue). To set the record straight, however, one or two things could still receive equally strong repudiation.

'The first concerns Mr. Mboya's harping on the idea of 'originality'. Not only have our people the right to draw lessons from human experience throughout the ages and from all over the world, but it is

the only correct way open to them. After all, the problems of underdevelopment and the workers, have been essentially the same throughout human history. Moreover, I must say that we are particularly lucky that at this time of our history we are able to see the results of human efforts under both the socialist and capitalist systems. From these results (both immediate and potential) we should be able to draw correct conclusions as to which is the better system of the two, and hence should adopt the methods of the better one to our peculiar African conditions. In this connection, the great victories that have been scored by the U.S.S.R. confound even her bitterest opponents! In any case, I wish Mr. Mboya could be more original than he is trying to make us believe. We clearly remember his opposition to the formation of the All-African Federation of Trade Unions, when the idea was first mooted by that great son of the soil, Dr. K. Nkrumah in 1958. I wonder how much originality there was in his opposition. We know fully well whose tune he was singing!

'The second point is in connection with the so-called "Mixed Economy". There are quite a number of people of Mboya's thinking (especially a lot of Ministers in East Africa) who sometimes interpret African Socialism as another type of "Mixed Economy". I suppose that is what he implied in his ambivalent policy of having "state control" on the one hand, and the training of local entrepreneurs (of which he himself is one, possessing bars, stores, etc.) on the other. Hence, his allusions to India's "Socialist Pattern of Society".

'This bogus and ambiguous idea of mixed economy must be fought to the very end. If there is any party that brings about Disraeli's "two-Nations", it is this one. Instead of people in the state pooling their resources together for the welfare of the country as a whole, you find one part in a cut-throat competition against the other. The result is the virtual conversion of the international bipolar politics to the national level and all that it entails.

'Another feature of mixed economy has been the repeated cries by our Ministers begging the foreign merchants to stay in Africa. I wonder what positive contribution merchants can play in our developing economy. If it is already too bad to have retail trade in the hands of individuals, how much worse when these individuals are foreigners!

'What we need therefore are progressive and homogeneous economic and political policies. The existing capitalists must be liquidated and we should create conditions on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, under which no capitalist shall ever appear.

'Long live true African Socialism!'

A NIGERIAN ON BROTHERHOOD

A Nigerian reader, Alhaji Muhammed Yakasai, who is secretary of the Pan-African Youth Movement in Kano, writes as follows:

'Going through the political, economic and social field of Nigeria, I feel ashamed at our peoples' misunderstanding of the word "brotherhood". No country in the world consists of one tribe, nation or language. Therefore such questions should not have appeared in the building of a new Nigeria. Nigerians should know by now that socialism is our only hope in the new Africa. It is the only way out of that feudal capitalism which has pushed us into hunger, poverty and disease, although Nigeria is a fairly prosperous country by African standards. I appeal to the Nigerian youth, the leaders of tomorrow, to put scientific socialism into practice, so that we may enjoy a better life through national co-operation. We shall have to struggle hard against imperialism, colonialism, as well as feudalism and tribalism encouraged by the arrogant colonialists. I am sure there will be a socialist and communist Nigeria in the future, I am sure that all the youth of our movement and other societies will back what I say. Long live the *African Communist*! Long live militant struggle! Keep the flag flying!

From Johannesburg in the heart of fascist South Africa, a heart-warming letter has reached us from a reader, renewing his subscription to our journal as 'one of the most advanced publications to have appeared in Africa.'

'The *African Communist* is today playing an important role in oppressed South Africa, where all the advanced papers of our liberatory movement have been banned and suppressed by the Nazi Vorster and Verwoerd Government. They not only ban our progressive papers and periodicals but persecute the democratic leaders of the people. Leaders like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and many others were banned and are today facing charges of sabotage because they raised their voices against the injustice and tyranny of the white minority government in this country. We in South Africa will rally to the call of the editorial board of the *African Communist*: "Stand by our Leaders!" I am very proud indeed of the part being played by the South African Communist Party together with the national liberatory movement for a free and socialist South Africa for all its people, whether they be black or white.

'Carry on the good work of your Party and the *African Communist*. May your advanced periodical keep the torch of freedom burning! Yours in the freedom struggle.'

Another African student in Europe also refers to the 'Stand by our Leaders' appeal. In a message 'to the peoples of South Africa,' he

writes 'It is very moving to learn once more of the fascist activities of the Verwoerd Government and the arrest of South African revolutionaries. I promise to do the best I can to work for their release.'

FROM MANY PARTS

We continue to receive, addressed to our London agent, most heartening and encouraging letters from many parts of the world.

From **Northern Rhodesia** (soon to be Zambia!) a reader writes: 'The contents of the magazine are educating, encouraging and extremely useful. Already in this town we have formed a Marxist-Leninist discussion group. This group is devoted to the study and analysis of the problems and conditions of this country of ours in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory. The group has twenty-five members at present, but we hope many more will join us soon.

'The greatest need at present is to get for our library as much of progressive literature as possible: Books, journals and all that helps develop revolutionary thinking. So, we are appealing to all well-wishers who wish to contribute to the progress of this group, to donate any book or journal which would help us in our study of Marxist-Leninist theory. Comrades, we need your help. We do not want to fail and your encouragement is very necessary to us.

'May the *African Communist* ever remain a living tool of enlightenment in the difficult years ahead of Mother Africa. With fraternal greetings.'

Readers who would like to contribute literature to the library of this young discussion group may send them, marked for the purpose, to our London Agent.

Mr. Aiji Salihu Abdullahi, General Secretary of the Northern Youth Movement in Nigeria, writes: 'I found the *African Communist* very interesting and useful. I highly appreciate your attitude and your struggle against imperialism and colonialism.'

An African student from **South Africa**, now living in the United States, writes:

'Speaking as a South African, I must say I am very much impressed with your magazine and its political philosophy. I do sincerely hope that the Communist Party will succeed where other parties have failed, that is, make the liberatory struggle intelligible to the masses by stressing the great role of the workers in achieving a socialist society. As V. I. Lenin puts it in his book *What is to be Done?*:

'*We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path,*

firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and we have to advance under their almost constant fire. We have combined voluntarily, precisely for the purpose of fighting the enemy, and not to retreat into the adjacent marsh. . . .

'May the Marxist-Leninist doctrine ever flourish!'

The well-known Australian novelist, Dorothy Hewitt, has written a poem *Verwoerd, Verwoerd, They Cry*, which is printed elsewhere in this issue. She informs us that a group of young folk singers in Sydney has put these words to music and are singing it with great success in that city. She adds: 'May I offer you my sincerest admiration for the courageous work you are carrying on for the freedom of your country. If, as a writer and a human being, I can be of any assistance to your cause I will do my best.'

A reader in Wales, writes: 'The more I read this magazine the better it becomes. Some of the articles are really magnificent, and you can rest assured that I shall do my best to increase the sales of this wonderful magazine.'

We want, once again, to thank all those readers who have taken the trouble to write to our journal, including those whose letters we have not had enough space to print. Please keep on writing. Your letters encourage us tremendously and help us to keep in touch with you and to show us which type of articles are most read and wanted. We do not publish the names of our correspondents unless they ask us to do so. So if you are writing, please mention whether or not you would like your name to be printed in *What Our Readers Write*.

Some of our readers, and we are afraid even some of our agents, do not seem to appreciate that this journal is published by an illegal organization of workers and peasants which is under heavy fire by the fascist Verwoerd Government. They like to read and sell the *African Communist*—but they do not send in the money for their subscriptions or the copies they receive for sale. Friends, do not eat the pennies of your brothers, the oppressed workers and peasants of South Africa, whose subscriptions keep our Party and our journal going!

If you cannot afford a year's subscription of the *African Communist*, or would like to see that more people in your town have a chance to read it, why not ask your local bookseller to order copies for sale in the place where you live?

As we look back into the history of our country we cannot escape the fact that Kenya has long been the victim of foreign domination.

For too long have we had no say in planning our lives or in deciding our destiny. For much too long have we suffered the inequities imposed on us by foreign rulers whose interests were to exploit us for their own benefit.

Now in consequence of a great political revolution by the people of Kenya under the bold leadership of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, we have become the masters of our destiny.

Mr. President, for over sixty years Kenya, as is well known, has been under the oppressive yoke of imperialism and colonialism. During this period our people have been subjected to untold indignities at the hands of colonialists and imperialists.

Our great leader, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and his brave colleagues, were arrested, imprisoned, detained and restricted for no other reason than their insistence that Kenya shall be free.

This is no place to relate the sickening brutalities, intimidation and blackmail which marked the seven years of terror against our people. Our Prime Minister has been the first to call upon our people to forget the past and, in the spirit of Harambee—'work unitedly'—to strive for the realization of a new Kenya based on democracy and justice for the masses.

In undertaking the task of national reconstruction, we shall remain unswervingly loyal to the Charter of the United Nations, respect the fundamental human rights, and recognize the equality of all races and all nations, big or small.

Kenya is determined to support all attempts at solving international disputes by peaceful means as through negotiation, conciliation and arbitration.

We wish to reiterate that Kenya shall pursue a policy of non-alignment and positive neutrality.

By this we mean that while steering clear of all power blocs and judging each issue on its merits, we do not intend to remain neutral or passive on issues which are manifestly wrong and unjust.

For instance, Kenya shall never be neutral on colonialism and imperialism. Kenya firmly believes that some of the major causes of international conflicts are the existence of colonialism, neo-colonialism, and racialism.

Our neutrality should not be construed as indifference and passivity to world problems, nor shall we adopt the role of seeking points of compromise between two sides without relating such compromises to the basic principle of justice.

DEFIANCE OF U.N.

During the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the General Assembly solemnly proclaimed the necessity of putting an end to colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. Despite this resolution, imperialism has not loosened its grip over its colonies except where it has been forced to do so.

A good part of North and West Africa is now free. Freedom has also dawned over East Africa. But in Central Africa, and parts of Asia and Latin America, imperialism, the arch enemy of humanity, is digging itself in for the last battle.

To annihilate this entrenched enemy of humanity, we need every ounce of our united strength in Africa and all the help of every anti-imperialist ally.

Kenya, because of its geographical position and by virtue of being an independent country, will render all possible assistance, moral and material, to the people struggling for their freedom and national independence.

Mr. President, it is over eighteen years since the UNO was formed. During this period a large number of resolutions have been passed condemning the Governments of South Africa and Portugal for their inhuman policies against the African people, but these resolutions appear to have had little effect in preventing the persecution against the African people of these territories.

On the contrary, the Governments of South Africa and Portugal appear to have developed a chronic contempt for the resolutions passed by this great organization, and have proceeded to indulge in crimes of mounting intensity against our brothers in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea.

How is it that a little backward, impoverished dictatorship like Portugal can flaunt the resolutions of this great organization? What is it that gives strength to the fascist Government of South Africa to challenge with impunity the almost universal censure directed against its policies through the representatives of Governments belonging to this body?

Mr. President, before answering these questions, I should like to reiterate the deep intensity of feeling prevailing in all African states, which found eloquent expression at the historic Addis Ababa Conference of Heads of Independent African States, on the continued persecution of our brothers in South Africa and in the Portuguese colonies.

This feeling is fully shared by our Government, and it is our view that the policies of the Governments of South Africa and Portugal constitute one of the major potential causes of world unrest.

NATO SUPPORT

Mr. President, it is obvious to us that Portugal and South Africa are pursuing their present policies in the belief that this organization is incapable of implementing its resolutions effectively.

Portugal undoubtedly derives comfort from the fact that it is associated with NATO and, in fact, has not hesitated to use armaments derived from NATO to launch a barbarous war against African liberation movements.

The Saracen tanks employed against the inhabitants of Sharpeville were not manufactured in South Africa.

Both these Governments derive satisfaction from the existence of huge foreign investments in their respective countries and in the belief that the owners of these foreign investments will bring the requisite pressure to bear on their Governments to frustrate the implementation of effective sanctions passed by this body.

Mr. President, in these circumstances, can we be blamed for regarding these countries which, while professing adherence to Christianity and democratic principles, supply arms and ammunition to South Africa and Portugal and promote economic and trade relations with them, as accomplices in the crimes perpetrated against our people in these territories?

Mr. President, it sometimes appears to the ordinary people of Africa that increased sophistication and higher civilization tends to blur our sense of realities. Our Government actively supports all the measures adopted by the United Nations to promote everlasting peace.

Nor are we oblivious of the plight of our brothers in Southern Rhodesia where the U.K. seems to be on the point of transferring power to an unrepresentative, reactionary, racial minority.

The government of Kenya will take a very serious view of any attempt to transfer power to the European minority government in Southern Rhodesia.

Despite its protestations to the contrary, the Southern Rhodesian Government is following policies similar to those followed further south, and the British Government would be well advised to consider deeply the repercussions that will follow any attempt to differentiate between Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia with respect to the immediate goal of a democratically elected Government based on universal franchise.

The existence of a few thousand extra Europeans in Southern Rhodesia does not mean that the irrevocable processes of democracy should be changed to suit their convenience.

The Government of Kenya endorses the resolutions and views ex-

pressed on this issue by other African and peace-loving nations represented in this organization, and will provide the African nationalists all possible assistance in their just struggle for justice, democracy and independence.

We are honoured and grateful that Kenya, a newly independent nation of eight million people, should be afforded the opportunity of contributing towards the great aims and objects of this organization which represents mankind's only hope for survival and orderly progress.

But, we ask, can this assembly of independent nations successfully promote world peace and world prosperity when it denies admission to the representative of a nation responsible for the destiny of 700 million human beings, or one-fifth of the total population of the world?

Is it reasonable to accord recognition to the rulers of Taiwan as the representative of these 700 million people when we know for a fact that it is the People's Republic of China that constitutes the legal and de facto Government of that country?

The Government of Kenya associates itself with the desire of all those nations which are anxious to see the proper Government of China take its rightful place in this organization, so that the People's Republic of China can play its part in promoting peace and the welfare of humanity.

In particular, I appeal to the Government of the U.S.A. to abandon its policy of denying representation to the People's Republic of China in the interests of world peace.

The policy of peaceful coexistence which our Government fully supports implies the need for countries with different social systems, or with competing claims, to discard the atom bomb and the machine gun in favour of negotiations and arbitration.

How can we achieve the latter course when we seek to deny the existence of the People's Republic of China?

WAR DANGER

Mr. President, the Government of Kenya will do its utmost to promote the solution of disputes by peaceful means.

We realize that war in the nuclear era can well result in the destruction of the human race, and it will be our constant endeavour to avert such a catastrophe.

However, as experience has shown, it is not enough to desire peace alone.

How often have we been on the brink of war? How often has it been said that a miscalculation of this or that leader might have plunged this planet of ours in a catastrophe from which insects will arise as masters of all they survey.

Such a catastrophe would engulf everyone of us and destroy the civilization which has been painstakingly created by the combined efforts of the peoples of this planet for tens of thousands of years.

If the leaders of mankind assembled in this Organization through their representatives are at times oblivious of or even indifferent to the thousands of reasons which are advanced in favour of international peace, then let the ugly prospect of the dreadful consequences which would follow the Third World War impel them to the realization that positive measures and positive thinking aimed at removing the causes of war can effectively prevent such a catastrophe.

The cause of world peace is not strengthened by condoning the racial and colonial policies of South Africa and Portugal, and by member states refusing to adopt positive economic sanctions which are the only peaceful means available to world opinion to force a change in the policies of these Governments.

Perhaps, the greatest menace to world peace stems from the suicidal policy followed by some countries of building up larger and larger weapons of mass destruction, and spending astronomical sums of money for the purpose of stockpiling tens of thousands of tons of nuclear and conventional weapons.

The problems posed by disarmament have rightly exercised the minds of all the statesmen of the world. Among the many issues which are involved in considering this problem two aspects stand out prominently: firstly, the fact that increased expenditure on armaments increases the possibility of war and, in certain countries, creates a powerful group who appear to have a vested interest in promoting world tension as a means of increasing their profits; and secondly, the insensate wastage of human and economic resources which can be better applied in raising the low standards of living of the majority of human beings instead of constituting the means of self-annihilation.

Mr. President, it would be a truism for me to conclude that the possibility of progress for all mankind would increase if the mad rush towards rearmament could be stopped, and if the vast energies and resources in this sphere were directed towards serving the realms of human progress.

Against the background of the present technological and scientific achievements of man, and the need to bridge the yawning chasm which separates the 'have' and 'have-not' nations, the question of complete and general disarmament becomes most pressing and imperative.

If I may be permitted to quote a few figures: it will be seen that in 1961 the U.S.A. was spending an estimated \$47,966 million per year on defence and armaments alone.

In the same year the United Kingdom spent an estimated £1,670 million on defence.

The U.S.S.R. was estimated to be spending equally large sums on her defence programme, which in 1960 amounted to 745,800 million roubles.

When you compare these huge amounts spent on armaments with Kenya's total annual budget of approximately £35 million you will understand why we consider the armament race so dangerous and wasteful.

Mr. President, as stated by our Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta, we welcome the efforts of the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. which led to the banning of nuclear tests in space, in the atmosphere and under water as a positive step towards the goal of general disarmament.

It is our sincere hope that the big powers will continue in their efforts to reach agreements on specific and general issues in an effort to reach total disarmament.

FOREIGN BASES

The Government of Kenya is of the opinion that one of the major factors contributing towards increasing world tension is the existence of foreign military bases.

Experience has shown that the establishment of foreign military bases in Asia, Africa, Latin America and even Europe is a source of constant friction, not only among the big powers, but also among the peoples of the country in which the bases are located.

These foreign military bases constitute a cancer within the body politic of the country in which they are situated, undermining democracy, fostering corruption and nepotism, and eventually transforming the rulers into puppets and stooges of the foreign power.

Like some of the huge armament manufacturers these puppet regimes soon acquire a vested interest in promoting world tension, often to the embarrassment of the big power that is operating the military base.

In Africa, Asia and Latin America these foreign military bases have been used to suppress national liberation movements, and to stifle the aspirations of the masses in newly independent countries.

Mr. President, it is said that truth is bitter and what I have said is not intended as strictures against those governments who have military bases in foreign countries.

There is already a lot of heart-searching going on among the leaders of such countries who are questioning the use of these bases, especially

as foreign military bases invariably evoke hostility and ill-will from the masses.

It is unfortunate that some countries equate the establishment of military bases with the provision of foreign aid, and when they discover that the establishment of these bases has produced hostility and illwill from the masses, the Big Power then proceeds to indulge in an 'agonizing reappraisal' of genuine foreign aid projects. It is our sincere hope that saner counsels will prevail.

Former colonial powers have been particularly anxious to ensure the continued retention of their troops in newly independent countries, and have not scrupled to resort to intimidation and economic blackmail in order to secure this objective.

Their economic stranglehold over their former colony, coupled with the existence of their military presence enables them to continue the political domination and economic exploitation which characterized their rule in the past.

Neo-colonialism has come to be recognized as the greatest danger facing newly independent countries, and it will be the policy of the Government of Kenya to be ever watchful of those powers who seek to influence our country with the ultimate objective of enslaving our people under a different guise.

Mr. President, many of us in Africa are concerned with what appears to be the second scramble for Africa.

This time our countries will not be subject to military invasions from countries outside our continent. The objective is to incite African to fight African.

It was primarily to deal with this threat that the historic Addis Ababa Conference was held in May this year.

AFRICAN UNITY

The Charter signed by thirty-two Heads of Independent African States bears eloquent testimony to the consciousness of African leaders of the problems facing the continent and their determination not to allow their countries to become pawns in the cold war, or to consider themselves free until the last vestiges of colonialism and racialism have been swept out of the continent.

The desire for unity animated the hearts of all African leaders attending the Conference and, as you are aware, the Prime Minister of Kenya, in conjunction with the Prime Minister of Uganda and the President of Tanganyika, have given concrete expression to this deep yearning for unity by committing their respective countries to the formation of an East African Federation.

Already our countries are linked by a common market, a common

currency, a common communications system, a common financial policy and it is only natural that the three countries which for the last sixty years were separated by artificial boundaries should reunite, now that the Colonial Government which arbitrarily divided our countries has departed.

It is not merely the need to develop our countries as an economic unit or the desire to reunite tribes arbitrarily divided by the former colonial power which impels us towards greater unity.

The political philosophies of the three ruling parties, namely, K.A.N.U., T.A.N.U. and U.P.C., are identical and it is for this reason that, when the time comes, we shall gladly surrender our territorial sovereignty for the good of East Africa as a whole and in furtherance of the noble objectives outlined at the Addis Ababa Conference of Heads of African States.

Mr. President, a major task facing our Government centres around the problem of decolonization.

The political emancipation of Kenya is no more than a prelude to the mobilization of our energies and resources aimed at freeing our people from hunger, sickness and ignorance.

Decolonization implies the elimination of all those evils that are the product of colonialism. Some of these evils spring from the colonial policy of suppressing the human values inherent in our traditional society.

Colonialism attempted the mental enslavement of our people, and it will be the policy of our government to reverse this process by adapting all that is valid for the twentieth century in our indigenous cultures and ensuring the development of the African personality.

Mr. President, it is not my intention to delve into the reasons for the lopsided character of our economy, as our colonial heritage will convey to you the fact that our economies were developed as appendages to those of the colonial power.

Furthermore, the existence of a powerful, privileged European settler community, with the exclusive right to own and farm 16,000 square miles of our land, has not made our task easier.

Our country was regarded as a source of raw materials for industrialized capitalist countries; the dumping ground for cheap manufactured goods; and the outlet for capital investments yielding high returns.

Furthermore, political domination went hand in hand with economic domination. Most of the industrial, commercial and distributive agencies are in the hands of non-Africans.

The reserved lands for Africans were transformed into reservoirs of cheap labour and for a long time Africans were denied the right to grow cash crops.

It is the aim of the Government of Kenya to bring about the economic emancipation of the African people. But it is essential that those advanced nations that intend to assist the under-developed countries should understand the problems we are facing.

Lack of understanding on these matters is reflected in the attitude of certain governments who are not prepared to canalize foreign aid through public corporations and co-operative societies in the mistaken belief that this is tantamount to the 'export of socialism.'

Such an attitude militates against the effective use of foreign aid in under-developed countries and only serves to increase the disparity in the standards of living between the 'haves' and 'have-nots'.

The Government of Kenya would welcome aid given to under-developed countries to possess an international character as such aid would not be suspected of serving the ends of the cold war or becoming the instrument of neo-colonialism. But as it appears that this ideal cannot be easily achieved, we shall be prepared to enter into bilateral trade agreements on condition that no political strings are attached.

Our government is of the view that the most urgent problem facing under-developed countries is not so much the provision of aid as the establishment of international machinery which would ensure (a) fair remuneration for our primary products, (b) the stabilization of prices for primary commodities and (c) readjustment of the terms of trade which are at the moment detrimental to countries with a predominantly agricultural economy.

The United Nations Organization and its specialized agencies would make a major contribution to the economies of under-developed countries if such machinery could be evolved with the support of the highly industrialized, capital-exporting countries.

THE SOCIALIST WAY

Mr. President, the Government of Kenya is dedicated towards the establishment of a Democratic African Socialist State.

In defining our objective, I could not do better than to quote what Dr. Julius Nyerere, the President of Tanganyika, had to say on this subject, and with which we are in full agreement.

'We aim,' he said, 'at building a classless society for one reason. In no state is there enough wealth to satisfy the desire of a single individual for power and prestige. Consequently, the moment wealth is divorced from its purpose—which is the banishment of poverty—there develops a ruthless competition between individuals

'Wealth becomes an instrument of domination, a means of humiliating other people. The very basis of socialism is the rejection of this use of wealth. And within socialist countries personal wealth is not,

and should not be, a symbol of power or prestige; it is used to banish poverty.

'This is what each of us is aiming at and working towards. Indeed an undeniable success of socialist teaching is that today social justice is an almost universally accepted objective.'

In the same vein, the Prime Minister of Kenya, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, in a message to the people of Kenya declared: 'We aim to build a country where men and women are motivated by a sense of service and not driven by a greedy desire for personal gain.'

Mr. President, the socialist way of life is not something new to Africa. It is inherent in our traditional customs, and the most important example lies in the communal ownership of land and the acceptance of basic principles of social security for all members of the family or clan.

We have not, Mr. President, merely struggled for our independence in order to supplant our masters so that we can adopt the same system of exploitation against our peoples.

Freedom in this context is meaningless as it would do nothing to lessen the burden of the exploited peasant or worker.

We appreciate the need for a period of transition so that people who hitherto enjoyed a privileged position have the opportunity to understand the new values which we wish to instil.

Our government, therefore, while most anxious to avail itself of help from the advanced nations of the world, is nevertheless not prepared to compromise at the expense of the ordinary masses who have borne the brunt of colonial exploitation.

Mr. President, the Government of Kenya recognizes the dangers to world peace arising from what are sometimes referred to as border problems.

Whatever the reason for such problems, our Government is firmly of the view that resort to violence merely aggravates and enlarges the problem and offers no solution whatever.

We welcome the solution of border problems by peaceful means and we are surprised that the United Nations has not as yet been able to devise more effective machinery to deal with disputes arising from claims and counter-claims from different countries.

The manner in which the recent border problem between Algeria and Morocco was solved through the aegis of the Organization of African States is to be highly commended, and it is our sincere hope that peace will prevail and the close bonds of friendship between these two sister countries re-established.

A NEW FORCE IN THE WORLD

Mr. President, when the United Nations Organization was founded eighteen years ago, there were fewer member nations than there are today.

We are indeed most grateful to the leaders of Europe and America who took the initiative in creating this forum for discussing and implementing resolutions affecting the whole world.

Since its formation, many new states were born and became members of the organization. This has given rise to a new force in the world, and it is important that if the United Nations is to play a positive and progressive role then its structure must reflect the composition of nations that make up the world community of today.

Failure to do so will only reduce the effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument of world peace. The initiative must, of course, come from those who were the founder members of the Organization and our government is confident that they will rise to the occasion.

Mr. President, before concluding I wish to take this opportunity to express the deep gratitude of my country to all freedom-loving and progressive nations who contributed so much to Kenya's struggle for independence.

This is a debt which we shall never be able to repay.

While the brunt of the struggle was carried out by the freedom-fighters of Kenya under the courageous and inspired leadership of our Prime Minister, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, we can never forget the unstinting support we received from friendly nations throughout the world.

These nations in the spirit of Pan-Africanism, in the spirit of Afro-Asian Latin American Solidarity, and in the spirit of world brotherhood gave concrete expression to man's noblest ideals.

Now that Kenya is free I hope that the bonds of friendship created in the past will be further strengthened.

We invite you all to join with us in Kenya to wage the struggle against the common enemies of mankind—poverty, disease and ignorance.

Mr. President, may I express my deep appreciation for the patient listening you have given me.

The Government of Kenya under the leadership of Prime Minister Kenyatta, recognizes that, despite its present limitations, the United Nations represent mankind's greatest hope to realize the noble aims contained in the Charter and Declaration of Human Rights.

It will be the constant endeavour of the Government of Kenya,

through its representative, to contribute towards the advancement and effectiveness of the United Nations as an instrument for world peace and the means of advancing the prosperity of the peoples living in the under-developed territories of the world.

DOCUMENT 2

SOUTH AFRICA'S POLITICAL PRISONERS

Oliver Tambo

Statement by Mr. Oliver Tambo Deputy President of the African National Congress, at the Three hundred and seventy-ninth Meeting of the Special Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly: October 8, 1963.

I WISH TO EXPRESS my deep gratitude for the privilege accorded me to address this important body. It was with considerable reluctance that I applied for leave to appear before this Committee, recognizing, as I did, the supreme effort which the United Nations is making to induce the South African Government to abolish and abandon policies which are a cruel scourge on the conscience of every civilized being and an unequalled example of man's inhumanity to man. But we feel we cannot too frequently appeal to the nations of the world to call South Africa to sanity, nor do we feel we can be too emphatic in pointing out that a great deal of the damage which the Government of South Africa and its white supporters are doing daily, consistently and with arrogance may prove impossible to repair and thus remain an enduring source of anguish for future generations.

The readiness with which my request was granted by your Committee, Mr. Chairman confirms and is consistent with the declared desire of the nations and peoples of the world to see the end of *apartheid* and white domination, and the emergence of a South Africa loyal to the United Nations and to the high principles set forth in its Charter—a South Africa governed by its people as fellow citizens of equal worth whatever the colour, race or creed of any one of them. This kind of South Africa is the precise goal of our political struggle.

In thanking you and your Committee, therefore, Mr Chairman, I wish to emphasize that I do so not only on my own behalf, but also on behalf of my organization, the African National Congress, and its

sister organizations in South Africa, on behalf of the African people and all the other victims of racial discrimination, together with that courageous handful of white South Africans who have fully identified themselves with the struggle for the liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa.

I should also like to take this opportunity to place on record the deep appreciation of my people for the steps which have been taken by various Governments against South Africa, which alone can give any meaning to condemnation of the policies practised by the Government of South Africa. On the other hand, I cannot exaggerate the sense of grievance—to put it mildly—which we feel towards those countries which have done and are even now doing so much to make *apartheid* the monstrous and ghastly reality which it is, and which have thereby created in our country the conditions which, if nothing else happens will ensure an unparalleled bloodbath. Assured of the support of these countries the South African rulers, who boast openly of this support are not only showing open defiance for the United Nations and treating its resolutions with calculated contempt, they are liquidating the opponents of their policies, confident that the big Powers will not act against them. This brings me to the special matter which, with your permission, Mr. Chairman, I beg leave to submit to the distinguished members of this Committee for their urgent consideration. It arises out of news of the latest developments in the South African situation. I trust it will be possible for me on a later date to deal with other equally important but less urgent aspects of that situation.

By a significant coincidence, this, the first day of this Committee's discussions of the policy of *apartheid* happens also to be the first day of a trial in South Africa which constitutes yet another challenge to the authority of the United Nations and which has as its primary aim the punishment by death of people who are among South Africa's most outstanding opponents of the very policies which the General Assembly and the Security Council have in numerous resolutions called upon the South African Government to abandon.

Today some persons are appearing before a Supreme Court Judge in South Africa in a trial which will be conducted in circumstances that have no parallel in South African history, and which, if the Government has its way, will seal the doom of that country and entrench the feelings of bitterness which years of sustained persecution have already engendered among the African people. The persons standing trial include Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, which are household names throughout South Africa, Nelson Mandela being known personally to a number of African Heads of State; Govan Mbeki, a top-ranking African political leader and an accomplished economist

who has borne the burdens of his oppressed fellowmen ever since he left the University; Ahmed Kathrada, a South African of Indian extraction who started politics as a passive Resister in 1946 at the age of seventeen, since when he has been consistently a leading participant in the struggle of the Indian and other Asian South Africans against the Group Areas Act and other forms of racial discrimination, and has, with other Indian leaders joined the Africans in the liberation struggle; Dennis Goldberg, a white South African, whose home in the Western Cape was the scene of a bomb explosion in 1962, when Government supporters sought to demonstrate their disapproval of his identifying himself with the African cause. I could enumerate several others, and as I have shown, they consist of outstanding African nationalist leaders as well as others who have for long been associated with every conceivable form of protest against injustices perpetrated in the name of Christian civilization and white supremacy. Trials against well over 100 others are due to start at other centres in different parts of the country.

The charge against the accused is said to be 'Sabotage'. This means in fact that they have contravened a law, or a group of laws which have been enacted for the express purpose of forcibly suppressing the aspirations of the victims of *apartheid*—laws which no active opponent of the policies of the South African Government can evade. A study of the statutory definition of 'sabotage', which distinguished delegates will find in official documents which I believe have been circulated to members will show that a person accused of sabotage can be sentenced to death for one of the least effective and most peaceful forms of protest against *apartheid*.

The relations between the Government and those it rules by force in South Africa have never been worse. The law of the country has since the 1956 Treason Trials been altered so as to make it practically impossible for an accused person to escape a conviction. Lawyers who accepted briefs in political trials have been subjected to increasing intimidation and it has now become difficult to find counsel to appear in such trials. This has been particularly true in the case of the accused who are now facing trial. The law of procedure has also been altered with the result that whereas the State allows itself any amount of time to prepare its case against accused persons, on the other hand, the accused, held in solitary confinement, are kept ignorant of the charge against them until they appear in court. The time allowed them to prepare their defence is subject to the discretion of the Court, and in the majority of cases the State insists on proceeding with the trial with as little delay as possible. Preparing a defence from a prison cell hardly enables an accused person to make any proper preparation.

An atmosphere of crisis has been whipped up and its effects have been reflected in the severity of sentences passed by the judges, and, not infrequently, in the statements they make in the course of pronouncing sentence. Of special significance in this regard is the judgement passed last week by a Pretoria Judge on seven Africans whom he found guilty of allegedly receiving training in the use of firearms in a country outside South Africa. In sentencing each of the accused to twenty years imprisonment, the Judge stated that he had seriously considered passing the death sentence, but had decided not to do so because he felt the accused had been misled. This judgement and these remarks are a sufficient—and deliberate—hint as to what sentences the South African public and the world are to expect in the new trials where leaders of the political struggle against the *apartheid* policies of the South African Government are the accused. It is known that the State will demand the death sentence. Already more than 5,000 political prisoners are languishing in South Africa's jails. Even as recently as the month of September of this year and after the Security Council, in its resolution of 7 August, had called for the release of 'all persons imprisoned, interned, or subjected to other restrictions for having opposed the policy of *apartheid*', three detainees have died in jail in circumstances strongly suggesting deliberate killing. And all these are the direct victims of a situation which would never have arisen had the South African Government taken heed of the many appeals which have been addressed to it by the world public and expressed in resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

I cannot believe that this world body, the United Nations, could stand by, calmly watching what I submit is genocide masquerading under the guise of a civilized dispensation of justice. The African and other South Africans who are being dragged to the slaughter house, face death, or even life imprisonment, because they fearlessly resisted South Africa's violations of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, because they fought against a Government armed to the teeth and relying on armed force, to end inhumanity, to secure the liberation of the African people, to end racial discrimination, and to replace racial intolerance and tyranny with democracy and equality, irrespective of colour, race or creed.

If you, Mr. Chairman, and the distinguished delegates here assembled, consider, as I urge you to accept, that the developments I have referred to are of a nature which calls for immediate action by the United Nations, then I am content to leave it to you and your distinguished Committee, sir, to decide on the action which it deems appropriate. For our part, I wish to observe that every single day spent in jail by any of our people, every drop of blood drawn from any of them, and

every life taken—each of these represents a unit of human worth lost to us. This loss we can no longer afford. It is surely not in the interests of South Africa or even of the South African Government that this loss should be increased any further.

Thank you, sir.

DOCUMENT 3

EXPEL SOUTH AFRICA

Duma Nokwe

The following is a text of a letter sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, from Duma Nokwe, Secretary-General of the African National Congress of South Africa:

DEAR SIR,

We notice from reports in the press that the South African Government has refused a request by you to allow a group of United Nations experts to visit South Africa. We would like to place on record our indignation at the defiance and contemptuous manner in which the South African white minority Government treats resolutions and Committees of the United Nations. This conduct of the South African Government is consistent and is becoming brazen.

So far, it appears that the South African Government has been able to flout resolutions and even humiliate Committees appointed by the United Nations with impunity. This attitude towards the United Nations shows a disrespect for that organization which is incompatible with South Africa's membership of that body.

We urge, Sir, as we have done before that the time for punitive action against the delinquency of the South African Government is overdue.

South Africa's continued membership of the United Nations does little to enhance the reputation and purpose of that body. Her immediate expulsion would be in the interests of the struggle against apartheid and would pave the way for other forms of action.

In our view, any further delay and any other conciliatory gestures to the South African Government merely adds fuel to her defiant attitude.

Dar es Salaam,

February 13, 1964.

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