

the African Communist

NUMBER 23 · FOURTH QUARTER 1965

BA 320-53205

APR

S. 83/104

RECEIVED BY

1993 -10- 12

**ZIMBABWE
KICK THE SMITH
GANG OUT!**

PRICE

South Africa and High Commission Territories: 10 cents. Elsewhere in Africa: 1s. All other countries, 1s. 6d., or equivalent in local currency

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION (4 ISSUES)

Africa, 40 cents (or 4s.) post free. All other countries, 6s. (U.S. \$1) or equivalent.

Airmail, 15s. (U.S., \$2.50)

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**Ellis Bowles, 52 Palmerston Road,
London, S.W.14, England**

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

Published quarterly in the interests of African solidarity, and as a forum for Marxist-Leninist thought throughout our Continent, by the South African Communist Party

No 23 Fourth Quarter 1965

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MEETING OF BRITISH AND SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS

ZIMBABWE

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

The attempt of Ian Smith's 'Rhodesia Front' to seize unlimited power over the four million Africans of Zimbabwe must be effectively and vigorously resisted by the peoples and governments of Africa and the whole world.

This is emphatically not a private dispute between the British Government and the Smith gang. It is a matter of direct immediate concern of the people of Zimbabwe and of the neighbouring countries, not least the fourteen million Africans and other repressed non-whites in the Republic of South Africa.

We cannot leave the solution of this question to British imperialism, which has never been and is not now the friend of African freedom and independence. It was Britain which imposed the undemocratic 1961 Constitution, which put the reins of power into the hands of Smith and his racist colleagues.

It was Mr. Wilson and his so-called Socialist Cabinet which appeased the Smith gang with one unprincipled concession after another and finally gave them the green light with a promise not to use violence in the event of illegal declaration of so-called independence.

Even now, while formally denouncing the usurpers as 'traitors' and 'rebels', the British Government limits itself to the empty and legalistic formality of 'dismissing' the Smith Cabinet, while refusing either to bring them to heel by force or to allow others to do so.

It is not only racialistic concern for white-skinned 'kith and kin' which underlies the shameful policy of Britain. Imperialism is concerned to avoid a truly democratic solution in Zimbabwe, which would give a further impetus to the anti-colonialist African Revolution and bring it to the banks of the Limpopo River. This would endanger the investors' paradise which apartheid and cheap African labour have created in the Republic of South Africa.

We express the fullest solidarity of the oppressed and democratic majority of South Africans with our four million brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe.

We call on all our people to give the fullest support to their cause and to prevent by all means in our power Verwoerd from giving any military or economic aid to the Smith gang designed to frustrate the will of the people of Africa and the world.

We appeal to the British working class and democrats to show their solidarity with the Africans of Zimbabwe by demanding that the Government act immediately to arrest the illegal Smith Cabinet, release all political prisoners and detainees, and implement a democratic constitution based on One Man One Vote, for the independence of Zimbabwe.

Smith's act is a declaration of war on Africa. We call on all leaders and peoples of Africa to stand firm behind the oppressed masses of Zimbabwe to overthrow the racist minority dictatorship at this crucial turning point for African unity and independence.

Kick this Smith gang out!

Long Live Free, Independent and Democratic Zimbabwe!

Long Live Freedom for Southern Africa!



Editorial Notes:

Kick the Smith Gang Out!

'THE BALL IS IN YOUR COURT,' says Smith to Wilson. As far as they are concerned, the future of four million Africans is something to be hit back and forth in a sort of game between the clique of white racialists in Salisbury and the imperialists parading themselves as a socialist government in London. The masses in Zimbabwe—and the rest of Africa and the world—are supposed to look on admiringly while the white bwanas play tennis with their future.

The issue is falsely presented, both in Salisbury and Whitehall, as one of independence for 'Rhodesia'. Mr. Smith and his clique are not anti-imperialists; they are rabid white racialists who are demanding a free hand to practise exactly the same sort of colonialism as that of the Verwoerd gang south of the Limpopo. British imperialism is not opposed in principle to this demand. Britain has never cared about or defended the rights of Africans or any other peoples she pretended to protect; in 1909 the Westminster Parliament, in adopting the South African Act, handed over to Smuts and Botha exactly what Smith is

demanding today: a Constitution for white domination with 'safeguards' for African rights which history has proved to have been completely worthless. Smith and Co. are only in office today by virtue of the disgustingly undemocratic 1961 constitution imposed by Westminster against the strongest protests of the leaders of the African majority.

What is at stake is not whether Zimbabwe shall be ruled by the 'Rhodesia Front' or by the Colonial Office; it is genuine independence—i.e., the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the majority. Certainly, the pressing and immediate need is to kick the Smith gang out of office in Salisbury. But it is a grave mistake to think the alternative is a return to colonialism; and a dangerous illusion to imagine that British imperialism, whether by force or by negotiations, can be relied on to achieve a democratic solution based on majority rule.

Let us briefly glance back on the origins of the present crisis.

RHODES AND THE CONQUEST OF ZAMBIA

The conquest of Zimbabwe by the British imperialists at the end of the nineteenth century constitutes one of the most sordid chapters in the Scramble for Africa.

Lobengula the legendary king ruled over a peaceful kingdom which desired nothing but to be left alone. But this was not to be.

The discovery of diamonds in South Africa in 1867 and the still more important discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 turned the whole of Southern Africa into a battlefield between the imperialist powers of Europe. The struggle between Britain and Germany was already beginning to be a major factor in international politics. All the territories bordering on the Witwatersrand became the object of all sorts of schemers and adventurers aided and abetted by either Britain or Germany.

The most notorious of all was Cecil Rhodes. This man, who made millions of pounds through ruthless exploitation of the Africans, hated our people. So much so that the educational and other trusts created after his death were specifically to benefit all nations except the Africans out of whom he made his money. As head of the British South Africa Company he planned and executed the diabolical plot for the destruction of Lobengula and his kingdom which was thereafter named Rhodesia. The manner in which this was done has left a deep searing wound in the hearts and minds of all Africans.

We cannot in this brief survey go into all the tragic details of this part of the history of Zimbabwe. But by 1890 the British South Africa

Co. incorporated in London had with the help of paid mercenaries conquered Zimbabwe. Despite great skill and courage the military machine of Lobengula was smashed by modern arms. The British government throughout pretended it had nothing to do with the enterprise. In fact the plan to overthrow the kingdom of Lobengula had the blessing of the government of the day from beginning to end. The services of Cecil Rhodes to British Imperialism were suitably recognised thereafter.

The British South Africa Company ruled the country from 1890 to 1923. During that time all the practices with which we are familiar in South Africa were applied to the Africans in Southern Rhodesia. The common law of South Africa, Roman-Dutch Law, was adopted. The flow of White settlers from South Africa was encouraged. The 150,333 square miles of Southern Rhodesia were parcelled out to White settlers who more often than not were given land seized from Africans for nothing. 48 million acres were thus placed under White ownership of which to this day only under one million acres is under cultivation. 40.4 million acres were 'reserved' for use by the Africans. Then there are the so-called Native Purchase Areas consisting of 4½ million acres under control by the government Land Board. These are areas 'purchased' by the government allegedly to relieve the land shortage among the 4 million Africans. The notorious Land Apportionment Act (counterpart of the 1913 Land Act of South Africa) pegs the land position in this unjust fashion making the question of Land Reform and distribution a crucial one in Zimbabwe.

With most of the best land firmly wrested from the Africans the Settlers proceeded to create their state on the model of South Africa.

The Pass system was introduced in 1895. The hut tax and poll tax followed. Labour recruitment and regulation came next. The colour bar was rigorously applied in all aspects of life sometimes even more viciously than in South Africa. And on the basis of cheap labour development proceeded apace. Gold, asbestos, chrome, iron ore, coal were discovered and exploited. Tobacco which is today the biggest money-earner was cultivated.

In 1923 the British government assuming direct control of the territory promulgated a new constitution which placed political power in the hands of the White minority. More discriminatory laws followed. Commercial and trade opportunities were limited to Whites. Education and technical skills of all kinds were reserved for the White settlers. Thus the country today spends £100 per annum on each White child and £8 per annum on each African child. This amounts to an expenditure of 4½ million pounds on education for 4 million Africans and 10 million pounds for 220,000 Whites. There are only two big hospitals

for Africans in Bulawayo and Salisbury. Whites have excellent health facilities which with one of the highest standards of living in the world they do not need in any case. Tobacco farming is reserved for Whites in practice, and there are no marketing facilities for other products produced by African farmers.

The settlers were even allowed to control their own army. It is significant that with the exception of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia the imperialist powers have always retained direct control of the army in their colonies. In other words the imperialists recognised the White minorities in both countries as a social support for their policies of oppressing and exploiting the indigenous population.

All this was done even whilst the British government in solemn declarations repeated over and over again that it regarded 'African interests as paramount' in Southern Rhodesia. This double-talk has never ceased to this day.

AFRICAN REVOLT

The African people never accepted defeat. Three years after the rule of the British South Africa Company began they rose in revolt. The uprising was mercilessly crushed.

Then early in the twenties they formed the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress and the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union. Both these organizations campaigned for the rights of the African people without much success before the Second World War.

The defeat of Hitlerite fascism by the Soviet Union and the emergence of the Socialist World, set the stage for the gigantic changes in the world. The colonial system in Asia collapsed. New stirrings of struggle appeared in Africa.

The trade union movement pioneered by the I.C.U. revived in Zimbabwe especially among railway workers under the leadership of Joshua Nkomo. With the help of young militants such as Chikerema and George Nyandoro the African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia was re-established on a new basis under the leadership of Joshua Nkomo.

The White settlers refused to recognize that the balance of power on the world arena had changed in favour of the oppressed people. A new plot was hatched to forestall the march to freedom of the people in Zimbabwe. British imperialism and its agents—the White settlers created the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953 in the teeth of African opposition. This Federation was a device whereby the policies and practices of Southern Rhodesia could be extended to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It was considered that the social

support of the White settlers together with the copper of Northern Rhodesia and the labour of Nyasaland would form a solid basis for rule in Central Africa for generations to come.

What the imperialists conceived as a means of maintaining their rule turned out to be the instrument of their defeat.

Tremendous political agitation and organisation of the masses took place centred on opposition to Federation. This found expression in Zimbabwe. General strikes, boycotts and other mass campaigns by the African National Congress followed. The White settlers replied with their usual weapons. In terms of the Unlawful Organizations Act, the African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia and other organizations (e.g. the A.N.C. of South Africa) were declared illegal and various leaders were detained without trial. The National Democratic Party was formed.

THE 1961 CONSTITUTION

Side by side with repression attempts were made from time to time to improve the image of the racist Southern Rhodesian regime. Thus in 1961 a new constitution was adopted which provided for 15 African members of parliament in a house of 65. A huge campaign was launched to induce Africans to accept this humiliating constitution. A so-called 'build a nation' publicity stunt was run. The people's organizations opposed and defeated these manoeuvres.

The National Democratic Party was banned and the Zimbabwe African People's Party was founded to continue the struggle for freedom. The settler government introduced still more repressive legislation. The Unlawful Organizations Act was amended. A Preventive Detention law was passed. The Law and Order Maintenance Act was promulgated . . . all in 1962.

In 1964 the Federation finally collapsed and Malawi and Zambia emerged as independent African states. Rhodesia remained unfree. Fearful of change the White settlers entrusted their destinies to the most reactionary section of the ruling class, namely, the Rhodesian Front led by Mr. Ian Smith—an admirer of South Africa's Dr. Verwoerd and of Salazar. The Rhodesian Front government rounded up hundreds of African leaders and detained them in detention camps notably at Gonakudzingwa where Chibwechitedza Joshua Nkomo is held. Simultaneously they announced their intention to achieve independence for Rhodesia under White Minority Rule. The settlers wanted to repeat the tragedy of 1910 in South Africa. Instead they might produce a farce.

Throughout the past 70 years the British imperialists and the White

settlers of Rhodesia have jointly shared in the oppression and exploitation of the Africans. Being a world imperialist power Britain is more sensitive to the changes that have taken place on the world arena. The tactics of imperialism have changed. Mr. Macmillan, the British Premier, had indicated this clearly in the famous 'Winds of Change' Speech delivered appropriately enough in Capetown in 1961. It had become necessary for imperialism to appear to accept the end of open colonialism whilst retaining economic interests intact. Direct political control had to give way to a neo-colonialism in which the imported civil service and administrators would be replaced by elected leaders, and reliance placed on economic levers and blackmail to maintain dependence.

Looked at from the point of view of the monopoly capitalists of London or Paris, this retreat seemed reasonable enough. In return for the sacrifice of some soft jobs in the colonial service and intangible dreams of empire, they ensured, for a while at any rate, the continuance of high profit-rates on their investments which had always been the prime purpose of colony-grabbing. But from the point of view of the white minorities in African countries, it did not seem reasonable at all. They had always been the most loyal agents and servitors of imperialism. In return for the comforts and privileges of a caste aristocracy, they had for many years acted in the unpopular and sometimes dangerous capacity of policemen, to 'keep the natives in their places'. The neo-colonialist strategies reduced their privileges and endangered their status. They considered that they were being betrayed. Hence, the white South Africans, the white Kenyans, the white Algerians, and the white 'Rhodesians' (or 'Rhodesites') resisted the new strategies of London and Paris, and won strong support in this process from diehard imperialist and jingo elements in the metropolitan countries.

ECHOES OF HISTORY

It is in this situation that frenzied flights are taking place of Prime Ministers to and from London to Salisbury, and acrimonious 'negotiations' going on in public about (but without the participation of) the African people, in an atmosphere loud with echoes of Munich and the 'Union of South Africa' betrayal of 1910.

Here in microcosm is the image of modern imperialism reflected. A small 'European' minority grown rich on the forced labour and stolen resources of Africans in an African country, violently resisting the efforts of the indigenous majority to claim their birthrights to the government and the wealth of their motherland. Wilson talks sanctimoniously of not using force—but who is using force and violence

in Zimbabwe? As in the neighbouring Republic, faced with a challenge to minority power and privilege, the White Supremacist regime has reacted with Verwoerdian ferocity.

The African organizations have been outlawed, hundreds of Africans sent into exile and restriction without trial, Todd and other White liberals who have sided with the Blacks placed under restriction, the press intimidated and the most outspoken daily paper suppressed because it dared to voice the grievances of the Africans. Ferocious Vorster-style laws have been placed on the statute book in terms of which militant forms of political opposition are turned into 'crimes' and many Africans have been sentenced to death because, the legal avenues closed, they have resorted to 'illegal' and on occasion violent methods of asserting their claims.

Smith is a racist and a reactionary every bit as vicious as Verwoerd. He stands for the continued domination of the 200,000 Whites over the 4,000,000 Africans in Rhodesia. He has openly boasted that, despite claims that the 1961 constitution 'opens the way' to majority rule, there will never be an African majority government 'in my lifetime'. To bargain with such a man is like bargaining with Hitler. His pledges will prove to be no more than scraps of paper. Should he himself attempt to honour them, he will be removed with as much celerity as Todd, Whitehead and Field were removed before him when they tried to tone down the demands of the white extremists. Any agreement with Smith will be no more enduring than Munich.

And quite as shameful. Let us be quite categorical—*any* agreement with Smith means a final and complete betrayal of African rights. Once the 'Rhodesians' are granted 'independence' under the 1961 Constitution, or any variant thereof which leaves power in the hands of representatives of the white minority, they will use that power to entrench themselves and monopolize citizen rights and economic opportunities for themselves. Any 'safeguards' inserted as a sop to the left-wing of the Labour Party, to humanitarian and religious circles, or to world opinion, will be as worthless as similar 'safeguards' have proved in South Africa over the past hundred years.

In 1853 when the Cape Colony was first granted 'representative government' there was no formal colour bar in the constitution. Any man could vote for and sit in the old Cape parliament—provided he has the necessary property and educational qualifications. The white colonists were quite happy—for hardly any men of colour, as they knew very well, had or could get enough property and schooling to qualify. When, in the course of time, the numbers of non-white voters grew uncomfortably high, the Cape Parliament (headed, incidentally,

by the self-same Cecil Rhodes) merely changed the constitution to raise the qualifications.

The 1910 Constitution of the Union of South Africa contained a number of 'entrenched clauses' which, it was said would always safeguard the voting rights which non-whites had in the Cape Province, but in South Africa today (always observing the letter of the law!) the successive white governments have successfully whittled away these former rights until the 12 million Africans and the 500,000 Indians have no representation at all in Parliament or any other sphere of government, while all that is left of the Coloured vote is that some Coloured men in the Cape Province are allowed to choose, in a separate election, four whites to speak for them in a House of Assembly of 156 members.

Nor can any reliance be placed on the concept of guaranteeing African rights by international treaty—a Tory idea which, at one stage was refurbished by Wilson in order to stall and prolong the 'negotiations'—and promptly rejected by Smith. Such a treaty could be of no value if it depended on the imperialists to implement it. Look at the case of South-West Africa.

The United Nations as long ago as 1946 came to the conclusion that South Africa had violated the League of Nations mandate and demanded that South-West Africa be placed under U.N. trusteeship. But no action has been taken to enforce repeated U.N. resolutions, and there is no guarantee that even when the present long-drawn-out proceedings at the International Court of Justice at The Hague are completed, anything will be done to implement a decision unfavourable to South Africa. In fact, there is not even overwhelming confidence among observers that the court will return a verdict against South Africa. International treaties are only meaningful if the parties to them are determined to enforce them.

It can hardly be supposed that the British government is so politically innocent as to be unaware of these hard realities. They know that surrender to the demands of the Smith settlers' committee in Salisbury would be such a blatant sell-out as to inflict irreparable damage on what remains of Britain's international reputation. It would immediately precipitate the final collapse of the ramshackle British Commonwealth. It is such considerations—and not any genuine concern with African rights—that keep Mr. Wilson and his colleagues in a flurry of plane flights, stratagems, proposals and counter-proposals, in a series of desperate attempts to avert or postpone a showdown.

NO MIDDLE ROAD

Neither the British Labour Party nor any other British Party—with the sole, honourable exception of the Communist Party—faced the real

issue of Zimbabwe. The 'middle road' so anxiously sought in endless talks in London, Salisbury and now proposed in Malta, just does not exist. There are only two alternatives: a sell-out to Smith and Co. as demanded by Lord Salisbury and the British Fascists who made Smith their hero when he visited Britain; or kick the Smith gang out and transfer power to an independent, African Zimbabwe under a democratic, one-man-one-vote constitution. To date, there is not the slightest indication that Mr. Wilson is prepared to consider this alternative—the only way out acceptable to the four million, 16-to-one African majority in Zimbabwe, and to the whole of Africa and practically the whole world as reflected in the U.N. resolution on this theme.

Instead of respecting the same emphatic view when informed of it by Mr. Nkomo—who was brought from his place of detention for the interview, and promptly returned to it afterwards, Mr. Wilson took the opportunity to give a lecture to the man with whom, instead of Mr. Smith, he should have been negotiating independence with as majority leader. By his own account Wilson tried to 'work on' Nkomo, Sithole and other African leaders—to get them to help operate the insulting and fraudulent 1961 constitution. We find it difficult to exercise restraint in commenting on the thick-skinned insensitivity and racial arrogance which permits Mr. Wilson not only to try to bully patriots on such an occasion, but even to come back and boast about it in the British parliament. How could a Labour man sink so low as to play the police nark and try to get patriots to sell the very principles for which they are being martyred? How could a self-proclaimed socialist—who never suffered or sacrificed for his principles—have the thundering impudence to lecture better men than he, who are at present sacrificing bitterly for theirs? It would have been more appropriate and dignified for Wilson to have gone more humbly to the African leaders, not to teach but to learn.

If the British Labour Government were seriously concerned with democratic principles and African rights they would not be spinning out a series of endless negotiations, acts of appeasement, and conjurers' tricks with Royal Commissions and terms of reference, as if Smith and Co. were a major world power instead of an unrepresentative little gang who speak for a settler population equivalent to that of a medium-sized English town—and not all of them at that. If they meant business, there would have been no such absurd nonsense. Instead of promises that even in the event of an illegal and unilateral declaration of 'independence' there would be 'no use of force' (what could be better calculated to encourage such a desperate act?) the mere threat of such 'rebellion' would have seen the British Lion roaring into action.

At the very time when Wilson made this promise to the white

Rhodesians, British troops were in action in Aden, where—with far less justification, indeed with no justification—Britain had suspended the constitution, arrested the elected leaders of the people and hundreds of their supporters, and imposed martial law.

When British imperialism considered the progressive policies of the Jagan government in British Guiana not to its liking, it similarly sent in troops, dismissed the elected government, and unilaterally imposed a trick constitution designed to ensure that Jagan's People's Progressive Party would not be returned to office. It is now negotiating 'independence' with the more favoured Burnham government, under the same fraudulent constitution.

Nor should anyone think that the Labour Party has more scruples about this sort of conduct towards 'rebellious' colonials than the Tories. It was under Labour that Britain deposed and banished Seretse Khama of Bechuanaland. Labour also backed a savage colonial war in Kenya and jailed Jomo Kenyatta and hundreds of other patriots.

Why doesn't the British government act the same way in Rhodesia? Why don't they fly in troops, suspend the rotten 1961 Constitution; arrest Smith and his 'Cabinet' as rebels and inciters of violence; release Nkomo, Sithole, Todd and all other political prisoners and detainees; convene and organize a constituent assembly on the basis of universal adult franchise to draw up a proper independence constitution?

Africans could be forgiven for thinking that the British Labour government, whose proposals on Commonwealth immigration shows them hardly less afflicted by racialism and colour-prejudice than their Tory opposite numbers, is soft on the Smith gang merely because they happen to be white.

No doubt there is a strong element of colour-prejudice involved. With a dicey majority in Parliament and a strong element of white chauvinism among the electorate which (as the last general election showed) the Tories do not scruple to fan and exploit, the opportunist and unprincipled British Labour Party is terrified of a confrontation with the 'kith and kin' in Zimbabwe—most of whom, incidentally, are probably not of British but of South African origin.

But it would be an over-simplification to imagine that racial and colour affinities alone can account for Britain's appeasement of the white settlers. As a matter of fact, by encouraging them in their intransigence, Britain is exposing them to an eventual day of wrath from the African masses which is likely to be far more painful than a relatively peaceful intervention by British troops now. If the white 'Rhodesians' do not want to adjust themselves to being ordinary, unprivileged

citizens of an African state, they could be assisted to emigrate; and if the British are so worried about the financial and material loss thus suffered by their 'kith and kin'—though they have done pretty handsomely out of Africa already—let Britain pay them compensation. This is not an insoluble or even a very serious problem. In fact it is not the main problem at all.

THE ZAMBESI LINE

The main problem for British imperialism is that white 'Rhodesia' is an essential element in the whole imperialist grand strategy of maintaining the 'Zambesi Line' as the last-ditch defence of colonialism in Africa.

It is an essential link in the Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon axis, secretly supported and openly financed and armed by NATO and Anglo-American imperialism for the containment of the African Revolution and the protection of the enormous profits which—independence notwithstanding—'Western' monopoly capitalists continue to drain out of our continent.

A victory for the cause of human liberty in Zimbabwe would be a shattering blow at the forces which seek to strangle Africa, to keep her people impoverished and backward labour-cattle for the greater profit of foreign monopolies. It would bring the tidal wave of the African Revolution to the banks of the Limpopo River, to the gates of the very citadel and stronghold of colonialism in Africa—the fascist republic of South Africa.

That is the essential reason why (with the unqualified support of the United States of America) Britain is battling might and main to maintain or at least prolong the status quo in Salisbury. That is why, with unparalleled hypocrisy, while uttering pious platitudes about their concern for African rights, Wilson and his colleagues, obedient servants of international imperialism, are determined to postpone for as long as they can the establishment of an independent African Zimbabwe.

At the bottom of all the double-talk, deliberate complications and confusion of an essentially simple and straightforward situation lies the hidden reality—the tremendous involvement of imperialist fortunes in the maintenance of the apartheid regime in the South. As P. Tlalé points out in his important study in this issue of our journal, South Africa today has become a key area for the whole structure of international capitalism.

But if it is a key area for imperialism, it is equally—perhaps even more—a key area for the forces all over Africa and all over the world who are striving for freedom, peace and a better life. All of us, wherever

we may be, must act now to help the liberation forces to kick the Smith gang out of office and defend the rights and freedom of our brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe. This is more than a moral duty. It is our own rights and freedom that are at stake.

November 9th, 1965

Pioneer Marxists of South Africa

IT IS HALF a century since the formation in South Africa of the organization which made a spectacular break with all political traditions of the country up to that time, and which led directly to the formation of the Communist Party of South Africa. This organization was the International Socialist League which held its first national conference on January 9th, 1916.

In the period before the First World War, African national strivings were making their first organizational emergence in the formation of the African National Congress (grappling with the iniquitous Land Act); the embryo African working class was making its first tentative essays into the field of industrial action; and the White trade union movement and the South African Labour Party, though leading militant wage struggles among organized White workers, operated as though the South African situation was an exact replica of the British scene—from which their most militant leaders had been transplanted—and as though the African population was non-existent.

The White trade unions and their political wing, the Labour Party, had been established by immigrants, and many of the South African craft unions were branches of their British parent bodies. The Labour Party was the party of an aristocracy of labour, with a standard of living far above that of the masses of African workers, and with a policy of trying to entrench Whites in the skilled trades and stop any African encroachment.

It was the outbreak of the war that, indirectly at first, precipitated socialists into facing up to the need for an inter-racial unity based on sound socialist principle. The war engulfed the country in a wave of hysteria. Though in 1913 the South African Labour Party had affiliated to the International Socialist Bureau and had endorsed the Stuttgart anti-war policy of international socialist parties, immediately the war started the right-wing element in the party pressed for official support of the government's war policy. The Administrative Committee of the Party, under the chairmanship of W. H. Andrews, the outstanding

labour leader of the day, later to become the chairman of the Communist Party, passed a resolution protesting against 'the capitalistic governments of Europe fomenting a war which can only benefit international armament manufacturers' rings and other enemies of the working class' and appealing to the workers to organize and refrain from participation in 'this unjust war'. That resolution was passed, but then the right wing of the party began to work on the branches to stand behind Creswell in his offer to the Government to 'see the war through'. The war policy was fiercely contested at the annual conference of the Party, and by then the movement was split into pro- and anti-war sections.

In September 1914 the War on War League was formed. The majority of its leading members were also members of the Labour Party and tried for a while to remain within the party. By the time a packed Labour Party conference outvoted the militants by 82 votes to 30 and decided to support the Botha-Smuts Government wholeheartedly in the prosecution of the war, the need was not just for an anti-war group but for a political party to preach the doctrines of international socialism.

For, inside the Labour Party the issue of the relations between White and African labour had come to a head. The Party conference that adopted a pro-war policy also had before it a resolution on party membership. Creswell was the author of this draft which read 'Membership of the party shall be open to all persons of either sex of the age of 18. It is undesirable to admit Coloured persons to membership who have not given practical guarantees that they agree to the party's policy of upholding and advancing white standards.' W. H. Andrews launched a fierce attack against this approach. 'The working class of this country are the African people,' he said, 'and if this is really a Labour Party and not a middle class party', we must admit the African. The decision was left in abeyance because the main issue at the conference was the war. Three of the party's leading officials and a militant group of members left the conference hall and the Party.

The anti-war section assembled to form an International League dedicated to uphold the principles of socialism in the party, but the victorious right-wing hounded them out of the movement by demanding loyalty pledges for the duration of the war. On September 10th, 1915, appeared the first issue of *The International*, organ of the International Socialist League in which the editor, Ivon Jones announced 'Here we plant the flag of the New International in South Africa'. The League's objects were to propagate the principles of international socialism and anti-militarism and to promote international Socialist unity and activity. Eight Labour Party branches joined the League.

The Parting of the Ways

A subsequent editorial in *The International* was headed 'The Parting of the Ways'. Internationalism, it said, which did not concede the fullest rights which the African working class was capable of claiming would be a sham. One of the justifications for withdrawal from the Labour Party, was that it gave them untrammelled freedom to deal, regardless of political fortunes, with the great African question.

The I.S.L. held its first national conference in Johannesburg on January 9th, 1916. S. P. Bunting came forward with a petition of rights for the African worker. 'The League affirms', his draft said, 'that the emancipation of the working class requires the abolition of all forms of native indenture, compound and passport systems, and the lifting of the African worker to the political and industrial status of the White.'

Pursuing this vital issue in the columns of *The International* Bunting wrote, 'The solidarity of labour fails the moment it is divided on race, colour or creed.'

The International Socialist League began to make contact and common cause with African political movements, which in the closing years of the First World War were entering a period of renewed militancy, of strikes and anti-pass protests. When 152 striking African sanitary workers were imprisoned, the Government cast about to take action against the 'instigators' of the strike: Five leaders of the African National Congress and three members of the International Socialist League were arrested and charged with incitement to violence in the same court dock.

When 40,000 African miners stayed in their compounds and refused to go on shift, the I.S.L. issued its famous 'Don't Scab' leaflet: 'White workers! Do you hear the new army of labour coming?'

While the Labour Party rushed to the government offering to raise battalions for use in case of African risings, the International Socialist League was helping to found the Industrial Workers of Africa. This body circulated the first Marxist leaflet in Zulu and Sotho: 'There is only one way of deliverance', it said, 'Unite as workers, unite. Let there no longer be any talk of Basuto, Zulu or Shangaan. You are all labourers. Let labour be your common bond.'

More and more under revolutionary Marxist leadership the League was turning its back on the white chauvinist tradition of the Labour Party, and advancing towards the revolutionary position of the developed Communist Party for the overthrow of the white supremacy state and the national liberation of the oppressed African people.

The Russian Revolution

The League's journal, *The International*, edited by D. Ivon Jones, showed profound Marxist understanding of the Russian revolution. Already, at the time of the February 1917 revolution that overthrew Tsarism, an editorial stated: 'This is a bourgeois revolution, but it comes at a time when capitalism is on the decline. It cannot be a repetition of preceding bourgeois revolutions.' In August these prophetic words were followed by another leader in praise of Lenin ('Each week brings fresh evidence of his correctness . . .') and the October Socialist Revolution was hailed as 'the greatest revolution of all times'. These insights were all the more remarkable hailing from so far-away a corner of the world as South Africa.

Even before the formation of the Third (Communist) International, the League had written to the British Section of the International Socialist Bureau, advocating the formation of a well-knit united executive comprising the revolutionary anti-militarist movements in all countries. Early in 1920, the I.S.L. became one of the foundation members of the Communist International.

In 1921 delegates of the I.S.L. and several other Marxist groups held a conference in Johannesburg and agreed to unite in the formation of a 'strongly disciplined and centralized Party'. This agreement proceeded later in the same year to the foundation of Africa's first Communist Party, the Communist Party of South Africa. The Party from its inception, though enjoying formal legality, was always under fire from the Smuts government and its successors. But it fought back courageously, and militantly, organizing the masses around their daily demands, immensely raising the political level and consciousness especially of the oppressed people and their national liberation organizations, tirelessly fighting every manifestation of the racial discrimination, national discrimination and arrogant chauvinism which dominate the South African scene, and advancing the banner of unity in the struggle for a free South Africa.

The Party drew vitality from its roots among the masses, producing great African leaders of the calibre of Albert Nzula, Moses Kotane, J. B. Marks and others who made major contributions not only to the Communist and Trade Union movements but also to the national liberation movement in which they were universally respected leaders. And in addition to such well-known figures were hundreds of rank-and-file workers and peasants trained and brought up in the struggle by the Communist Party who have given wonderful examples of honest leadership and courageous, self-sacrificing conduct in the forefront of every struggle of the workers and oppressed people against

pass laws and national oppression, for better wages, land and freedom.

Since the neo-Nazi Nationalist Party government passed the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950, the Party has been banned and even to advocate or defend Communism or 'any of the objects of Communism' made a punishable offence. The Communists have given their answer. In the ranks of the underground South African Communist Party, and playing their part in the national liberation movement and Umkonto we Sizwe, ever close to the masses in the factories and in the rural areas, they are carrying forward the struggle against the brutal tyrants and murderers of the Verwoerd-Vorster regime. They are working ceaselessly to build unity of Communists and non-Communists in the national liberation struggle, to avenge the hundreds of comrades who have been tortured, jailed and done to death by Vorster's gorillas, to win a free South Africa.

We look back on fifty years of revolutionary Marxist organization in South Africa confident that Jones, Bunting, Andrews and their comrades built on sound foundations. The Party they established has survived and will survive every storm to march in the front ranks in the overthrow of colonialism and the building of a free and a socialist South Africa.

A NOTE FROM JACK WODDIS

I was a little surprised on reading in the latest issue of the AFRICAN COMMUNIST the contribution on the discussion on democracy by Alex Chima. As I read this article it increasingly dawned on me that certain parts seemed vaguely familiar and, when I reached p. 69 I was pretty certain that I was reading whole paragraphs which I myself had written on a previous occasion. On checking my book, 'Africa, The Way Ahead' I found that my suspicions were well founded. The whole of the penultimate para on page 69 of the AFRICAN COMMUNIST appears on p. 57 of my book; and the rest of p. 69, the whole of p. 70, and para 2 on p. 71 are taken directly from pp. 20-21 and 22 of my book.

I am naturally a little flattered that an author should find my book so useful, but I do feel, with all due respect to Alex Chima, that he might at least have made some acknowledgement when using direct quotes, or, alternatively, that he might have changed the wording even if he wanted to utilise my ideas.

THE IMPERIALIST STAKE IN APARTHEID

P. Tlalé

*A study which reveals the deep economic involvement behind
the West's backing for white supremacy*

American companies in South Africa have reported on average the following ratio of earning to investment in manufacturing enterprises: 19.7 per cent in 1961, 24.6 per cent in 1962, 26 per cent in 1963, making this the most lucrative market for United States participation in manufacturing enterprises anywhere in the world. One company reported a 100 per cent return.

New York Times, January 25th, 1965

THE GOVERNMENTS OF Britain, the United States and other major imperialist countries are finding it increasingly difficult to openly justify apartheid or support South Africa at the United Nations and elsewhere. Indeed, they are now adding their voices to the growing condemnation of South Africa's racial policies and to the frequent international pleas and requests to the Verwoerd government to relax its apartheid policies and ease the condition of political prisoners. But this change in stance on the part of the imperialist countries is no more than a tactic: by criticizing apartheid they try to absolve themselves from responsibility for what is taking place in South Africa or for the actions of Dr. Verwoerd's government in strengthening the apartheid system. And yet, as soon as international policy moves towards active opposition to apartheid, these self-same imperialists quickly unite in the defence of South Africa. Indeed the entire history of the South African question before the United Nations in the past twenty years has been a history of united imperialist obstruction and opposition to all moves for collective action against apartheid.

This is even true of the first important act of sanctions against South Africa adopted by the Security Council—the embargo on the supply of arms and war materials to the Verwoerd regime. Despite its formal acceptance by the main imperialist countries, they are nevertheless maintaining the supply of arms to South Africa and, more serious, are providing the capital, the skill, personnel and technical know-how

for the development of an all-embracing munitions and military equipment industry in South Africa itself.

This imperialist conspiracy to defend apartheid and the determination with which the United States and Britain employ their virtually commanding power in the United Nations to sabotage effective measures against South Africa arises, first and foremost, from the immense profitability of the apartheid system for international capital. No other country in the African continent possesses such a concentration of imperialist economic interest as does South Africa. Inside the country this interest is almost all-pervading: it is so heavily involved in the South African economy as to possess as big a stake in the preservation of white supremacy and apartheid as do the local white monopolies and the white privileged class. In this article an attempt is made to assess the size of this foreign capital stake, its spread and profitability and some of its political implications.

SOUTH AFRICA: AN EXTENSION OF IMPERIALISM

South Africa has been the object of intense imperialist economic activity and policy ever since the 1880's. The discovery of gold and diamonds led to sustained inflows of capital and migrants. Step by step an industrial and transport complex grew up out of these discoveries as it became possible to organize the supply of cheap African labour on a mass scale. Each stage in the country's economic development was marked by fresh inflows of capital supported by the local measures for the more effective mobilization of African labour. In time it also became marked by increasingly close co-operation between the foreign imperialist element and the rapidly growing local white class of capital owners. The basis of this co-operation, which continues today, was the common interest in maintaining and extending the system of race segregation and cheap labour. Unlike the operations of international capital elsewhere, these operations in South Africa became increasingly diverse, penetrating into all the sectors of the economy and becoming entrenched to the point of playing a decisive role in the all-round development of the country.

In other African colonies, the British imperialists repatriated their rich harvest of profits, leaving the colonies in a perpetual state of backwardness. By contrast, South Africa has become an extension of the Western imperialist economy itself: the industrial structure increasingly mirrors that of the structures prevailing in Britain and those other imperialist countries which over time have invested their capital in South Africa. What seems significant in this process is, first, the complex and diverse forms of foreign investment in the South African economy and its spread in ways as to make it increasingly indistinguish-

able from the capital investments and interests of the local white monopolies and white ruling class. Secondly, this process has been marked by close co-operation, if not unity, between foreign capital and the domestic rulers in the development of South African economy based, as it has always been, on cheap African labour and apartheid.

The latter point is not unimportant. The co-operation that has grown in this respect does not mean that there has not and does not now exist any contradiction between the foreign imperialists on the one hand, and the native white colonialists on the other. The emergence in the 1930's and 1940's of a conscious 'Afrikaner capital' movement—the efforts of the Afrikaner (Boer) nationalist element to mobilize domestic savings for local investment in competition with English-speaking whites and the foreign imperialists—was undoubtedly an important development. Several spokesmen of this Afrikaner nationalist element have voiced warnings of the dangers of growing foreign control over the country's resources. But there can be no doubt that what unites the local colonialists and the foreign imperialists today is more important and profound than any conflicts between them. The Legums in their recent book on South Africa relate how this partnership evolved in the crucial field of finance:

'... In 1963 Mr. Harry Oppenheimer led the English-speaking world of mining finance into partnership with the Afrikaner class of financiers. Main Street Investments was formed with Coetzer (of the Afrikaner 'Federale' combine) as Chairman and Oppenheimer on the Board. This partnership between Oppenheimer—long regarded by Afrikanerdom as the embodiment of alien financial control, and Coetzer . . . brought a quick appreciation of the interdependence of foreign and local capital, imported and locally trained skills, of South Africa's natural resources and imported plant and know-how.'

Colin and Margaret Legum: *S. Africa: Crisis for the West*, page 43

The collusion between foreign and local capital in support of apartheid is nowhere more explicitly manifested than in the activities of the South African Foundation. This organization unites the leaders of Afrikaner capital, English-speaking South African financiers and industrialists, representatives of the big international monopolies and of foreign companies with large interests in South Africa. Supported by massive funds, the Foundation operates in South Africa and maintains a considerable lobby in London and New York. Its 'mission' is to 'explain' apartheid and defend it against the international movement for sanctions and boycott. As a Johannesburg newspaper put it, 'the Foundation almost automatically adopts the posture of champion and apologist of the *status quo* in South Africa'.

The practice of collusion is equally to be found in the growing joint enterprise and investment by these two capital forces: of 'Afrikaner'

directors occupying leading positions in overseas subsidiaries, of mixed capital ownership in companies and so on. In several instances, state-sponsored corporations provide the impetus to this joint enterprise. Thus, in the setting up of the S.A.S.O.L. oil-from-coal project the South African authorities encouraged and obtained substantial financial support from local Afrikaner combines and the British Vickers and A.E.I. companies for the development of important ancillary industries. Similar combinations of capital have been organized in the Vanderbijl Engineering Corporation (Vecor) which is reputed to be the largest engineering works in Africa.

Despite the rapid growth of local capital accumulation and ownership and its steady spread over the whole gamut of South Africa's economy, the commanding position of foreign and mainly British finance and capital remains unrivalled. The three million whites in the country may enjoy all the trappings of political power but their daily lives are more conditioned by the immense hold of foreign imperialism than by any other factor.* Trade with the major imperialist countries is important enough. But foreign credit and finance play a decisive role in South Africa's monetary system: well over 70 per cent of domestic bank deposits are held in British-owned banks. The Standard Bank, which is controlled from London, alone possesses assets worth some £330 million in South Africa. British insurance and building societies continue to handle over half of South Africa's business in these fields. South Africa's membership in the sterling area provides an even wider though more unobtrusive opportunity for foreign economic influence over the country; capital is permitted to flow freely to South Africa; considerable facilities of exchange are made available for South Africa's foreign transactions; the Bank of England is the main buyer and distributor of South Africa's gold; bank credits and the financing of trade and other transactions of South Africa are organized mainly through London. South Africa's recent exchange control measures have necessarily controlled the free flow of funds abroad, but this has not seriously undermined the international character of market for South African stocks and shares: in London, the trading in such securities and similar capital assets is extensive

* English-speaking South Africans control 99 per cent of mining capital, 94 per cent of industrial capital, 88 per cent of finance capital, and 75 per cent of commercial capital . . . the bulk of it is controlled by seven financial houses. Between them they control a thousand of the largest companies with combined financial resources of £1,000 million. Their policies are co-ordinated through the Transvaal and Orange Free State Chamber of Mines. This great financial empire's interests are further interlocked through overlapping directorships with powerful financial interests in the West.

Legums: *South Africa, Crisis for the West*, p. 108.

and as important as trading in the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. This international market provides one of the main channels for the flow into South Africa of 'portfolio' or indirect investment funds. And today these come in substantial amounts from Britain, the United States, Switzerland and West Germany.

THE SIZE OF THE FOREIGN CAPITAL STAKE

The massive and all-pervading foreign imperialist involvement in South Africa—in many ways unobtrusive and indirect—makes difficult any quantitative assessment of the foreign capital stake in the country. The South African Reserve Bank publishes regular statistics of the country's known and recognizable liabilities to foreigners. But it warns that these statistics 'cannot be regarded as reflecting the correct value of foreign funds invested in South Africa'. Rather these statistics tend to understate the true value of the foreign capital stake. Similarly the official estimates published in Britain and the United States of their capital investment in South Africa are no more than estimates and cannot provide a true guide to the size of their capital interest in the country. And yet such estimates as are available indicate the profound importance of foreign capital in the South African economy.

Between 1936 and 1960 the value of ascertainable foreign capital investment in South Africa rose by some 300 per cent to £1,530 million. This represents something like a half of aggregate foreign investments in the entire African continent. A greater proportion of these foreign funds in South Africa were in the form of *direct* investments, i.e. investments in companies in which the controlling interest is held abroad. In the past seven years for which more detailed estimates are available, *direct* investments from abroad increased from some £800 million to just under £1,000 million. But even these estimates are by no means complete: they are based on what is termed 'book values' and therefore do not take into account all the factors of capital appreciation, especially those arising from persistent reinvestment of profits much of which are hidden in company reserves of various kinds. On the other hand, if we attempt to calculate the size of the foreign investments in the country by reference to the average rate of profitability of such capital, a somewhat different picture emerges. At a conservative estimate foreign capital earns annually an average 10 per cent on its investments in South Africa. In 1963-64 the 'net income accruing to non-South African factors of production' (i.e. profits on foreign capital) amounted to £220 million according to the national income statistics. On this basis the foreign capital stake assumes a size well in the £2,000 million range.

TABLE I
SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN LIABILITIES
£ million

						End of	
						1956	1963
<i>Foreign Direct Investments</i>	..	..	..	..	..	809	985
Official (a)	..	..	..	..	..	47	56
Private Sector	..	..	..	..	..	762	929
<i>Indirect Investments (b)</i>	..	..	..	..	..	586	541
Official (a)	..	..	..	..	..	114	158
Private Sector	..	..	..	..	..	472	583
Total Foreign Liabilities	..	..	..	..	..	<u>1,395</u>	<u>1,526</u>

(a) Includes foreign and international loans to and investments in securities of the South African government, the S.A. Reserve Bank and commercial banks.

(b) Refers mainly to foreign-held stocks and shares which are quoted on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

Source: Quarterly Bulletin of Statistics, S.A. Reserve Bank—December, 1964.

In the ten years between 1956 and 1965 the increase in foreign direct investments in South Africa came not only from fresh flows of foreign funds to increase the foreign controlling interest in the South African economy, but from large-scale reinvestment of undistributed profits. The latter represented £195 million of the £223 million increase in foreign direct investments in the country. As suggested in Table I above there has been a decline in foreign *indirect* or portfolio investments in South Africa in this period. This decline mainly took place in 1960-62—the years of post-Sharpeville confidence crisis. Fears of political instability led many foreign investors to sell their South African stocks and shares and repatriate their capital abroad. But this decline in foreign portfolio investment is temporary: slowly a return of this form of foreign investment is taking place *pari passu* with the efforts of the Verwoerd government to impress the world by its suppression laws against the liberation movement.

THE SPREAD OF FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

Unlike other areas of imperialist capital investment, South Africa enjoys a considerably more balanced spread of foreign investment in the economy. While in the rest of Africa foreign capital is concentrated in plantation farming and in mining, these investments in South

Africa are centred in mining, manufacturing and in finance. Together these three sectors account for about 75 per cent of foreign investment in South Africa. In each of these industries this investment possesses a significant if not a commanding position. According to an earlier estimate of the South African Reserve Bank, the foreign stake in the mining industry amounted to approximately £460 million in 1960. In that year the mining industry's total contribution to the national output (and income) amounted to £340 million. In other words it would have taken more than one year's mining output to pay off the foreign capital stake in that industry. There is an equally significant relationship between the foreign capital stake and the contribution to national income in the manufacturing, finance and trade and commerce sectors of the South African economy.

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN LIABILITIES (£ Million)

	<i>End 1960</i>	<i>1961/62</i>
	Foreign Liabilities	Contribution to National Income
Mining	450	340
Manufacturing	346	616
Finance and Insurance	255	90
Trade and Commerce	180	317
All Industries	<u>1,315</u>	
Earnings of Foreign Investment		209

Source: S.A. Reserve Bank—Supplement to *Quarterly Bulletin*. December 1960 and *Bulletin* for June 1965.

The extensive operations of foreign capital in South Africa are more dramatically reflected by the scope and direction of more recent inflows of this capital and its role in providing a fresh source of strength and stability to the apartheid economy. Since 1962 these capital flows have decisively assisted the Verwoerd regime to implement its plan for the replacement of imports through the expansion of local manufacturing industry, for the construction of a munitions and war equipment industry and in general for making the country less vulnerable to trade boycotts. These capital inflows have contributed to considerable developments in South Africa's automobile, chemical, engineering, petroleum and other secondary industries. Some of these developments are worth reviewing here.

South Africa's motor vehicle industry has become the centre for unprecedented foreign capital activity supported in several instances with capital from domestic sources. Following various official encouragements and a decision to increase the domestic content in the manufacture of cars and vehicles, some £100 million of new foreign capital has entered the industry in the past four years. The British Motor Corporation has set up a factory in South Africa to produce car engines with a capacity of 90,000 engines a year. In 1963, the British Rover Company set up a plant to manufacture land rovers of the type used by the South African police and armed forces. The Ford Motor Company has extended its assembly and producing capacity with a capital investment of £4 million in 1964. The West Germans are proceeding with plans involving capital investment approximating £8 million to manufacture Volkswagens locally. The Italian Fiat group are spending £1½ million for motor assembly and engine production in Johannesburg. A similar investment has been made by the Swedish Volvo group. Leylands have announced a £4 million investment plan to set-up an automotive foundry to produce the first engine blocks in South Africa. The American Chrysler Company has embarked on a £12½ million manufacturing and development plan which includes a plant to produce engines, rear axles and transmissions. The French Renault company are spending £1 million on an engine assembly and machine plant. This list is by no means exhaustive: other British, American and now Japanese investments in the South African motor vehicle industry are taking place.

Allied with this development in car and vehicle production is the considerable recent growth in foreign investment in motor components, machine tools and in similar branches of the engineering industry. Such well-known international companies as Dunlop, Feredo, Guest Keen and Nettlefolds, Nortons, Firestone Tyre, and others are deeply implicated with large capital investments in each of these newer industries.

In iron and steel the government's monopoly is steadily being undermined, though the government itself does not appear to mind. In fact, the South African authorities are encouraging foreign interests to contribute to the development of the iron and steel industry, and in particular for the construction of plants to manufacture specialized steels. Some £55 million has been invested by British and American interests in this industry in the past three years. In petroleum, apart from an unknown foreign capital involvement in exploration activities and in joint development in South-West Africa and as far north as Portuguese Angola, the major international oil monopolies—Shell, British Petroleum, Caltex, Standard Oil of New Jersey, Sacony Vacuum

—have in the period since 1962 invested some £37 million for the expansion of oil storage facilities, refining and the production of a variety of petroleum products. This in turn has given fresh impetus to the development of the petro-chemical industry. Well over £17 million has been invested in this industry in recent years, in many instances in company with local Afrikaner finance and government aid. Allied to oil is the rapid joint development of the country's coal resources for the chemical industry. The Government's Sasol (or oil-from-coal) enterprise has combined with the British-controlled African Explosives and Chemical Industries to produce cyanide and several other chemical products from Sasol's methane and ammonia. These capital investments from abroad are paralleled by similar investments in the development of the electrical equipment, farm implements, appliance, textile and other industries.

In mining the stake of foreign capital is most impressive. Approximately a quarter of the funds invested in the gold, diamond, coal and other mineral mining industries are foreign held. However, these funds are so distributed in each of these industries as to make foreign control virtually complete. The seven finance houses controlling mining companies which contribute some 84 per cent to the total gold output are largely controlled by Anglo-American capital. The copper mining companies are wholly foreign controlled with the exception of more recently created Palabora international mining syndicate for copper mining and refining: here, West German, United States, British and South African capital have together contributed some £37 million—of this, approximately 82 per cent is foreign.

In manufacturing industry many of the new foreign investments are materially adding to the munitions and military equipment producing potential of the country. As *The Economist* (in its September 1965 quarterly bulletin on South Africa) remarked, 'the trend of developments is mainly strategic and is helping to build South Africa into an industrial and military power to be reckoned with'. In the military field co-operation between the foreign imperialist element and the local interests is complete: The British Atlas Aircraft Corporation with its £12½ million scheme to produce jet aircraft in South Africa will be partly financed by Bonuskor which is state-sponsored and by such Afrikaner-dominated monopolies as the 'Federale' group. The French Panhard project for the manufacture of military vehicles in the country is being similarly financed.

FOREIGN OWNERSHIP AND APARTHEID'S PROFITABILITY

According to the 1963 Survey of the S.A. Reserve Bank, Britain continues to hold a greater proportion of the international capital stake

in South Africa's apartheid economy. At the end of 1963 this British share was 53 per cent compared to 64 per cent in 1960. The United States share has gone from 12 to 14 per cent in these years while the rest of the imperialist countries—mainly West Germany (with Switzerland as a cover for other West European interests)—take virtually the balance of the capital stake.

TABLE III
SOUTH AFRICA'S FOREIGN LIABILITIES BY COUNTRIES—1963
£ million

	All types of Investment	Direct Investment
United Kingdom	928	671
Other Sterling Area countries	92	47
United States	162	120
Other West Europe	232	117
Other countries	36	30
International organisations	76	—
	<u>1,526</u>	<u>985</u>

S.A. Reserve Bank. *Quarterly Bulletin*, December 1964.

Table III represents the size of the known and recognizable forms of South Africa's foreign liabilities and its direct foreign investment component. As pointed out above these figures understate the true size of these liabilities. A similar understatement is reflected in the official statistics of foreign investment published in Britain and the United States. According to the British Board of Trade, the *book value* of United Kingdom direct investments in South Africa (excluding petroleum, banking and insurance) amounted to £280 million at the end of 1963. To this should be added South African estimates of non-direct investments of some £250 million, of about £100 million invested by British-controlled companies registered in South Africa and of other assets (mainly finance and credit) of some £300 million. This provides a total capital stake based largely on *book values* of some £950 million. A corresponding *current value* of this stake would be nearer £1,400 million.

Recently, the Board of Trade basing itself on an improved survey of the outflow of British capital for *direct* international investment has estimated a sizable annual British investment in South Africa in the past three years, reaching a peak in 1963 when the net new investment amounted to £34 million. This represented 14 per cent of the total of British direct foreign investment in that year. In the four years 1960-63,

these British capital flows to South Africa amounted to £78 million. It is possible that this rate of British investment has been continuing for a much longer period than these four years. A recent study* suggests that the British stake in South Africa in the years 1958-62 has grown by 25.4 per cent. South Africa ranked fourth place in relative importance for British overseas investment—coming after the United States, Canada and Australia. In 1963 Britain invested more in South Africa than in any other country with the exception of Australia.

South Africa's apartheid system is eminently profitable for British capital—a fact which largely determines the continued importance of that country as an area of British investment. According to the Board of Trade's survey, British capital earned more in South Africa in 1963 than in any other country. In that year these earnings amounted to £44 million which was absolutely larger than British earnings in the United States where British direct investments are estimated to be almost double that in South Africa.

TABLE IV
U.K. FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT FLOWS AND EARNINGS, 1963
£ million

	Direct Investment	Earnings	Average Rates of Profits on Investment (1962) (%)
South Africa	34	44	12.4
United States	26	38	6.6
Canada	7	27	3.4
Australia	65	42	6.7
All Countries	252	334	7.1

Source: Board of Trade Journal, April 2nd, 1965, and Dunning, 'Does Foreign Investment Pay?', in Moorgate and Wall Street Review, Autumn, 1964.

In the study of Professor Dunning, the importance to British capitalists of South Africa as a source of earnings on capital invested is clearly demonstrated. The average rate of earnings from South Africa over the years since 1958 has been consistently higher than capital earnings inside Britain or in most of the other traditional areas of British investment activity. The Central African Federation

* Dunning, 'Does Foreign Investment Pay?' *Moorgate and Wall Street Review*, Autumn 1964.

was only marginally more profitable until its dismemberment; earnings from Malaya which were once important have been declining rapidly. The average rate of profitability of British direct investments in all areas amounted to 7.9 per cent a year; the rate on South African investments averaged 10.9 per cent.

The South African Reserve Bank estimates the United States capital stake in South Africa at the end of 1963 at £162 million, of which £120 million represented direct investment. According to U.S. official estimates, American direct investments in South Africa amounted to \$415 or about £145 million at the end of 1963. The *Wall Street Magazine* has placed the value of these investments at \$580 million and, more recently, *Newsweek* at \$600 million. The official American estimates suggest that of the total of \$415 million direct investments some \$67 million was in mining and \$518 million in manufacturing industry. However, according to the American *Africa Today*, two United States groups alone—the Engelhard, Dillon Read, Rand Mines Group and the Newmont, American Metal Group—hold investments in South Africa's mining industry amounted to \$182 million. Further, this \$182 million of U.S. investments 'controlled South African mining enterprises worth \$430 million'.

TABLE V
U.S. DIRECT INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA
\$ million

	End of 1963	
	Total Value	Earnings
Mining	67	17
Manufacturing	158	41
Trade	47	10
Other (a)	142	18
	—————	—————
	415	86
	—————	—————

(a) Refers mainly to banking, finance and petroleum.

Source: Survey of Current Business (U.S. Dept. of Commerce), August 1964.

The Americans themselves claim that South Africa has given them a higher rate of profit on investments since 1958 than any other country in the world with the exception of West Germany. The average rate on these South African investments in the period 1958-61 was 17.1 per cent. In 1962, according to Professor Dunning's study, the rate

was 20.4 per cent which was even higher than the earning rate of U.S. capital in West Germany. The quotation at the head of this article suggests even higher rates of profit for U.S. capital in South Africa in recent years.

The statistics cited so far provide clear evidence of the immense profitability of apartheid to the imperialist exporters of capital—Britain and the United States foremost among them—and the resulting vested interest they possess in maintaining and strengthening the apartheid system. The safety of their capital and the profits they earn govern their actions and policies towards South Africa. While their governments engage with ease in condemning apartheid as immoral, their policies remain conditioned by the profound economic need to maintain apartheid's stability. Thus, as Charles Engelhard—the American investor and influential adviser to the U.S. State Department—declares, 'there are not many countries in the world where it is safe to invest and South Africa is just about the best of the lot'. A similar view is expressed by Herman J. Abs, the powerful director of the Deutsche Bank of West Germany (and who is probably more important in determining West German policy than Chancellor Erhard himself). He claims that 'South Africa is considered by West Germany to be in the first line of safe investment'. General Norstad, until recently supreme commander of NATO forces and now part of the American Owen-Corning Fibreglass group, talks of his confidence in the stability of South Africa and the Chairman of this group goes one step further in declaring that 'we have great appreciation of South Africa's importance as an ally and an economic force in the free world'.

APARTHEID: A BASE FOR IMPERIALIST EXPANSION

There is another reason for the importance which international imperialism attaches to South Africa. The American Denver Equipment Company—a considerable enterprise by any measure—argued recently in its bulletin that 'South Africa is the key to the economy of Africa'. The 'key' is also suggested by the decision of Charles Engelhard and his British associates in the Rand Mines group to establish in South Africa a £5 million steel producing company: its plant will have a capacity to manufacture stainless steels and other steel products somewhat three times the present consumption demand inside the country. Similarly the heavy foreign investments in the motor car industry and in the chemical and engineering industries provide for production capacities well beyond the needs of the South African economy.

Clearly, the foreign imperialists and their local allies evince the aim of converting Verwoerd's South Africa into a base from which they

could expand and more effectively dominate the rich economy of the whole of southern Africa. Already much of the foreign trade territories of this region links them with South Africa. Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland and South-West Africa are completely dominated by South Africa. Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique and Zambia receive some £60 million or a quarter of their import requirements from South Africa. The close links between the Rhodesian economy and that of South Africa are enshrined in extensive trade agreements some of which carry far-reaching customs union features. South Africa's main import from this region continues to be that veritable staple of cheap commodities of the region—human labour.

The scope of this larger aim was recently spelled out in *Optima* (the quarterly review of the Anglo-American Oppenheimer Finance Group) of September 1965. The writer, Dr. F. J. C. Cronje (who is Chairman of the Netherlands Bank of South Africa) calls for the creation of what he terms a 'free trade association' in southern Africa. Despite the many difficulties, he sees considerable possibilities for binding together the economies of South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia and of course South-West Africa, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland in an economic and trade association: they together 'form a geographical unit' in which 'the European element is strong'; further, 'a degree of co-operation already exists' and that 'recent agreements have opened up possibilities'. Dr. Cronje argues that the territories concerned are under-developed and thus have to depend for their main requirements of manufactured goods on imports. South Africa could 'accommodate the needs of its neighbours, take the place of traditional sources of supply and take their products'. With lower production costs in South Africa and the ready supply of abundant cheap labour, South Africa could compete effectively with the traditional exporters of Western Europe and in this way establish an area of free trade unencumbered by tariffs and other impediments to the free flow of goods and capital. Such a free trade area could provide South Africa's raw material needs as the latter's economy grows to become the area's industrial heart. Further, as Dr. Cronje puts it:

It would certainly be no exaggeration to assert that a market combining South Africa, South-West Africa, the territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and the Portuguese provinces of Angola and Mozambique and Rhodesia would link an area of truly immeasurable mineral wealth.

A similar idea for the region is advanced by the London *Economist*. But here the proposal for an economic union is linked with questions of political independence and African majority rule. *The Economist* sees such an economic union as a means of holding the region together under the economic control of imperialism should it become impossible

to withhold majority African rule in the neighbouring territories. Thus, according to this astute plan for a southern Africa economic union (which would include 'a black Rhodesia and in the long run an independent Angola and Mozambique'):

There might indeed begin to take shape a group of black states in southern Africa that could join in an economic union (if not a political union) with white South Africa. This could easily include Dr. Banda's Malawi; it is conceivable that given the right circumstances and the right pressures from the West, it might even include Zambia.

(The Economist, August 7th, 1965)

Customs and economic unions are already a feature of South Africa's foreign economic policy. As mentioned above, these have been bases on which the territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, not to mention South-West Africa, have to all intents and purposes been converted into little more than economic adjuncts of the South African economy. They are all inextricably tied to South Africa: despite the progress of some of them to self-rule, they are all unable to break the vicious cycle of poverty and backwardness that has been a feature of their history since 1910. To a large extent, they maintain the barest requirements of life only by exporting their labour to the South African republic. In a more complex form, the economies of Rhodesia, Zambia and Malawi are already linked to that of South Africa through trade agreements which give South African goods preferential terms of entry. Despite the break-up of the Central African Federation, these agreements have persisted and continue to influence economic conditions in this region. Today, not even Zambia is strong enough to dissolve its repugnant economic connections with Verwoerd's South Africa.

All schemes for free trade areas and customs unions, particularly those between countries in different stages of development, are founded on the policy of imperialist economic expansion and domination. Through the operation of such schemes, the poorer and backward countries remain poor and backward: they degenerate into specialist producers of raw materials, agricultural products (and in the case of a southern Africa union, the export of cheap labour) not for their own requirements but for the needs of the more developed parts of the union. As a result, the poorer parts of the union became economically and ultimately politically dependent on the more industrially advanced member country or countries. This indeed was the basis of the French plans to integrate the former French-speaking African colonies in the European Common Market. A French Minister admitted at the time that this scheme amounted to 'collective colonialism' on the part of the West European members of the Common Market. Similarly, the

British imperial tariff system had the purpose of maintaining Britain's economic control over the Empire through a preferential tariff union.

The South African urge to organize a big customs union in Southern Africa and beyond with Pretoria as the centre has long been reflected in the country's policy and activities towards the neighbouring territories. Over the past decade the pace of South African capital penetration into the neighbouring countries has been intensified. In 1963 South Africa's known direct capital investments abroad was valued at £240 million; of this, £154 million was invested in Rhodesia and Zambia and a further estimated £10 million in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. In 1956 these South African investments in the neighbouring territories amounted to no more than £40 million. However, a large proportion of these investments have been financed not from South African indigenous sources but by the international mining and investment monopolies. Of these the Anglo-American Oppenheimer group is by far the most important: in essence it is an international consortium of financial groups based in London and New York but which operates mainly from South Africa. Its interests are considerable—ranging from gold, diamonds, chemicals, iron and steel, and explosives in South Africa to cattle ranching and manufacturing in Rhodesia and copper mining in Zambia.

These then are the kind of considerations which make South Africa, at least in the eyes of the imperialist powers and their financiers the 'key to the economy of Africa'. These considerations motivate the recent upsurge of foreign capital investment in the apartheid economy and in the construction of production capacities and facilities well beyond the requirements of the South African market. For the imperialists, South Africa possesses all the attributes of what is termed a 'low cost economy'—cheap and unlimited labour supplies organized and managed by the apartheid system and enforced by a government which enjoys the confidence of foreign capital. These provide the conditions for a step-by-step transformation of South Africa into a base for expansion and for the creation of a vaster zone of untrammelled imperialist domination and exploitation in southern Africa. This role too fulfils the aims and ambitions of the local white colonialists and the Verwoerd regime. Much of the latter's political policies and military preparations are designed to extend South African influence, to organize a reactionary and white-dominated coalition in southern Africa and to hold this rich region as a preserve of imperialism.

THE WIDER STRUGGLE

The analysis given in this article points to a sharp contrast between the colonial forces, their make-up and power, in South Africa and in

the majority of the countries of Africa in the recent period of colonial rule. In our country the forces of race reaction and colonial-type domination are organized in a power structure considerably more complex and formidable than has possibly been organized anywhere else in Africa. The local white colonialists are not only numerically strong but operate as a more or less cohesive class to maintain their privileged position; they are accumulating capital rapidly and are uniting with the foreign imperialists to create an all-embracing and virtually self-sustaining economy based on apartheid and the savage oppression of the African and other non-white population. The foreign imperialist element is considerable and extends to almost every branch of the South African economy. This element is no longer confined to Britain, which until recently held a commanding influence over the economic life of the country. Steadily the other imperialist countries—the United States, West Germany, France and the other big exporters of capital—are building up a sizeable stake in the country and a vested interest in the exceptionally profitable apartheid system. They are transforming South Africa into a major industrial and military centre and as a base for expansion, in particular, the creation of a vaster zone of imperialist domination in southern Africa and beyond. The imperialists are helping to build a considerable munitions and military equipment industry in the country and are giving political and diplomatic support to Dr. Verwoerd's regime, despite their public declarations to the contrary. They join with the local white colonialists to hold untrammelled the regime of white supremacy because this alone assures them the continued flow of massive profits and income from South Africa.

By contrast, the main force of reaction in the rest of Africa was the single foreign imperialist power. It held in its hands all the principal instruments of national oppression and economic domination. In many of the African colonies the domestic bourgeois elements were not strong enough to assert their independent interests over and above those of the masses of the people; in many instances they joined forces with the people to expel the imperialists. Where they assumed the character of an expatriate colonial-type class, as in Kenya, they proved to be powerless in swinging the balance in favour of continued foreign rule. Only in Algeria were the largely plantation-owning 'colons' difficult and stubborn, determined to maintain their special privileges by depending on France. But the struggle for independence was directed against France which alone controlled Algeria. The Algerian struggle necessarily took more complex forms: a long and protracted armed struggle had to be mounted against the French imperialists.

Our people in South Africa cannot and do not have any illusions about the complexity of their struggle and the diverse and powerful

enemy—at home and from abroad—who are ranged against them. While rightly maintaining that the decisive battlefield for freedom will be in South Africa itself, our people and movement understand the wider content of the struggle: that we are directly concerned with the uprooting of the seemingly entrenched positions of international imperialism in our country and the destruction of its devious plans to convert South Africa into a spring-board for economic aggression and expansion in southern Africa and beyond. For this reason, our movement gives considerable importance to the international campaigns of solidarity and support for our freedom fight: these campaigns against apartheid, especially in the Western countries, help to weaken the alignment of Anglo-American imperialism on the side of Verwoerd and its hold on the economy and resources of our country.

History has given the South African people a difficult and complicated task in the general struggle for African liberation and true independence. By uniting all who oppose apartheid and imperialism and by persisting in struggle, our people will undoubtedly accomplish this grave task, achieve victory, and advance the day of peace, freedom and prosperity in our continent and the world.

- *On the eve of their achieving formal political independence from British rule, the three Southern African territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland face serious problems of breaking their economic dependence on Verwoerd's republic. This article describes recent political developments in each territory.*

ISLANDS OF INDEPENDENCE IN THE SLAVE SOUTH



A. ZANZOLO

THE FUTURE OF the three Southern African countries of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland is one of the most serious problems facing statesmen in the New Africa. The reason is not far to seek. These countries are all of them in the midst of what is now the unliberated South of our continent—that part of Africa still controlled by White minority governments or by the Portuguese imperialists. Although Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland are different and each has unique features, the justification for treating them together lies in the fact that they have a common relationship to Britain and to the Republic of South Africa. This confronts them with many similar problems in the struggle for freedom, independence and economic development.

All three countries were brought under British administration at the end of the nineteenth century during the Scramble for Africa. They were not conquered by force of arms but were brought into the British empire by negotiations and treaties which left much authority and administration in the hands of traditional ruling groups. Thus the land-grabbing which occurred in other colonies was to some extent curbed particularly in Basutoland and Bechuanaland. Although a joint British administration was created for all three territories under a High Commissioner much of the day-to-day government was left in the hands of Resident Commissioners of whom there was one in each country. The Resident Commissioner in turn worked through the Chiefs. This was an example of the so-called system of indirect rule.

From the outset the British imperialists conceived of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland as part of the Union of South Africa which state had been created and handed over to the rule of a White minority in 1910. The Schedule to the South Africa Act 1909, enacted by the British parliament as the constitution of the South African state, included a procedure for the eventual incorporation of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. It should be noted that this was done without consultation with the peoples of the Protectorates with whom Britain was supposed to have treaty relationships.

The British did not stop there. The Protectorates were included in a single customs union with the Union of South Africa. In terms of this all goods bound for these countries had their customs controlled and collected at South African customs ports. South African goods entered these countries free of customs duties. In return the Protectorates received a share of the duties collected by South Africa. The South African pound was adopted as their currency. All their communications—postal, radio and telephonic—were placed under the control of South Africa. All savings funds belonging to the peoples of these countries were under the control of South African savings and financial institutions. All economic development was stifled especially if it seemed to conflict with the basic aim of maintaining Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland as labour reservoirs serving the mines, farms and industries of South Africa.

Legal and police arrangements in these countries treated them as part of South Africa. Roman-Dutch law, the common law of South Africa, was adopted as the law of the Protectorates and lawyers had to satisfy the requirements of the South African courts to qualify for admission to the Protectorate courts. Railway and transport organisation was similarly controlled by South Africa.

The marketing of goods, the fixing of quality and prices was all largely left in the hands of South African authorities whose interest was to maintain low economic development of these countries as was the case in the so-called African 'reserves' of the Union of South Africa itself.

The Customs Union in particular which has been presented as greatly advantageous to the Protectorates has been a device for ensuring that they do not develop at all. Unable to import goods directly from wherever they liked as is the case with all countries, the Protectorates have been subject completely to South African customs and protective policy designed to protect South African industries and products. The Protectorates became a dumping ground for South African goods and found it difficult if not impossible to develop an independent commercial life.

Two arguments frequently advanced in support of the customs union is that these countries did not have a machinery for performing their own customs collection because it would be too costly. Also that the arrangements entered into in 1910 actually benefited the Protectorates. These very general arguments have never been substantiated. But nothing can alter the fact that a customs union between a developed and an undeveloped country is to the disadvantage of the underdeveloped. Furthermore no country worth its salt allows its imports and exports to be controlled by another state, to say nothing of a hostile one. As for the argument that these countries had no outlet to the sea—the same could be said of Switzerland and many other countries.

These close relationships with South Africa have persisted from 1910 until today when Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland stand on the verge of independence still tied hand and foot to the most anti-African government in the world.

The liberation movement in South Africa and all the people of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland have always opposed incorporation of these countries into South Africa. Whenever the people recognized any attempt to consummate all the links binding them to South Africa with outright incorporation they vigorously opposed it. Yet the British and South African ruling class continued to inveigle these countries into the Union of South Africa to suffer all the disabilities of their brothers and sisters in that country.

After the Second World War the situation became favourable for the oppressed peoples of the world. The victory of the Soviet Union and of socialism in a number of east European and Asian countries; the struggle of the working class in the metropolitan countries; the national liberation revolution in Asia and Africa which led to the emergence of 60 independent states; all had their impact on Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

By 1954 the policy of direct incorporation of these countries into South Africa became a dead letter. This was foreshadowed in the statement by Winston Churchill, then Premier of Britain, when he said with customary imperialist double-talk that no incorporation of the Protectorates would take place without the fullest consultation with the people of these countries themselves.

ON THE EVE OF INDEPENDENCE

It is not necessary here to go into the history of constitutional development in the three countries. Suffice it to say that the political links tying these countries to Britain are about to be broken. Bechuana-

land will be independent on *September 30th, 1966*. The name of the new state will be *BOTSWANA*. According to the agreement between the British government and the Basotho during the constitutional talks last year independence should be achieved on April 29th, 1966, with the new state resuming its traditional name of *LESOTHO*. Swaziland does not yet have its independence date. But the position there too is quite clear; in the near future Swazini will be independent.

The Verwoerd government and the South African imperialist bourgeoisie have not of course abandoned their traditional aim of eventual outright annexation of the three territories. But the shift in the balance of African and international forces, and the universal detestation of apartheid, have necessitated a change of tactics. Verwoerd now says he welcomes independence. The South African imperialists are concentrating on indirect methods of penetration and control. Clearly they hope by means of economic pressures, intrigues and corruption, to absorb the territories in practice, while avoiding the international uproar that would result from outright invasion and annexation. In Swaziland and Bechuanaland, ready-made potential fifth columns of the Republic exist in small but economically powerful white minorities. These have been advised by Pretoria to support the more conservative and traditional African parties against the radical national liberation movements. In Basutoland, political and financial support was given by the Republic (and by West Germany) to the right-wing National Party which advocates closer economic relations with South Africa.

Recent elections in all three territories appear to have been a signal victory for these methods; indeed they were hailed by the white racialists in the Republic as such. In each election the more conservative parties won majorities; in Bechuanaland and Swaziland the most progressive parties such as the Botswana Independence Party and the Ngwane Liberatory Congress were badly defeated.

In Swaziland the royalist Imbokodvo Party, backed both by the white settler minority and the King, Ngwenyama Sobhuza II, swept the board in the first elections held in June 1964. Though it did not put forward any clear economic or political programme—its stated aim was simply to protect the rights and privileges of the king and the chiefs in any future changes in Swaziland—it won, together with its allies, all 24 elective seats in the Legislative Assembly.

There was some surprise at the poor showing of the Ngwane Liberatory Congress, which had been the organizer of a very powerful strike movement in Swaziland which had resulted in British troops being sent to the country from Kenya to break the strike. (Incidentally though

the Labour Party, then in opposition, protested against the use of troops for strike-breaking, the troops are still there.) It should not be forgotten, however, that modern political parties are a new development in Swaziland. There had been a good deal of splintering and personal bickering among the political leaders which led to confusion and lack of confidence among the public. The issues were clouded still further by the sudden emergence of a royalist party which seemed to make national loyalty the issue in the election campaign. In the long run it will be impossible to reconcile the position of the Ngwenyama as a constitutional monarch with that of leader of a political party. Urbanization and economic development, which is going ahead at a faster rate in Swaziland with its rich natural resources than in the other two territories, is inevitably leading to an advance of sophistication unfavourable to the indefinite dominance of a 'King's party' in politics.

At the first session of the new legislature, the King, Sobhuza II, indicated the wish of the Swazi to achieve independence. Prince Makhosini Dlamini, as leader of the Imbokodvo Party, made a lengthy speech outlining the policy of his party to work for independence. A Commission of the Legislative Council has been appointed to make recommendations for a new constitution leading to independence for Swaziland. There seems little doubt that on independence the country will be controlled by an Imbokodvo government with Ngwenyama Sobhuza II as head of state.

In Basutoland the general elections held on April 29th, 1965, resulted in the following position: The Catholic-supported Basutoland National Party obtained thirty-one seats, the Basutoland Congress Party twenty-five seats and the Marematlou Freedom Party four seats. In the Senate or upper house a majority of the thirty-three senators support the Marematlou Freedom Party. The Basutoland National Party although it received a minority of the popular vote obtained a majority in the National Assembly of two over the combined opposition. The votes cast for the National Party amounted to over 108,000; the Basutoland Congress Party obtained 103,000 and the Marematlou Freedom Party 42,000. The combined opposition received more votes than the ruling party.

The Basutoland Congress Party and the Marematlou Freedom Party have got more or less similar policies. They both maintain links with Pan-African organizations such as the Committee of Nine of the O.A.U. They differ in their approach to the tactics that must be followed in winning over the masses and the chiefs. In fact these two parties exist as a result of a tragic split in the Congress Party whose leadership adopted undemocratic practices and tried to eliminate progressives

in its ranks for purely opportunistic reasons. The result of the split has been the victory of the reactionary National Party. Despite the obvious lessons of the general elections the split has not yet been healed. The result is that in recent by-elections the National Party managed to hold its position. In the Masemouse by-election the votes of the M.F.P. and B.C.P. together were more than those received by the victorious National Party candidate. As the progressive parties fail to unite, the National Party with the support of South Africa is consolidating its position. Before the elections nobody believed the National Party could win an election. They won. After the elections it was confidently predicted that they could last more than a couple of months. They have now been in power six months. By the use of patronage and the offer of jobs to their opponents the National Party is eroding the opposition. Already one member of parliament belonging to the M.F.P. has announced his intention to vote for the government. The truth is that there is no short cut to victory by the progressive parties. Unless they unite they will allow the National Party to be the governing party until independence. The South African government is keen that Basutoland should be independent with a National Party government which will be completely dominated by the imperialists. The Communist Party of Lesotho has called for serious talks to be organized between the M.F.P. and B.C.P. with a view to establishing genuine unity based on opposition to the National Party policy of working with Verwoerd and for achievement of genuine independence.

In Bechuanaland the general elections held on March 1st, 1965, resulted in a sweeping victory for the Bechuanaland Democratic Party led by Seretse Khama. Out of thirty-one elective seats the B.D.P. won twenty-eight. The Bechuanaland People's Party won three and the more advanced Party, the Botswana Independence Party, none. Subsequently the National Assembly elected four more members of the B.D.P. in terms of the constitution.

Although its election manifesto is liberal in character, laying great stress on economic questions, the Bechuanaland Democratic Party is clearly the most conservative grouping, relying heavily on the support not only of the traditionalist chiefs but also of the white cattle-ranchers and traders.

THE PEOPLE WILL RESIST APARTHEID

Surveying these election results, the Pretoria imperialists would seem to have reason to be very pleased with the ways things have gone. Independence is approaching with the governments least militantly opposed to apartheid in each territory. It does not seem likely that the

Leabua Jonathan, Sobhuza and Khama administrations will immediately reverse the general policy of appeasement of the apartheid regime followed up to now by the British colonialist administrators. In each territory, until now, anti-apartheid refugees from the Republic have been treated shabbily, and many of them declared prohibited immigrants, while supporters of Verwoerd are free to come and go as they please. Each territory has made it a crime to organize anti-apartheid activities; progressive journals—including *The African Communist*—have been banned, while fascist papers such as *Die Transvaler* pour into the territories daily. The South African Police Special Branch and—in Swaziland—the Portuguese P.I.D.E. are given a free hand, and have frequently kidnapped refugees.

At the same time the white colonialists should think twice before they imagine a smooth progression towards de facto incorporation and swallowing up of the former 'Protectorates'. There are powerful factors in each territory impelling them to resist the encroachments of the apartheid state with all their might and main. The Basotho, Bechuana and Swazi people, like all Africans, hate apartheid and treasure their independence. They demand strongly not only that no concessions be made to the African-haters across the borders, but also that practical steps be taken to protect the human rights of the tens of thousands of Bechuana, Basotho and Swazi people living and working in the Republic. No government in any of the three territories can afford to ignore this unanimous feeling of the masses.

In Lesotho, as we have seen, Chief Leabua Jonathan's minority government is in a precarious position. Any serious concessions to the Republic would undoubtedly result in the immediate repudiation of the National Party by the masses. Even within his own Party, whose chief mainstay of support is the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy, there can be few illusions of the intentions of the Verwoerd regime; and the century-old tradition of the fiercely-defended independence of Lesotho, deriving from the heroic days of King Moshoeshoe I, is still very much alive.

Ngwenyama Sobhuza, also, knows in his heart that apartheid and the Boer Nationalist Republic constitute a deadly threat to his authority and his lands and his people. He and his advisers know that their popular support rests on the belief of the people that he will defend their independence; one cannot imagine that he would like to find himself in the position of a Matanzima, holding office only by virtue of the protection of the South African Police and servile subordination to the Bantu Affairs Department.

The Prime Minister of Bechuanaland, Mr. Seretse Khama, was once himself deposed from the Paramount Chieftainship by a British Labour

Government on the insistence of Pretoria, because he had the temerity to marry an Englishwoman. He is only too well aware of the daily humiliations and sufferings inflicted on the Bechuana in the Republic. Recently he visited Zambia to hold talks with President Kaunda. Unlike the other two territories, Bechuanaland has a common border, albeit only a few miles long, with free Africa; and it is likely that the two leaders aimed in their talks at increased co-operation, especially in the field of economics, and at reducing dependence on white-controlled South Africa and Rhodesia.

Whatever the position in each country the Southern African territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland are rapidly heading for independence. The placing of their destiny in their own hands will pose enormous problems. They are all close to and dominated economically and otherwise by the centre of reaction in our continent South Africa. But let there be no mistake. Africa and the whole of progressive mankind must and will rejoice with the peoples of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland on their attainment of independent statehood. The idea that these countries might be better off under British rule because of the dangers of falling in the South African sphere of influence is a confused and naive one. It is British imperialism which has landed Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland in their present predicaments. Once they have political sovereignty they can begin to act in their own interests without a 'protector' that has betrayed them over and over again. The covert imperialist supporters of Verwoerd, Ian Smith in Rhodesia and Salazar cannot be regarded as potential protectors of African interests anywhere. Nor is the principle of immediate independence for these countries to be retreated from because of the character of one or other party which it appears might be in power in each country at the time of the independence celebrations.

It would be of great importance if the free states of Africa and Asia and the socialist countries were called on to help these countries to enable them to play an independent role in international affairs and to begin the task of building modern economies. Every attempt must be made to increase all manner of contacts with the new states and to reduce their dependence on the Unholy Alliance of Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal.

Having failed with the aim of direct incorporation of these countries South Africa is now in favour of turning them into client states, isolated from world currents and unable to carve their own path in the world. South African capitalists are being encouraged to invest there so that any economic development is not opposed to the interests of the Republic of S.A.

The policy of the South African liberation movement as reflected in the Freedom Charter and the Programme of the South African Communist Party fully supports the complete independence of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. The oppressed peoples of South Africa have always opposed the ruling class in its attempts to incorporate these countries and will continue to do so. The struggle of the peoples in the former protectorates for independence from South Africa and Britain is part and parcel of the South African struggle for freedom. There will be no genuine freedom in these neighbouring countries until apartheid is overthrown. Support for the freedom movement by Swazi, Basotho and Batswana patriots is a means of helping their own struggle and vice versa. Unity between all forces fighting for freedom and independence in Southern Africa is an earnest of victory against apartheid.

THE TANZANIAN ELECTIONS

A. Langa

TANZANIA'S SEPTEMBER ELECTIONS mark a unique step forward in the country's political development. The elections, for both the Presidency and the National Assembly, were the first since Tanganyika won its independence, the first since the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, and the first under the new one-party constitution.

But their significance does not end there. The electoral rules under which the election was fought demonstrate conclusively that Tanzania's leaders, both on the mainland and on Zanzibar, are determined to consolidate and extend the democratic unity which binds Tanzania's people, and to ensure that those who make the nation's laws are truly representative of the workers and peasants who have elected them.

In most democratic one-party states, the name of only one candidate goes onto the ballot paper, the party candidate having been chosen in preliminary consultations and primary elections by trade unions, youth and women's movements, and other mass organizations. The electors may then either vote for the selected person, or reject him. Not so in Tanzania (or rather mainland Tanzania—the island people are to hold their National Assembly elections later). In all but six of the 107 constituencies, voters had a choice between two candidates—both of whom were officially sponsored by the governing party, T.A.N.U. Both candidates appeared on the T.A.N.U. platform together, and both were accorded exactly the same access to T.A.N.U. electioneering facilities. While the candidates were chosen by the T.A.N.U. branch in their district, their names were ratified by the T.A.N.U. central executive before they were permitted to compete for popular choice. Once the candidates had been chosen, all other aspirants were compelled to withdraw, and it became an offence for anyone else to offer himself for election in the constituency.

But why this elaborate procedure? Why did Tanzania depart so radically from the usual one-party pattern? Several observers have suggested that having two candidates in each constituency was mere "window-dressing", a hangover from "Westminster-style" democracy. Nothing could be further from the truth. In a penetrating analysis of the position, President Nyerere, in his address to the last session of the old National Assembly, outlined the reasons for the changes which that session passed into law:

'Since 1958, in election after election, the overwhelming national support of T.A.N.U. has been increasingly demonstrated . . . only one independent candidate has ever been elected to this House in opposition to T.A.N.U.—and he was one of those rare exceptions that truly prove the rule. He was a member of T.A.N.U. who continued to recruit members for T.A.N.U. even during the very campaign in which he was opposing T.A.N.U.'s official candidate. The people are united behind their national movement.

'In consequence of this a candidate supported by T.A.N.U. is automatically elected; the people want a T.A.N.U. representative. *Yet, because we have been operating in the context of a multi-party system the people have had no choice as to which T.A.N.U. candidate. This means that our procedures are, in practice, endangering both democracy and unity; if the people always acquiesce in the T.A.N.U. candidate who is submitted to them by the Party machinery they are losing their effective power over the representative and his actions. If they are to oppose him they are in danger of giving sustenance to the enemies of our national unity and bringing into jeopardy the future of the principles they wish to defend. We have thus come to a position where the maintenance of institutions and procedures which were supposed to safeguard the practice of democracy, and which are appropriate to a multiparty system, in fact eliminate the people's choice of their representative.*' (my italics—A.L.)

It was to remedy this situation that the T.A.N.U. annual conference decided, in 1963, to establish a democratic one-party state by law. But this was no lightly-made decision—it was arrived at after a careful study of T.A.N.U.'s experiences in the anti-colonial struggle, and an analysis of the factors which President Nyerere outlined to the National Assembly two years later. Even then, things were not rushed, although the problem was urgent. The President established a Commission, under the chairmanship of Rashidi Kawawa, Tanzania's Second Vice-President, to enquire into the best way of establishing the one-party state. The Commission reported in April 1965, and the last step was taken in June, with the National Assembly passing the necessary constitutional amendments to the 1962 Republican Constitution.

The Tanzanian system has worked well in its first try-out. The elections were keenly fought, but with none of the mud-slinging and phoney antics which make a farce of bourgeois elections. In essence, the people chose those men and women whom they felt would best carry forward T.A.N.U.'s socialist principles, as well as those who would be able and interested advocates of their constituents' interests. The few who had spent most of their time devoting themselves to the pleasures of "high-life" in Dar got short shift from the people: for this and for other reasons, there were several upsets in the election results.

But elections at five-yearly intervals are not always sufficient to ensure democratic control over a country's rulers. T.A.N.U., therefore, is to be a mass organization, through which any and every citizen who accepts T.A.N.U.'s basic principles can participate in the control of the country's single political organization.

Finally, a Permanent Commission on the Abuse of Power has been set up, which will have the duty of receiving complaints from the people about any mis-use of authority by policemen, regional commissioners, civil servants, and even T.A.N.U. officials. The Commission will report directly to the President, who will take appropriate action. President Nyerere explained: 'The Government believes that the operation of such a Commission should help to make a reality of the political equality of all our people, and of their individual freedom within the context of our socialist society'.

The elections resulted in the loss of their seats for a number of prominent people, among them the Minister of Finance, Paul Bomani, and the Minister of Industries, Jeremiah Kasambala. In addition, four junior (non-Cabinet) ministers lost their seats in the contest, while three junior ministers did not win nomination in the primaries. A sad loss for the new legislature will be Bibi Titi Mohamed, the veteran Tanzanian women's leader and one of the founder members of T.A.N.U. (Party card number 16), but she retains her seat on the national executive of T.A.N.U. Bomani has been re-nominated by President Nyerere as Minister of State for Development Planning, while his former post is taken over by the only Asian in the Cabinet, Amir Jamal. The comparatively narrow margins by which the two senior ministers were beaten (a mere 1,160 votes out of about 24,000 in Bomani's case) seem to indicate that local issues predominated, and not policy on a national level.

Prominent Zanzibaris in the new Cabinet are Sheikh Abeid Karume, the First Vice-President of the Republic, A. K. Hanga, the former Minister for Industries, who is now Minister for Union Affairs, and A. M. Babu, the Minister for Commerce and Co-operatives. The President himself has taken over the Foreign Affairs portfolio from Oscar Kambona, who has been assigned the important post of Regional Administration.

There can be no doubt of the overwhelming support for President Nyerere among the peoples of both Tanganyika and Zanzibar. In the Presidential elections, held at the same time, the man who led Tanganyika to independence received 96 per cent of the popular vote on the mainland, and 98 per cent on Zanzibar and Pemba. He has thus received enthusiastic endorsement for his declared policies of vigorous anti-imperialism, of uncompromising struggle against the remnants of colonialism in Africa, and for the rapid, socialist development of Tanzania.

The long night of imperialist ascendancy is over in Tanzania. The people are fully aware of the difficult struggles which lie ahead, but they have shown their confidence in the democratic and radical policies

being followed by T.A.N.U.'s leadership. As long as the Tanzanian leaders retain that confidence, the way is open to progress and unity.

Tanzania's experiment in one-party democracy, unique in Africa and probably in the world, is a significant contribution to the search for the form of democracy best suited to Africa's pressing problems of social, political and economic development. The Tanzanians have decided upon a new departure from the one-party pattern as it has evolved in Africa. The experiment appears to have worked well, and deserves acute study and appraisal by all concerned with the future of African democracy.

Wreckers of the Fight against Apartheid : I

In 1960 the Verwoerd dictatorship banned both the African National Congress and its right-wing splinter organization, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). Leaders of the latter group fled abroad almost to a man and have concerned themselves while in exile with their campaign, not against apartheid, but against the Congress alliance. Their slanders find a willing audience among people abroad who do not know the facts. That is why we have considered it necessary to embark upon the present series.

The Myth of PAC Militancy

Sol Dubula

THE PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS of South Africa made its appearance as an independent political body in November 1958. In its short span of seven years it has managed such a multitude of political somersaults in so many important fields that it is becoming increasingly difficult to talk of PAC policy or to pinpoint its fundamental credo. Its only consistency has been an automatic rejection of everything said or done by the African National Congress. Apart from this it has managed, during this period, to be both racialist and multiracialist, anti-communist and pro-communist and, pro-violence and pacifist.

The precise determination of its approach to many fundamental issues is often very closely related to the question of which of its leaders is asking for what from which part of the world. When Potlako Leballo its present leader tours China, he offers himself as a leader of a truly revolutionary left, anti-imperialist force. When Nana Mahomo goes begging for funds from the United States he presents PAC as a bastion against communist influence in the National Liberation movement. They have swung from the most virulent racialism against the Whites and Indians to allowing representatives of both groups (in some cases with very questionable political ties) to occupy leading and dominant positions in their apparatus.

In Africa their militant talk against Verwoerd knows no bounds.

Before the United Nations their spokesmen (the ex-British Colonial Office employee, Patrick Duncan and Mahomo) go on record against the imposition of full sanctions—a policy which happens to suit the imperialists.

Inside South Africa, the absence of a principled approach towards the struggle for national liberation found many of the PAC leaders on the same side as Verwoerd in their attempts to sabotage the various nation-wide demonstrations which were organized by the ANC before 1960. An examination of PAC literature during this period shows that very scant attention was being paid to the oppressive white regime and the bulk of PAC invective was devoted to the undermining of the ANC.

Even today, leaders of PAC like Matthew Nkoana (a journalist with a long history of association with the Chamber of Mines' *Bantu World* and Verwoerd's *Elethu*) spends more energy and resources in an attempt to discredit the ANC than in campaigning against the apartheid regime. In an endeavour to tap yet other financial resources in Africa and elsewhere lip service is paid to the unity of the liberation forces. At the same time the procession of attacks, and slanders about the ANC and its allies is unabated. In this campaign lies and fabrications fall from the pens of their journalists only too easily.

In its public relations work the PAC has (particularly in Africa) attempted to build up a picture of itself as a fiery national movement which, in contrast to the ANC, is African both in form and substance. It wants to be accepted as the more militant and more revolutionary wing of the National Liberation movement. It attempts to paint a picture of a white, Indian or communist dominated ANC consisting of moderates and compromisers who don't really wish to have a real confrontation with the white state. It tries to present itself as a body which was instrumental in introducing a new, militant and revolutionary spirit into the anti-Verwoerd struggle.

An attempt was made to destroy Mandela, the unchallenged mass leader of the struggle against white supremacy. When this attempt failed they try to make the best of it by the insinuation that Mandela is different from other ANC leaders and cap it with the concoction that he is advising his followers to join PAC (*Africa and the World*—April 1965—article by Nkoana). Where they can no longer maintain the pretence that the ANC stands for moderation and compromise they resort to the fable that insofar as the ANC is showing its teeth it has followed in the footsteps of the PAC.

This myth of PAC militancy does not stand up to even a superficial scrutiny. For a short time it struck root in some parts of Africa because the murders committed at Sharpeville led, understandably, to a confusion between white brutality and the character of the campaign

which led up to the massacre. Events since Sharpeville (including the general conduct of affairs by the ever-changing and ever-bickering PAC leadership) have served to disenchant many of its former friends and members and to expose this myth of militancy. A short survey of the main events both before and after 1960 should serve, once and for all, to prick the bubble.

As a formal organizational group the PAC was created in November 1958 after a group of hooligans had failed to break up the ANC conference which was being held in Orlando under the chairmanship of Oliver Tambo. In a statement adopted by a group of 100 Africanists (including Leballo and Madzunya) and sent to the chairman of the conference, the signatories stated,

We are launching out on our own as the custodians of ANC policy as formulated in 1912 and pursued up to the time of the Congress alliance.

This breakaway occurred against the background of the ANC campaign of protest against the undemocratic travesty of the 1958 general election. It is of importance to recall that the forces of the white state were mobilized as never before to deal with this protest. The Prime Minister threatened retaliation 'with the full might of the state'. The white opposition United Party called for strong government action against the ANC. The police force and the army were called into action against the proposed strike. The so-called 'Bantu' press on which many of the Africanist leaders were employed made common cause with the Nationalist and U.P. dailies to threaten the ANC and to goad the government into action.

Treachery and Expulsion

It was not therefore altogether surprising that these same pillars of white supremacy should hail both Leballo and Madzunya as 'the most responsible and powerful native leaders' because they too joined the campaign of opposition to the proposed action. For this treachery they were expelled from the ANC. Since this date it has been the hallmark of the PAC leadership to make common cause with white reaction in attempting to persuade the people not to take a part in any ANC-led demonstration.

It is characteristic that the 'Africanist' clique within the ANC which was the nucleus of the PAC should have been expelled because of their opposition to a political general strike, which was the most radical form of mass action until then undertaken by the ANC. At no time was their opposition directed against any alleged lack of militancy. In setting up the PAC as their own separate organization they stressed their adherence to the emphasis on exclusively 'non-violent' methods of

struggle which the parent body was already beginning to abandon. Their pledge to carry on as 'custodians' of the moderate policy as 'formulated in 1912 and pursued until the time of the Congress alliance' was designed to reassure the white authorities that PAC would not associate itself with the increasingly militant forms of mass struggle which, under the Lutuli-Mandela-Sisulu leadership, the ANC itself was turning to in the late fifties.

Those who still harboured any illusions as to what was in the minds of the leaders could read in *Contact* these words of explanation by Leballo (November 1st, 1958):

The African people in general do not want to be allied with the Congress of Democrats. They know these people to be leftists and when we want to fight for our rights these people weaken us. This is so because they use campaigns for their own ends and *also because the Government will not listen to our requests and demands because of their outlook.*

If it had come from the Institute of Race Relations which sees the advancement of 'our Native friends' in terms of becoming *persona grata* with the white supremacists, this sort of statement would not have been surprising. But coming from the leader of a movement which would have us believe that it injected a new revolutionary fervour, it is, to say the least of it, a despicable form of Uncle Tomism. For not only does it reflect an anti-left bias but a cringing 'Ja-Baas' attitude to politics in South Africa. It also serves to demonstrate a tendency which was to become more and more evident with the progress of time, of unprincipled phrasemongering and of teaming up with any group or any idea which, for the moment, will serve to weaken PAC's main enemy—not Verwoerd but the ANC.

At about the same time Patrick Duncan who was to become a top executive and representative of the PAC, was devoting his columns of *Contact* to publicizing memorials to 'the victims of Mau-Mau terrorism' (December 27th, 1958) and attacking the United Arab Republic for 'challenging the Ghandian policy of the peaceful arrangement of affairs with the ex-colonial powers' (December 13th, 1958) and supporting U.S. action against the Chinese People's Republic. 'No one with any sense' said *Contact* on October 18th, 1958, 'could expect the Americans to run away the moment the cannons started to fire'. And then, with disgusting bad taste, 'No doubt each shell fired into Quemoy and Matsu was painted with an emblem of Picasso's dove.' Africans will also not forget the most shameful act of all—the build-up by Duncan in his columns of the murderers of Lumumba. *For which of these acts, I wonder, was he initiated into the circle of the select few white men who could claim to be 'African' in terms of PAC definitions?*

No doubt, partisans of PAC will point to pro-left utterances by Leballo

when he was in Peking and pro-U.A.R. utterances by Duncan when he was in Algeria. But this does not destroy my thesis, it proves it.

Well, you might say, let us judge these people not on what they said but on what they did—which after all is the acid test. It is in the field of action even more than in the field of their ever-changing and easily accommodating views, that PAC's calibre has, in some cases, been misunderstood and in others, distorted.

Having launched itself as an independent body this self-styled elephant gave birth to a mouse. The decade proceeding the formation of PAC had been a decade of big events which only people with small minds could belittle. The heroic defiance campaign of 1952 and taken place. 8,000 had gone to jail and the campaign had culminated in pitched battles between the people and the police in all the principal urban centres. Memory was still fresh of the magnificent resistance organized by the ANC, with the support of the other Congresses, to the introduction of pass laws for women. A sense of achievement was still being felt by the hundreds of thousands of workers who had, on more than one occasion, participated in ANC-organized general strikes against the white regime. The prosecution of the people's leaders in the treason trial, with its emphasis of the Freedom Charter as the most serious threat to the white state, saw outside the court room one of the most massive and inspiring demonstrations of the African people which had even been witnessed. The peasant revolts of Pondoland and Sekhukhuniland—the magnificent Alexandra bus boycott—the growing number of economic strikes—this and much more was evidence of a people in turmoil; a people which had been moved to great heights of struggle by the ability and militancy of the ANC. *Those who distort the character of the Congress alliance would do well to remember that these events occurred during the period when it was in existence—a period which the PAC propagandists would like to describe as one of compromise.*

Against such a background of growing militancy on a far greater scale than had been seen in the previous half century, what was PAC's introduction card in the sphere of action? It was the so-called 'Status Campaign'. In the words of Sobukwe,

an all-embracing and multi-frontal unfolding and expanding campaign involving the political, economic and social status of the African.

No one can deny that the bad manners displayed by the whites in every sphere of life towards the non-whites is just another example of white supremacy and arrogance which has to be smashed along with much else. But against the background of the numerous militant struggles which had been organized or inspired by the ANC, a courtesy

campaign could by no stretch of the imagination be regarded as a break with so-called moderation. It smacked more the liberal illusion that 'if only *we* talked to *them* properly we would get on better' than fighting talk. No objection can of course be taken to attempts by either liberal white ladies or 'fiery' PAC leaders to improve racial manners. But need one even argue that in South Africa of the late fifties, with all that had happened, this was like preparing for a journey by sewing up the upholstery of a car when the engine has dropped out.

Little surprise therefore that (in the untypical frankness of Nkoana's admission) the status campaign 'deceptively simple in its title raised not a hair in the white supremacists camp when he (Sobukwe) first announced it shortly after the PAC was formed' (*Africa and the World*, March 1965). Nkoana proceeds to quote Sobukwe that the campaign was intended to make 'white supremacy mentally untenable to our people' and as a result it would become 'physically untenable' too. It is not necessary at this stage to quarrel with this rather woolly formulation, in order to reject out of hand the conclusion that the protagonists of such a thesis are embarking on a militant revolutionary struggle. This was the much heralded break with so-called ANC moderation and it surprised no one that 'it raised not a hair in the white supremacist camp'. It also surprised no one that the campaign failed to inspire the people and fizzled out before it ever got going.

In keeping with its role as the leading liberatory organization, the ANC in 1959 once again made new preparations for an onslaught on the pass system. At the same time the PAC also embarked on an anti-pass campaign which culminated in the Sharpeville murders. This event more than any other helped to create most of the illusions about the PAC and its contrast with the ANC. An examination of the literature preceding Sharpeville (including PAC's own publications) can lead to no conclusion other than that the PAC action was in fact an ill-organized, ill-thought out and second rate copy of the 1952 defiance campaign.

The Pass Campaign of 1960

Far from breaking with previous techniques of pacifism in struggle the corner-stone of it was non-violence. Sobukwe duly wrote to the head of the police informing him about the campaign and advising him that he and his followers would present themselves for arrest on March 21st, 1960. *The letter ends 'hoping you will co-operate to try to make this a most peaceful and disciplined campaign'*. Nkoana describes this as 'action of a disciplined, physically non-violent nature; but firm, positive action propelled by a violent interior revolution'. Whatever

this diarrhoea of words might mean it does not serve in any way to show that *here* was a new approach; that *here* was a revolutionary break with ANC 'moderation'.

The justifiable emotion raised by the Sharpeville massacre made it possible for some people to overlook the relatively second-hand, mild, out-dated and moderate approach of the PAC. It has also made some people forget that the half-baked unprepared campaign was triggered off on March 21st for the sole reason that the PAC had at all costs to steal a march on the ANC which, it was well known, was to announce the second phase of its own campaign on March 31st.

Indeed, the response from the people was according to Sobukwe 'disappointing'. In the largest industrial metropolis, Johannesburg, ($\frac{3}{4}$ million Africans) 200 responded. In Natal and the Free State almost none at all. Of the claimed total of 38,000 who (according to the PAC) responded, 35,000 came from just two residential complexes—the Vereeniging area and the Western Cape. Sobukwe's own area (the south-west of Johannesburg, with a population of about a quarter million) could muster only a few dozen.

This lack of response in most parts of the land was not due to any absence of hatred for the pass-laws—this was in plenty. It was due to the fact that the African people saw in it an ill-prepared echo of what had been done more efficiently and effectively in the defiance campaign of 1952; that the PAC leaders appeared not only as relatively unknown men, compared with the seasoned warriors of the ANC in whom the masses had learnt to have confidence, but also as men with nothing new to offer.

The lack of preparation by the PAC showed itself in the weeks following Sharpeville. With the entry of Sobukwe and a few of his colleagues into gaol the PAC leadership in most of the country had disappeared. It was only in the Western Cape where a semblance of PAC leadership was left. Its role in the famous march on Cape Town could be made the subject of a separate investigation. Suffice it to say that both Duncan and Phillip Kgosana (now in the U.S. on a 'leadership training programme') worked with the police to turn the people back.

The PAC propagandists have often attempted to make a virtue out of this political amateurishness and crass irresponsibility. 'The leaders will be with the people in the gaols' was the cry. They did not bargain for the fact that the mass of the people would not follow the leaders into voluntary surrender to the white police force—that the period of passive surrender to the state was no longer acceptable as an effective instrument of struggle or protest.

In the result the event which rocked the world—the shooting down of the peaceful crowd at Sharpeville—found a situation in which,

except for the Western Cape, the ANC provided the leadership. It was the ANC which organized the nation-wide general strike of protest against the Sharpeville massacre which brought out over 250,000 workers. It was the ANC which called on the people to burn their passes (with Lutuli publicly starting with his own) which led to the temporary suspension of the pass laws. *From the PAC there was absolute silence. Not one direction and not one leaflet. Events had overtaken them completely.*

Apart from the moderate character of the campaign and the criminally irresponsible manner in which it was carried out, only one further aspect remains to be considered—an aspect which is conveniently never referred to by the PAC ‘historians’ these days—the fiasco of their loudly-proclaimed slogan ‘No Bail, No Defence and No Fines’. In no time this became ‘Bail, defence and run away’. Almost every single PAC leader (including Sobukwe who appealed against the severity of his sentence and conviction) soon demonstrated the emptiness of this slogan.

This conduct, one might add, was in striking contrast to the consistent line of Mandela who both in his first trial when he was sentenced to six years (Sobukwe got three years) and in his second trial when he was sentenced to life imprisonment refused to appeal for mercy to the white appeal court. No one suggests that a struggle should not make use of legal processes when the cause demands it. But this is a far cry from breaking faith with your proclaimed principles.

What is even more irksome about this slogan is the use to which it was put, at one stage, to attempt to contrast PAC ‘militancy’ in the courts with alleged ANC ‘moderation’. As in so many other cases, when it came to the real thing the conduct of Mandela, Sisulu and other Congress leaders in the courts attracted the most excited admiration of the South African people and the whole world. And let us remember that it was not Mandela and Sisulu who had boasted about ‘no bail, no defence and no fines’.

A further lesson which the Sharpeville episode drives home is the ANC’s undeviating devotion to the principle that the struggle against white supremacy is primary. Before the PAC campaign, Duma Nokwe, in his capacity as Secretary General of the ANC, wrote to warn Sobukwe that

... it is treacherous to the liberation movement to embark on a campaign which has not been properly prepared and which has no reasonable prospect of success.

Despite this warning, borne out by the practical fiasco of the PAC campaign, the ANC did not waste time saying ‘we told you so’, but devoted its full attention to rallying the masses and arousing them to

protest against the horrible massacre at Sharpeville. While PAC remained silent and with no leadership to offer, the ANC stepped into the breach to rally nation-wide protest and mass action. However justifiably disgusted with PAC irresponsibility, the ANC recognized that this was no time for recriminations.

This is in marked contrast with the behaviour of PAC which time and again lined up with Verwoerd and the police in the capacity of strike-breaker on every occasion when the ANC and its partners in the Congress alliance organized national demonstrations, stay-at-homes and other forms of mass action. This was true of the 'Africanist' faction in the ANC before it broke away in 1959 to form PAC. It was true of the brief period between then and 1960 when the Verwoerd government declared a state of emergency and outlawed both organizations. It has remained true during the past five years of illegality.

After the banning of the organizations, the ANC made a number of attempts to bring about national unity, including PAC, against the increasingly Nazi methods of the Verwoerd-Vorster dictatorship. Abroad PAC was invited to join a 'South African United Front' to campaign against apartheid abroad. At home, the remaining PAC leaders were invited to join in the preparations for the coming all-African Conference at Maritzburg. Both these well-meant attempts broke down as a result of the apparently incurable habit of the PAC leaders of slandering, intriguing and lying against the ANC and its allies, and even of lining up with Verwoerd against them.

Some PAC representatives came to the meeting in December 1960 which preceded the Maritzburg all-in conference, and which discussed ways of struggle and protest against the Verwoerd government's new attacks on the Africans, and also its blatant ignoring of the African majority in holding an all-White referendum on the issue of declaring a baasskap republic. But when the Johannesburg meeting had been raided by the police, and when it became clear that the forthcoming Maritzburg conference would reject the slogan of 'non-violence' as an absolute principle, the PAC leaders got cold feet and backed out.

The great three-day strike of May 1961, which turned the planned 'Republic Day' celebrations into a farce, with a tense atmosphere of virtual martial law, found the PAC leadership once again in the role of strikebreakers. The PAC, which had remained as silent as the grave since Sharpeville, made a brief and inglorious reappearance on the South African scene to issue leaflets calling on the workers to ignore the stay-at-home call of Maritzburg and Mandela—and to go to work as usual. The excuse was that the declaration of a republic was the white people's affair. Small wonder that Vorster's police were delighted and even helped distribute these leaflets.

Such is the Record

Such then is the PAC balance sheet, up to and including the Maritzburg conference—that historic turning point when the African people, without PAC participation truly broke with the past tradition of exclusive non-violence which—however justified in its time—had served its purpose and become an obstacle to the ‘new forms of struggle’ now required. Whatever else may be inferred from this period, one thing is incontrovertible. The myth of militancy which its representatives managed to build up in some people’s minds, had no basis in reality. The man who more than any other helped to create this myth, was the brute who ordered the massacre and not Sobukwe with his well publicized ‘hope you will co-operate’ letter to the police.

It is certainly false to claim as Nkoana does (*New African*, October 1965) that the breakaway of PAC resulted in ‘an era of militant positive action’. This sort of public relations puffery must no longer be left unchallenged.

A new era was indeed ushered in in the sixties in South African politics—the era of preparing for the armed revolutionary overthrow of the white state. The nation-wide explosions which rocked the country on December 16th, 1961, ushered in the new period of a break with ‘call me mister’ and ‘hope you will co-operate’ type of campaigns. This was the first public break with pacifism. In themselves the bombs which exploded in various government buildings did relatively little damage. No one believed that the toppling of electric pylons would be enough to topple the white state, but this date and the actions which occurred symbolized (as they were intended to do) a public wrench with past tactics which were swiftly becoming an anachronism in the new situation.

In a statement which was widely distributed on the same night as the explosions, *Umkonto we Sizwe* proclaimed that it would ‘carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods which are necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation organizations. Violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance.’ It gave the first tangible warning that, to use Mandela’s words, ‘the dispute between the government and my people will be settled in violence and by force’.

Thus the ANC once again demonstrated its foresight and leadership qualities based on a scientific analysis of objective conditions. The refusal by Mandela to give himself up for arrest after the strike and his decision to continue leading the struggle from underground in South Africa also spelt a new departure. No more of this ‘hope you will co-operate’ business. His heroic action which stirred the nation was

consistent with the new spirit of positive defiance and the use of counter-force which the ANC initiated into the political scene and which was subsequently adopted by all serious political groupings.

Mandela's action (and Sisulu's after him, and Mkwazi's after him, and Fischer's after him, etc.) was in marked contrast to the undisputed fact that after 1960 not one single top leader of the PAC remained at his post to lead the people in the place where it counts—South Africa.

It is now a matter of public record that sitting in the safety of Basutoland the PAC leadership—this time with Leballo at its head—again showed its irresponsibility and its ever-readiness to substitute sensation and limelight-seeking for constructive struggle. After almost two and a half years of silence they and the South African white-controlled press together, attacked the ANC's sabotage campaign. In one of the most irresponsible and disgraceful acts ever committed in the history of the liberation struggle, Leballo gave Verwoerd his plans of 'rebellion'—plans of child-like nonsensical proportions. Also presented to the government was a complete list of the names and addresses of those who were supposed to be taking part in this fiasco which was found in his public office by the British police and handed to the South African police.

The cost, both in lives and periods of imprisonment, to many thousands of African youth which can be directly traced to the Leballo boasting is incalculable. *The South African security police did not need a secret agent in the PAC camp. Vorster did not need to invent an excuse to go in for a new round of retaliation. It was all handed him on a plate by Leballo.*

In any event the enemy wanted nothing better than the uncontrolled violence of Poqo which operated not as an organized force as part of a political movement, but on the basis of spontaneous, unplanned, uncontrolled outbursts of useless violence—most of it restricted to a small corner of the country. This was playing with the people's lives and was calculated to discredit serious preparations for a real confrontation. So disorganized was it that Leballo himself was forced to concede in his notorious March interview that the two biggest events of Bashee Bridge and Paarl were undisciplined and unplanned actions. In fact you had the tragi-comic spectacle of Leballo being unable to decide whether Poqo was or was not part of the PAC.

This tragic Poqo episode was the first time that the PAC had come out publicly in support of a policy which the ANC had already proclaimed in 1961. It is interesting to note (but not altogether surprising) that the PAC propagandists who are ever anxious to project an image of its 'militancy' to the world outside, seldom if ever refer to this, the only (albeit tragic) PAC sojourn into the field of armed resistance.

I have dealt at length with the myth of PAC 'militancy' because a few outside South Africa, in particular those who have no intimate knowledge of events there, can often be misled by big talk and false claims. It does not, of course, follow that every PAC member or participant in its activities is of the same stamp. There must be many whose loyalty and devotion to the cause of the African people cannot be questioned and who were taken in by the false and inflated claims of militancy and 'true' African nationalism. The ugly spectacle of endless leadership putsches outside and serious heart-searching as to why Verwoerd should in 1964 give Leballo free and unmolested passage through the Republic—these and other equally serious misgivings has already moved many genuine elements to break with the PAC and to join the organization which unites all African patriots—the African National Congress.

AFRICA

Notes on Current Events

EGYPT. On the 13th anniversary of Egypt's national revolution, President Nasser declared that the hopes of Egypt's enemies for the overthrow of the present government were certain to fail. 'The enemies have forgotten', he said, 'that a revolution took place in Egypt, and not a *coup d'état*. The revolution is carrying the people's aspirations in life. The hopes of the enemies of the Egyptian people will never be justified because the revolution follows a correct path and the people believe in the revolution.'

Listing some of the 'miracles' the people of his country have achieved since the revolution, he listed: the abolition of feudalism and the restrictions on individual land holdings: the running of the Suez Canal; the building of the Aswan high dam; the development of heavy industry; and the decree abolishing class privileges.

Figures issued at the same time show that, since the revolution, capital investment in Egyptian industry has risen from 2.1 million Egyptian pounds to a level of 150 million for the year 1964 alone. Agricultural production had grown 80 per cent since 1952, while the number of farm labourers increased from 3.2 to only 3.6 million. In education, the number of students in elementary schools where education is now compulsory, had been 3.2 million, compared with 1.3 million in 1953, and in various types of secondary schools 821,000 compared to 485,000. Students at technical, trade and agricultural schools increased from 22,000 to 132,000. One aspect of the educational advance is that there are now over 1½ million girl students at schools and colleges, where almost all girls remained uneducated and illiterate before the revolution.

LIBERIA. In August, Liberia celebrated the 118th anniversary of its independence. It is the oldest independent state in West Africa, tracing its statehood back to the declaration of the Republic on July 26th, 1847.

MOZAMBIQUE. September 25th marked the first anniversary of the people's proclamation of general armed insurrection against Portuguese colonialist rule in Mozambique. Reviewing the year's campaigns, 'Mozambican Revolution', organ of the Liberation Front (Frelimo), says that 'the Portuguese colonialists have lost control of a great part of the zones of Cabo, Delgado, Nyasa, Zambesi and some regions of Tete.' It says that the freedom fighters who enjoy real support amongst the people, are advancing from strength to strength.

Portuguese war communiques report frequent military clashes with patriotic forces, especially in the area near the Tanzanian border, and along the shores of Lake Nyasa. Frelimo communiques claim many successful ambushes of Portuguese troops, and at least one Portuguese military plane shot down.

South African financial penetration into Mozambique is proceeding rapidly at the same time as South African, Portuguese, Rhodesian military alliances are taking shape. A major South African mining and finance corporation, General Mining and Finance Corporation, is to establish the Bank of South Africa and Lisbon Ltd. in South Africa, in partnership with three Portuguese banks, Bank of Angola, Nacional Ultramarino and Portugues do Atlantico which will be large shareholders. The bank, it is said, will help finance transactions tending toward the creation of a common market of the three southern African bastions of reaction. Johannesburg's Anglo-American Corporation is joining Portuguese interests in prospecting for diamonds between parallels 22 and 24 south, and the state sponsored South African Industrial Development Corporation is to invest almost £2½ million in the new sugar mill being built at Manhica in Mozambique.

ANGOLA. The freedom fighters continue to harry the Portuguese in Angola, as continual military communiques issued by the Portuguese military authorities show. Many clashes have been reported, and the areas of Zala Roca, Novo Mundo and the Vamba River valley remain in freedom fighters' hands despite strong Portuguese attacks.

Popular resistance to Portuguese colonialism persists despite the terror and persecution. The Military Court of Luanda recently sentenced seventeen people to imprisonment for 'subversive activities', meaning opposition to Salazar policies. The authorities in Luanda and other towns have seized 10,000 publications described by them as 'pornographic, subversive and anti-Portuguese'.

The Portuguese government has made a new allocation of just

under £7 million to its armed forces in Angola. As part of its military entrenchment, it has ordered the construction of 1,250 miles of military-strategic roads in the colony by 1966, at an estimated cost of over £11 million.

ALGERIA. One of the few documents to have successfully passed through the press censorship and news blackout which surrounds Algeria since the deposition of Mr. Ben Bella, is a call which has been circulated in Algeria by the underground Organization of People's Resistance (O.R.P.). It is signed by Hocine Zahouane, who was a member of the political bureau of the National Liberation Front until the coup of June 19th. Addressed to the people and workers of Algeria, the call demands the restoration of legality and determined struggle for the implementation of the Revolutionary Charter of Algiers.

Shortly after this statement appeared in Algeria, there was a wave of arrests of prominent people who had fought in the Algerian revolution, including the Algiers bureau of the F.L.N. itself, and the veteran Communist leader Hadj Ali. Almost all those so summarily arrested were released shortly afterwards, without any public explanation. There is still no information concerning the whereabouts of the former President, Ben Bella.

GHANA. At the fifth ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the O.A.U. (Organization of African Unity), meeting at Accra in October, Mr. Kojo Botsio of the Ghana state planning commission was elected chairman. Twenty-seven delegations were present. Business was conducted in closed session.

At the same time, a statement was issued in Ghana concerning President Nkrumah's meeting with three other African heads of state, the Presidents of Ivory Coast, Upper Volta and Niger, which had taken place in Mali under the chairmanship of Mali's President Modibo Keita. The statement said that agreement had been reached between the heads of state on the question of families of political refugees who had once been resident in Ghana. Where such refugees had been deported from territories in accordance with the resolution of the Lagos meeting of O.A.U. a year before, it was now agreed that families should also be deported. The Ghana government would seek the assistance of the embassies of the other states in finding these families, and deporting them.

When this has been done—between the date of meeting and October 21st—the three governments of Niger, Ivory Coast and Upper Volta '... undertake to maintain fraternal relations with the Government of

Ghana, and this will make it no longer possible for persons opposed to any one of these four governments to reside in any of their respective states.'

LESOTHO. Chief Leabua Jonathan has said in Maseru that he is to visit Britain in October, to discuss several matters, in particular the questions of the right of Basuto citizens to transit across the Republic of South Africa which surrounds Lesotho on all sides; Basutoland's economic future; and his country's diplomatic representation abroad. He said that he would press the British government to accept that Basutoland becomes independent on April 29th, 1966, one year from the general election which brought his party to political power.

NIGERIA. A new fortnightly newspaper, *Advance*, subtitled 'Nigerian Workers' Own Newspaper' has commenced publication. Following the working-class socialist policy of the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria and the Nigerian Youth Congress, the paper's first issue sets out its direction in its first editorial: 'Since labour is our central theme—our people are not given to a life of indolent ease—we shall endeavour to give eloquent expression to the struggles of labour . . .'

MY DEATH WARRANT

OBI B. EGBUNA

(The following essay is a section from the work in progress of Obi B. Egbuna, young Nigerian creative writer at present living in London. We don't expect that all our readers will agree with everything Mr. Egbuna has written—we don't either—but none can gainsay that his essay is splendidly written, stimulating and challenging. We invite readers' comments. The essay begins with an answer to 'mystery' why our political figures quarrel so much when, after all, they're all striving for 'the same thing . . .')

NO, THERE IS NO mystery. Reverend Martin Luther King and Malcolm Little were both fighting for 'the same thing'. Malcolm X was murdered, Dr. King awarded a Nobel Prize. Similarly, Patrice Lumumba and Monsieur Tshombe of the Congo were struggling for 'the same thing'. One was beheaded, the other decorated with headship of state. Freedom marchers from up north have crusaded down south to preach freedom and liberation to their southern brothers both in the United States of America and Vietnam. In these two countries, the liberators were after 'the same thing'. In Mississippi, however, they are being lauded, in Saigon they are being bombed. Nigeria and Ghana are each striving for African liberation and unity, 'the same thing' again, is it not? But one state is knighted the golden voice of democracy, the other denigrated as the nerve centre of dictatorial machinations. Surely, one does not need education here to see the glaring difference between 'the same thing' and 'the same thing'.

Nevertheless, millions of Africans, born at home and abroad, have allowed themselves to be educated down to a level of self-injurious 'the-same-thing' awareness which, apart from blinding them to the realities of their history, has indeed reduced them to a state of 'intellectual' animality from which, alas, they may never rise again. And the few, the very few, who refuse to respond to this treatment are being brutalized in various ways, shot, tortured, lynched or, in more sophisticated circles, financially persecuted, imprisoned and destroyed therein. Since this letter could easily be construed as a signed commitment to the latter camp, I am afraid that, falling into the hands of the 'King Makers', my frank writing could prove my death

warrant. I am not sure whether the thought of this frightens me or not, but I am quite certain that no people deserve to be free unless they outgrow petty intimidations.

Let me start with a staggering admission. I stopped blaming the white man a long time ago. For one reason, the white man can no longer help himself. And I say this in no sense of derision. It is a statement both in awe and love for humanity at large. Too many people, the blacks and the white liberals alike, spend a lot of time fighting this thing called Racial Discrimination but never devote one tiny second to what, to me, is the key question to the problem. What is Racial Discrimination? What are we fighting? What is the real nature of the enemy? What makes a man want to hate another person just because they are physically different and, at the same time, love his own wife devotedly for precisely the same reason: because they are physically different? Is racialism a biological something that the white man is born with while love, laughter and merriment are its genetic counterparts in the black man? If not, what is the cause of it? Is the racial problem, in the first place, capable of solution? And if so, are we competent to effect this solution? When? How? With what weapon? What strategy? And with what urgency?

The Root of Racialism

To tackle racialism without resolving these questions seems to me sheer misplaced enthusiasm. It has been said that understanding a problem is half the solution. How then can a man even begin to attempt a solution to a given problem without first analysing its causation? It is as ridiculous as trying to stick rose plants into a desert in the hope of growing one big garden of roses without attempting to find out why, in the first place, nothing grows in the desert and what must now be done to make the land productive. Failure to do this leads to greater failures. This is why we have fought Racial Discrimination for centuries and failed. And why we must fail again. Like the unthinking rose-gardener in the desert, we have been labouring and sweating to introduce a love-your-neighbour morality in a strike-to-survive community. To achieve this is impossible. Is it any wonder that most negro movement leaders in America, the Oxfam pilgrims, the Western liberal intellectuals and of course the black giants of American literature have nothing to offer their followers in the way of realization except superfluous publicity promoted by the very people who capitalize from the social evils our freedom fighters are dreaming to destroy? This is why the Negro in America considers it triumphant to be allowed to vote for the very system which thrives on Racial Discrimination. This is

why the Negro wants to identify himself with a 'prosperity' that perpetually reflects his humiliation.

This is why we still employ Gandhism in the American Negro struggles, even though history has proved time and again that peaceful resistance can only work in a society where a victimized people constitute an overwhelming majority and can therefore bring the social machine to a total standstill just by resisting passively, unlike the United States of America where, because the Negroes are in the minority, peaceful demonstrations could be going on in one street while white workers in nearby buildings carry on with their work, some guffawing over cups of coffee, legs thrown gaily on the table, not a single soul perturbed by the niggardly disturbance outside, thus the social machine rolls ahead in spite (if not because) of the peaceful demonstrations. We fail because we fight the enemy with the wrong weapon. We use the wrong weapon because the masses are encouraged not to understand the problem. They do not want the masses to understand because the status quo thrives on their ignorance which, in turn is a lucrative business—at any rate, to the leaders and their users.

The time has arrived when the Negro must go beyond analysing the intensity of his agony. We must stop groaning and supplicating and warning the white man that 'It' is coming. To echo this perennially without oneself knowing what 'It' is is self-delusion. Because 'It' will never come this way. And even if 'It' does come, he will never recognize 'It' on arrival. For this reason, he has stood by while the evangelists of this very 'It' are bludgeoned into an early grave and all he does is shake the hands of the murderer while the killer is still shaking his throat. This is the nemesis of the Negro revolution. We just don't know, and by knowledge here, I do not mean academic sacrament of some sort, for 'one does not need education to cherish the dream of freedom'.

I mean simply the elementary appreciation of the nature of one's problem before committing oneself to its solution, to make sure that the blow aimed at the enemy is firstly a blow and secondly is not going to fall on our children's heads instead.

It is no use taking up arms against Racial Discrimination without knowing, for instance, that Racialism is only one symptom of a deep-rooted disease, that the carriers of this disease are today posing as evangelists of wholesomeness and, in doing so, are contaminating the wholesome, while the latter are being 'educated' to discard goodness and go out of their way to court contamination. This is not just a Negro tragedy. It is a human catastrophe which, unless checked immediately, will pollute the whole world to an irretrievable degree.

We cannot rid society of discrimination without first curing the disease that causes discrimination. The disappearance of the rash never

precedes the riddance of the infection that produces the rash. It is a dangerous doctor who presumes to cure leprosy just by bandaging a rotting flesh and does nothing about the disease within. The most he can achieve is a healthy climate for leprous germs, a more frustrated leper and a bad attack of self-deception. You cannot destroy social germs by modernizing the design of the social machine in which the germs are incubated. The germs will only multiply, and frustration will mount till, one day, rebellion will burst forth like a volcanic eruption. Can anything illustrate the Negro dilemma more clearly?

Stanley Burch, writing from Washington in the *Daily Mail* of Friday, August 13th, 1965, said that

the American negro has run into a terrible paradox. He wins his triumphs in Congress, enlists the President as an ally and breaks down barricade after barricade. But when he goes home at night, things are worse than ever.

My personal submission is that no President, no Negro leader, no appointed conference on race, unprecedented or not, can ever find 'a way out' till they have found the way into the real root of the problem. The title of Mr. Burch's article was *Triumph and Tragedy for the Negro*. It all boils down to the fact that, for the Negro masses in America, it is great triumph on paper but greater tragedy in reality. It is even worse for the Negroes in Africa. And, I fear, the fate of the Negro, wherever he is in the world, will never change unless he changes his range of perception and the future of humanity is rather bleak unless the Negro is free.

In the words of Kwame Nkrumah, 'the emancipation of the African continent is the emancipation of men.'

Before now, various attempts have been made at explaining man's inhumanity to man. But these explanations mainly reflect the wishful thinking of the group with the grip of power. As C. L. R. James puts it,

In a revolution, when the ceaseless slow accumulation of centuries burst into volcanic eruption, the meteoric flares and flights above are a meaningless chaos and lend themselves to infinite caprice and romanticism unless the observer sees them always as projections of the subsoil from which they come.

—*The Black Jacobins*

To get to the source of the race problem therefore and to understand why I agree that the hope for humanity lies in the untrammelled emancipation of Africa and the Africans, it is to this 'subsoil', particularly with reference to Africa and the Western world, that one must turn. Being African myself, the difficulty here is to be objective without seeming nationalistic to European judgement. Not that it matters (for

I have been called many things in my time without affecting what I am) but one likes to feel that the little he has to offer humanity in the way of constructive thinking and sanity (not necessarily by virtue of some superintelligence but owing mainly to his uniqueness of historical experience) is received or rejected with a vision unclouded by prejudice and suspicion.

Co-operation or Competition?

It is my experience that the basic difference between my people in Africa and the whites in the West is that the African sees life as a Co-operation while the Westerner regards it as a Competition. I am not suggesting by any means that the black man has a physiological component called Co-operation while the European is born with a Competition-saturated bloodstream. The mere fact that some 'educated' Africans tend today to be, in more ways than I care to mention, more Anglo-Saxon than the English themselves, makes this rather obvious. To put it crudely, I think that all that man has, from birth, be he white or black, is an 'awareness' or the ability to react to environment. But how he reacts to this environment depends fundamentally on the environment itself, the external stimulus that confronts him. A people are conditioned to life in the light of the economic possibilities surrounding them.

If a man is born in a society where existence depends on competition, he comes to accept life as a struggle and inevitably wants to exploit the differences between himself and other people to inflate his own ego. He stops seeing these differences just as differences but, in all good faith, as inequalities. All his education, home-training, social structure, denominational worship, club membership, every aspect of his life, is founded on 'inequality'. But in a 'co-operative' economy, it is a different story.

In my village of origin, for instance, Co-operation is the basis of life because of the way wealth is organized in the community. Essentially, we are an agricultural people. Our main source of wealth is land. Therefore land is divided equally so that every family has its share. And on the far side of the Ubu river, we have an extensive common land, Ofufe, where everybody goes to work during the cultivating season and helps to gather during the harvest, a sort of communal farm. As a result of this, my people have come to acquire over the centuries the psychological outlook that life is one big togetherness of beings. Love, not sexual love, but real fundamental love, has become the accepted norm of life, a universal thing. When there is rivalry among young people to see who is the fastest yam-bed digger at the communal

farm, the idea is not to find out which youth gets the most out of life but who puts in the most. The emphasis is on giving, not taking.

It is this mental attitude to rivalry that is noteworthy because, without grasping it, one would automatically assume that I am saying that all competition is unhealthy. It has been argued that, because athletics is a form of competition, Competition must be a healthy thing. But this argument ignores the vital issue involved which is the mental attitude of the competitors. For example, six young students could decide one sunny Saturday afternoon to go to a nearby race track and do some sprinting, just for the fun of it, to find out who is the fastest runner in the group. This is athletics. On the other hand, half a dozen other young men, unemployed, starving and desperate, could also decide to get together, put all the money they have in one hat and, depositing this 'pot of treasure' at the finishing end of the track, come to the agreement that whoever wins the race wins the money. This is also athletics. But here the mental approach is different, deadly, win or die, foul tricks not ruled out as long as you get there first and get the money, even if it means knocking down your rival's spectacles to render him half-blind. And, needless to add, whoever wins the race also wins the jealousy and hatred of the rest of the gang.

To live in a system where everything you do every day of your life—earning your living, having a shelter over one's head, acquiring every basic human need—entails this kind of deadly competition, is surely hardly compatible with real 'human' progress since it seems to me that the fundamental difference between human beings and the animals in the jungle is that man has realized that, by co-operating with one another, he can build societies, cities, beautiful cultures and civilizations, unlike the animal with the survival-of-the-fittest jungle law.

In a society founded on co-operation, going back to my village once more, man is not a means to an end, but the focus of all human endeavour. Naturally, men look forward to old age and approach it gracefully because—since the emphasis is on giving, not in extorting—it follows that the older you get, the more you shall have contributed to society and the more you are revered by the young. Far from being neglected and cast aside into a home as some disused piece of human junk, the aged are looked upon as spearheads of society and rewarded accordingly. In fact, the greatest compliment you could pay anyone in my town is to credit him with a superior age and, in so doing, surrender to him the right to break kola nuts at social gatherings, an enviable privilege of the eldest. So, life, far from being one continuous flight from the phantoms of age, is, in this kind of community, an increasing anticipation of greater respect, more love and attention, greater provision and satisfaction from those around you.

Compare this pattern of African social system with the life in the West. They are as opposite as black and white. Because of their competitive economic system, the Westerners have been conditioned over the centuries to envisage life as a man-versus-man combat. It is necessary for them therefore to crystallize the immaterial differences amongst people into some mythical inequalities in order to exploit them, not for the benefit of all, but to champion one's own material cause. 'I'm all right Jack' is the accepted norm of living. Neighbours are anything but neighbourly. The lucky ones just don't know each other. It is more fashionable to see your neighbour in terms of his acquisitive potential, a permanent threat to your ego. Naturally snobbery takes the place of love in the hearts of men and life continues as one unending battle of the Joneses. You could always tell the rank of the Joneses by the roses on the lapels of their jackets.

Within the family itself, a father is no longer a father to his children, he is rather 'my old man'. And children, one's flesh and blood, are not just children, they have become 'the younger generation' or 'the kids of today'. Whichever way you look, the rage of the battle is evident. Even when this 'younger generation' get together to 'enjoy' themselves, the competition complex once again manifests itself. They sub-divide themselves into 'Mods' and 'Rockers', pro-Beatles, crypto-Rolling Stones, anti-Animals, fighting and slashing each other's faces with razors. There are always two divisions in any gathering, 'they' and 'us'. When the 'us' are left on their own, a further sub-division takes place into 'sub-they' and 'sub-us', and then from 'sub-us' into 'sub-sub-they' and 'sub-sub-us' anything as long as the recurring decimal of division and hate is fostered. This continues till, within the individual self, the core of the human personality itself is fractured into destructive internal conflicts and sub-conflicts. Result? A deep-rooted disease which frustrates man beyond the limits of self-retrievability.

The Disease of Discrimination

This is how the African abroad must see his struggle. He is discriminated against not primarily because he is black but for the simple reason that he constitutes a black minority 'they' against a white majority 'us' in a cut-throat economy. It is no different from the way women were once looked down upon as inferiors to men in Europe. Quack theorists of male superiority were just as prevalent and voluble then as the racist theorists of today. But the truth nevertheless became triumphant when the war broke out and women went into the factory to prove their competence. The disease is not in the man but in the economic air he inhales. It takes a savage economy to breed savage

men. All discrimination stems from this same cause. As John Griffin puts it,

I could have been a Jew in Germany, a Mexican in a number of states, or a member of any 'inferior' group. Only the details would have differed. The story would be the same.—*Black Like Me*.

Yet, the self-appointed planners of world progress have ignored this basic decadence of man only to concentrate on blowing out in Africa the one flame of sanity that keeps the globe aglow. They talk about the under-development of Africa and Asia and turn a blind eye to the over-development of the West in the negative direction. We read that the African dies from malaria and leprosy, which is true. But we are not told that the European dies from all sorts of neuroses the African has not even heard about. They throw the floodlight on the African diseases of the body and shuffle into the dark the European diseases of the mind. We are warned of the fatality of the viruses of the body and left unenlightened about the more destructive fatality of the viruses of the mind. The African infant mortality is rated as astronomical but the European suicide mortality is not even on the charts. Perhaps the African is being asked to get rid of one mortality and replace it with another, evidently a more destructive one. The Western dieticians are busy sending 'expert' recommendations to the undernourished Africans, apparently forgetting to include the information that whilst one death in four in Britain is caused by Coronary Thrombosis, not to mention one in three in more 'developed' America, this form of death is known to be comparatively non-existent in Africa and that the reason for this lies in the diet. We know that one in two hundred in Britain is psychotic and one in five is neurotic but, in Nigeria, for instance, it is one in five hundred, a figure which gets worse with the 'westernisation' of Nigeria.

Confirming these figures in a television broadcast in Britain, Dr. Lambo, an African Western-trained psychiatrist, attributed this to

'a wealth of what we term psycho-therapeutic measures in the African cultures. For example, the presence and the availability of the so-called witch-doctors, whom we now term traditional healers, and other safety valves which are built-in in the cultures.'

It is no coincidence that all progressive-thinking Africans, particularly those who have come to know Europe and America as well as they know their homelands, have insistently called upon the West to please re-examine her basic philosophy of life, to pursue it unilaterally if she must and not meddle with other continental civilizations she barely understands. This repeated call is made in no spirit of arrogance or blind nationalism but out of the educated consideration that the 'Western' philosophy of life is basically destructive, anti-man,

and has nothing more to offer humanity except of course the formula for nuclear euthanasia. The African of today has ceased to be the black recluse who knows nothing about the world outside. Neither is he like the intellectual European who looks at the entire universe through a European cultural spectrum and therefore can't help but arrogate to himself the moral indispensability to pontificate to the rest of the world on matters affecting anyone, anything, anywhere, by European standards.

Born African, brought up in Africa and well imbued with the African spirit of life, the present day African knows his African traditions, customs, cultural and overall philosophy of life. And if he has spent most of his life attending European institutions of learning, schools, colleges, and universities, sometimes travelling abroad to the West to live for a while, studying, working, speaking the languages of the West, reading Western philosophers and, not infrequently, living at European homes as a member of the family, he can also claim to know the West appreciably. Because of this duality of cultural backgrounds, he is, at any rate more than anyone in the world today, in a unique position to look objectively into both cultural spheres and, after due analytical comparison, to offer the world his findings. This is precisely what he has done. He has found a Europe where there are well-developed aeroplanes, well-developed motor cars and well-developed space ships but where the most important thing of all has been ignored the development of the human being. He remembers an Africa peopled by men and women who, though bare-footed and ragged, have reached a level of spiritual development where they shake hands in warm friendship with anyone, no matter the colour of his skin. He has discovered that civilization does not mean mechanization but simply the type of individuals any society does produce.

Don't Blame the Machine!

This is not measured by the number of Methuselahs a community turns out, for what really counts is not how long you live but how well. He now knows as false the claim that social decadence is a consequence of industrialization because industrialization is merely the substitution of machine labour for human labour, only the means not the end. What matters is the end and that is where the causation lies. There is no mysterious element in the latest machine which destroys the human in the man any more than there is in the primitive tool to enhance it. He sees the mechanization of Europe as a result of the white man's fight for survival in a hostile climate and he admires the white man for his triumph.

A man cannot survive on snow bare-footed. Even to walk, the white man needed shoes, to make shoes, he needed industry, to have industry, he needed the raw materials, to get to the raw material, he had to travel the distant lands, to do this, he needed strong ships, which again called for larger industries. The overall result is mechanization. Unlike the European, the African needed no central-heating in the sun, no fur coats, no big boats to carry the Walter Raleighs to South America to get potato for staple food. Communalism is the consequence of abundance. The disadvantage of this desperate mechanisation of Europe is that the Westerners have concentrated too much on the mechanics of life and left the true picture of man behind, to have adopted the erroneous attitude that the purpose of life is to tame nature, not to improve it, hence they talk of the 'conquest of space' instead of the knowledge of it.

To crown it all, destructive competition has poisoned the social atmosphere and dehumanized man to the level of a beast with nuclear claws. So animal has man become in his reasoning that the advancement of weapons of destruction from bows and arrows to atomic bomb is indeed considered compatible with the advancement of man himself and a yardstick of national prestige. Accordingly, the 'success' of the individual has come to mean a measure of his rapacity and greatness of a nation the destructive potential of a demented class.

On the other hand, the unfortunate consequence of the non-industrialization of Africa is the comparative absence of mechanical stratification of her culture, a factor which has rendered Africa vulnerable to the invasion of foreign cultures. This, the African youth finds today is rather mournful, for it means the capitulation of humanism to bestiality, the loss of reason, the conquest of love, the deepening of the cleavage between what man ought to be and the twentieth-century man. Whether the African is talking of Pan-Africanism, negritude, or the vindication of the African personality, this is what he means. He wants Africa totally unchained so that the old continent will, once again, teach the new world the old secret of being man.

But Africa cannot do this in shackles for a chained man is an unfree man and an unfree man seldom makes a willing teacher. Here and there on the African continent, a handful of white men have carved out little segments of Europe from where they hope to dominate millions of Africans and stifle beautiful cultures which they fear to understand in the same way the drug addict fears to understand a medical treatise on heroin. In the words of Richard West (*The White Tribes of Africa*), 'they came in search of gold, overthrew the existing race by cunning and now behave as though crazed by the Niebelung curse'.

Yet the white tribesmen of Africa and their apologists in the West are the first to point out that black Africa is made up of packs of tribesmen without explaining what they mean by the term tribe. Does tribalism mean the existence of groups who speak different languages? If so, the whole world is undoubtedly tribalistic. Or does it mean the exploitation of cultural differences for the mutual hatred of each other?—in which case, again, the whole world is progressively tribalistic, and tribalism, far from being the monopoly of the past and of Africans, is in fact the vogue of our time—an age in which the ditch between peoples is increasingly being dug deeper with the nuclear spade.

A West Indian immigrant who plays a calypso record makes headline news as an invader of British culture, a man in desperate need of cultural assimilation into the British society but it is quite in order for a handful of European immigrants in Africa to expect millions of Africans to assimilate the European culture before having a vote or a say in the government of their own fatherland. Thus the European immigrant believes that the conversion of Africa into one big asylum, like the one they left behind, is the way to civilize Africa, the process of civilization ranging of course from the Sharpeville massacre to the white mercenaries in the Congo holding up little black infants by the feet and gleefully chopping them in halves.

This sort of thing is often dismissed as the irresponsible misbehaviour of the odd few. Whether a black man is stabbed in Britain or lynched in America, the same verdict is too readily volunteered. The horror is that these are not seen as extreme examples of a national attitude. The contention often advanced is that you cannot judge a people by what the minority does or says. But the fact still remains that while you may not judge a people by what the minority does, you must judge them by how the majority reacts to what the minority does.

Racialism in Britain

So 'unsympathetic' is the reaction of the tolerant majority to the actions of the fascist minority in Britain that thousands of overseas students come jolly and grinning to the country every year only to leave for their homelands a few years later with gnashing teeth and well-learned in the language of hatred. So dedicated are the British folk to 'co-existence and inter-racial harmony' that elections have been fought and won on racialist platforms, with the leader of the major political party involved standing resolutely by his decision not to reprimand this 'minority' transgression of national piety. So 'anti-segregationist' is the British national sentiment that one can seldom turn on the wireless or television without confronting racialist propaganda at its

subtlest and best, or turn the pages of newspaper without seeing the science of imagery being manipulated in its deadliest form to whip up the anti-colour epidemic already lying latent in the public mind.

A coloured boy who dies of the typhoid makes headline news, the information carefully kept out that the young man was born and brought up in Britain and, far from smuggling typhoid germs into the country while some inefficient customs officer was on duty, must have caught his disease, just like a normal white boy, while living here—thus the public imagination is skilfully steered to reach the wildest conclusions. Similarly, an African student alleged in a court of law to have started a rumpus by talking politics to a young lady against her inclination (and this is her story) was reported in a London local newspaper as just ‘pestering a white girl’, no mention of politics made. The fair-minded public-morality-protecting editor maintained to the last that he published the facts. He was right of course. Fact, as proved by the case in question, only means the absence of contradiction and never guarantees the whole truth.

Thus ‘factually’, Africa could be a jungle or a civilization, London a dignified Westminster or a filthy East End, Wimbledon a haven of beautiful nurses or a crawling ground for decrepit patients and stooping mummies bandaged in translucent stockings. With this vantage, the science of imagery, implemented and perfected from the colonial times, has been used to depict a coloured man abroad as germ-ridden, sex-maniacal and sub-human; and his continent of origin as a mere cultural and historical vacuum in which Europe swelled up.

‘One of these subtle methods’, writes Kwame Nkrumah in *Consciencism*, ‘is to be found in the account of history. The history of Africa, as presented by European scholars, has been encumbered with malicious myths. It was even denied that we were a historical people. It was said that whereas other continents had shaped history, and determined its course, Africa had stood still, held down by inertia; that Africa was only propelled into history by the Europeans’ contact. African history was therefore presented as an extension of European history.’

Commonwealth Immigration

So antipathetic to this sort of thing is the British government and so humanitarian its radical programme that it now seeks the right to deport any immigrant who has committed no crime.

So Commonwealth-spirited are they that while the streets and auditoriums of London were reverberating with the sweet sounds of the Commonwealth Arts Festival, the vaults of Westminster were

echoing with the worst anti-Commonwealth legislation on record. The British government have, in a brutish manner, withheld from the British public, the full information regarding the immigration issue. They have carefully concealed the fact that the coloured immigrant constitutes the lowest percentage of the total immigrant population in Britain. They have not told the people that the staggering number of 'unskilled' coloured labour that flocks into Britain includes a vast number of qualified professionals like doctors, engineers, nurses, social workers, etc. who, if anything, heighten the social standard rather than lower it; and, that after the Commonwealth job-grabber has been stopped from coming to settle in Britain, another job-grabber (perhaps a more competitive one) would be coming from Ireland and other European countries to take his place. While the B.B.C. is blaring about the 'language problems' of the coloured immigrant, the fact is that most Commonwealth immigrants (from the Caribbean, to mention but one) speak fluent English but their European replacements can't. Finally, if immigration is a crime, Britain has committed this crime abroad more than anyone can ever do in Britain.

All this is enough to astound a coloured observer. If history counts for anything at all and modern events are a part of history, one cannot help but believe that Australia is reserved for the whites, New Zealand reserved for the whites, United States of America reserved for the whites, most of Europe reserved for the whites, even the key parts of Africa itself are reserved for the whites by the whites with the blessing of the whites. And where the whites' physical presence is not felt, their economic tentacle is pushing, burrowing, sucking the blood of the land dwellers. Where then is the black man? This is the question every conscientious man must ask himself. Barely two decades after a voice from the British monarchy was calling on 'the brothers and sisters of the Commonwealth' to 'join hands with us' to fight the Germans, to preserve 'democracy' and 'freedom', a voice from the same throne was calling on the German people, during a state visit to Germany, to 'unite with us and share our great civilization, history and heritage', at a time when the Commonwealth generation that fought these German 'enemies' to enthrone this 'heritage of democracy' were being cast out of Britain as social problems, unskilled immigrants, law breakers, or any other sophisticated synonym of the American 'Nigger'.

The coloured man must brief himself with this information, interpret it accurately and then tackle the colour problem without confusion or leave it alone. He must face the grim fact that, in spite of pious declarations by Western political careerists before, during or after their terms of office, and the sparkingly phrased apostrophizations of certain

ideals like Freedom, Democracy, Affluence, Liberty and Freedom of Speech, there will never be freedom from coercion for the black man and no racial harmony as long as the Western basic philosophy of life remains unaltered. Any member of an 'inferior' group in the West who does not face this fact and jumps onto the band wagon of integrationists is in for a terrible experience of schizophrenia and frustration. Time will not solve it either, for Time, like Space, is only a medium in which an act of solution or pollution can take place. As such, all that time has is a quality of mutuality of application. You can employ it for good and you can employ it for evil. You might wait for a solution for another hundred years and find that the outcome of the problem is not an orientation towards goodness but a fully fledged social evil which has undergone elaborate metamorphoses.

Communalism and Socialism

The real truth is that in any society where the economic power is in the hands of a minority, that society can never be a civilization but a jungle. And one has no right to expect anything other than a jungle morality. A Negro who reasons this way must be prepared for accusations of unoriginality. It has been said before, his critics will scream. But the Negro is not interested in whether anyone has said it before or not. His problem is not to say what no one has said before or to be concerned with some sort of academic rivalry. His concern is whether what he is saying is true or false. Karl Marx may have said it before but the fact still remains that while Marx was preaching his philosophy in Europe in the nineteenth century, people, when allowed to do so by European colonizers, were living this 'Utopia' in Africa, the 'co-operative' way wealth was being distributed in African societies had already made possible a socialist man (or communalistic man, if you like). The mistake of the liberal Negro leader is his futile attempts to introduce this socialist morality into a capitalist economy. He must appreciate the fact that Feudalism, Slavery, and Capitalism are on a plane far different from Communalism and Socialism.

The first three have one underlying principle in that, whether under Feudalism, Slavery, or Capitalism, the fundamental fact remains the same—that society is divided into two segments; one working to produce the wealth, the other living on the wealth produced by the first. Feudalism, Slavery and Capitalism are manifestations of this same principle, the only slight difference being that the means of coercion between the working segment and the exploiting class alters as society transforms from one form to another, and, with them the popular slogans. Under Feudalism the slogan was the Divine Right of Kings

and Nobility, under Slavery and Colonization, it was the Christian mission to civilize humanity, in Capitalism, it is Freedom and Democracy. All three societies thrive on exploitation of man by man, no matter the excuse given by those on the privileged side of the dungeon. All the societies therefore produce men with 'competitive' mentality and diehard discriminating habits; the same jungle morality, the same dominant-class phobia.

But Communalism and Socialism are on an entirely different plane. Under these, society is not split up into two economic segments, one working to produce consumable wealth, the other parasiting on these proceeds without working. Another way to put it, at any rate in theory, is that the dominant segment of the society has coincided with the whole. Every member of the social family does work and the wealth produced thereof is owned and shared in common. This is how and why, as explained above, the psychology of social equality and inter-group brotherhood is brought about with time; and children, reared in this kind of civilized atmosphere grow up to become civilized citizens of the world. This morality is exclusive to Communalism and Socialism.

So, just as Feudalism, Slavery and Capitalism share one basic principle, namely exploitation of group by group, Communalism and Socialism share a common principle of non-exploitation, and a common morality of man's humanity to man, Socialism being merely a technically stratified Communalism in which production is intensified by machine and automation. As Kwame aptly declared in *Consciencism*,

if one seeks the social-political ancestor of socialism, one must go to communalism. Socialism stands to communalism as capitalism stands to slavery.

It is therefore of utmost importance for those who fight segregation to note this vital difference in plane between the principle of the system in which they live and the principle they endeavour to achieve. Feudalism, Slavery and Capitalism dwell on one plane. Communalism and Socialism occupy another. You cannot introduce the morality that exists in one system into another without jumping from one plane to another. This is a revolutionary leap and calls for revolutionary impetus to implement it, not quasi-static reforms. Integration is incompatible with capitalism. Equality is a phenomenon completely foreign to the psychological constitution of the capitalist man. It is much easier to make a carnivorous animal eat grass and adopt the philosophy of vegetarianism than to make a mentality cast in a capitalist mould to practise a socialist morality. The trouble of the capitalist man is his psychology just as the impediment of the carnivorous beast to herbivorous adaptation is his physiology. The reasoning that socialism is

gradually being achieved by social reforms is self-defeatist.

The British National Health Service, often cited as one unimpeachable blessing of these 'socialist' reforms, demonstrates this fact. If the worker, at this stage a vital part of the industrial machine, is denied 'free' medical service, the chances are, as past experience did show, that a sick worker who is unable to afford the doctor's bill (or even one who can afford it but wants to save the hard earned and much needed money) will rather lie down under his blankets at home and hope for the best than go to a hospital for treatment. Meanwhile, the industrial output, efficiency, and inevitably the capitalist profit, suffer considerably. This is the true position. When a lathe machine is serviced and oiled at intervals, the object is to get the maximum efficiency out of it, not to effect gradual socialism for the lathe machines. What is more, contrary to the beliefs of a surprising number of workers, the Health Service is not a 'free' medical service but a compulsory one because the worker has already paid for it.

The option of whether one should go to a doctor when indisposed or save his money by just having a good rest at home is replaced by subtle compulsion in the name of the employer's good business and profit. So, in reality, the Health Service is not really an achievement for the worker but a crashing triumph for the employing class. Similarly, the National Assistance, far from being another accomplished item on the 'socialist' programme, is another ingenious device to stabilize capitalism. Since a hungry man is an angry man who dares anything because he has nothing to lose, jobless men are potential revolutionaries and naturally a constant source of danger to the capitalist class. The only antidote to his anger is the abatement of his hunger. But the bribery thus given him must not exceed the barest minimum in order to compel him to keep on seeking fresh opportunities to sell his labour rather than new possibilities for a bloody revolution. The National Assistance therefore is the strongest insurance the capitalist class holds against its overthrow.

Seen in this light, the much-eulogized social reforms begin to assume their true significance. We begin to see, for instance, that our gorgeous council flats are not really homes in the true sense but warehouses where the human parts of the industrial machine and the spares (wives and children) are stored overnight till they are switched on again at dawn. Every morning the worker crawls out of the warehouse with the weathered look of a slave who has conditioned himself to enjoy his own slavery. In short, social reforms do not mean Socialism; at best, they signal the mockery of socialism and the consolidation of the degradation of man by man.

Reform and Revolution

It is important that the Negro does not confuse the superficial appeasement of these psychological irritants with the achievement of his freedom or mistake what reforms do promise with what only a revolution can effect. If not, he will find himself in the same position as a London street-corner shoe-lace vendor who believed in all sincerity that, because Britain is a 'free' country, he was absolutely free to buy himself a Rolls Royce car that evening even though he was not quite sure of his fare home; or like the unemployed youngster who believes he enjoys an acme of liberty because he can talk in Hyde Park when all he has really is the verbal 'freedom' to complain about the actual unfreedoms in the land—which is anything but freedom.

The Negro who is serious about getting his freedom must eschew this sort of self-delusion. Los Angeles has been an unforgettable lesson to all those who predicted that 'this sort of thing' would never happen in the North where the Negro enjoys the highest form of social reform, particularly in an area where he is privileged to inhale the fragrance of Hollywood. No sooner had this presumption been proved wrong by events than the same wishful-thinking speculators invented another theory that it was the taste of 'freedom' that made the Negro voracious for more power. Some liberal Negro leaders, rather than admit the ineffectuality and the short-sightedness of their methods, lost little time in declaring to the world that the outbreak was a consequence of lack of responsible Negro leadership in California. The fact remains that what happened in California was not a riot but a rebellion. And the fact will always remain that wherever and whenever the Negro suddenly wakes to the realization that superficial reforms are a far cry from his objective, mere capitalist designed fiction to delude the deprived and the underprivileged, rebellion is inevitable.

A man is apt to rebel when the truth dawns on him that, contrary to his life-long belief, to raise his hand and vote has no meaning whatsoever unless it actually brings about an effective change in the social system that has enslaved him, his father and the father before him. The Los Angeles struggle was a rebellion against a fraud, against organized ignorance, against a citadel of infamy guarded by the police, against a conspiracy into which the Negro himself has been tricked both as a conspirator and a victim, against the noise of crucifixion that is being made to sound like the sweet anthem of liberty, a kick in the groin of the smiling draculas of the dollar privileged ruling class of America and another historical testimony to the world that misery can never be made palatable by rubbing mustard over the catastrophes of a long-suffering people. The rebellion was also an open repudiation of the perverted patronage of the liberal intellectual. But before the

Negro fumes too much about this perverted patronage, perhaps it will save him a little bile to remember that the Western intellectual has his own psychological problems too.

In the words of Arnold Kettle

. . . whereas, economically, professional people in Britain are nearly all wage-earners, selling the labour and not living by the exploitation of others, they enjoy certain privileges which differentiate them from the mass of industrial workers and make it relatively easy for the ruling class to persuade them that they should not identify themselves in their thinking and feeling with the class-conscious working-class movement.—*Communism and the Intellectuals*.

This is what the Negro must watch. The bourgeois intellectuals in their effort to dissociate themselves from the working class (even though they still sell their labour to a boss) and in striving desperately to identify themselves 'socially' but not 'responsibly' with the ruling class (even though they haven't got what it takes), find themselves vacillating, like an 'uncompensated' pendulum, between the two extremes, propagating abstract academicism as solutions to real problems. To them such concepts as racialism, poverty, and starvation are mere words which respond to idealistic speculations, academic exercise of 'great' minds and the compilation of a dictionary of sentences. Their greatest love is a world in which universal brotherhood, peace and freedom prevail; their greatest hatred is the means of achieving this. Hence they run with the hares and hunt with the hounds. In their intellectual smugness, they accuse you of over-simplification, if not naivety, when you analyse constructively to reduce the problems to their real economic denominator but they fail to see themselves as over-complicating a simple problem to appease the academic god. This, by the way, applies to the white liberal intellectual as well as the black. This is why their leadership has so far done the Negro revolution more harm than good and their loyal apostles gained nothing practical except sore knees and a baptism of confusion.

The Western Worker

The Western worker, on the other hand, goes to the other extreme. He claims to be ignorant, non-political and in no way responsible for the crimes and iniquities of capitalism at home and abroad. The fallacy of this claim is patent enough. The Western white worker has got away with shamming ignorance for too long too easily. No one is more realist than he is. He knows fully well that the capitalist boss on top gets a huge 'cut' while he himself gets a little 'slice'. But he also knows that the larger the 'loot' the capitalist boss plunders from abroad, the larger his little 'slice' gets. So, he is quite contented to let the boss

retain the large 'cut' while he, in his convenient ignorance, keeps a hardly static little 'slice'.

In effect, there is a conspiracy between the capitalist class and the white worker. The Western worker goes on strike only when he feels that his share of the loot needs increasing, never otherwise. It is especially noteworthy that his indignation is aroused the moment a 'foreigner', particularly recognizable by the colour, is employed to work with him and have a share of this loot. He feels that the boss, in employing an outsider, is not keeping his side of the bargain. This is why he wants the 'foreigner' out. This is why when compelled to work side by side with a coloured worker, he wants to maintain an aristocracy of labour. This is why he is prepared to go soldiering abroad to shoot, torture and slaughter innocent men, women and children to keep the British capitalist tentacles well embedded in foreign soil to promote greater flow of loot into Britain and a steadier growth of the 'slice'. This is why the British worker has made a virtue of rapacity and 'I'm all right Jack' his native slogan. This is why Karl Marx's call on the workers of the world to unite was heard in Russia and many distant lands but never in Britain where the philosopher lived, died and was buried. These expositions could be continued but what's the use? I am not trying here to call on the Negroes of the world to unite against the Western intellectual, worker or capitalist any more than I am doing the opposite. But I do believe it is about time the Negro faced and hammered out unflinchingly the real nature of his problem (which frankly is the white problem) and expose the economic and political motive behind the Western workers' attitude and the psychological handicap of the liberal intellectual who professes, probably in good faith, to be 'on his side'. If the black man does not appreciate these things today, I fear he is in for another hundred years of noisy wind and no change. The choice is entirely his.

This calamity has already started in Africa. Every year, thousands of African young men and women flock into Europe to 'receive' education. They are convinced that three years in a European study compound and an academic title will automatically graduate them in wisdom. The amazing thing is that a people who have suffered centuries of colonization will not stop to think why they were colonized in the first place, the cultural implication of their historical tragedy, why empires rise and why they fall. They do not know that, at certain intervals in human history, a people arise who, usually from economic pressure, try to make the rest of humanity accept their way of life as the best. Thus they desperately convert their culture into a commodity for sale and create the market for it.

Mostly military persuasion is employed to effect this at the beginning

and eased off gradually as other subtle methods like religious indoctrination are devised. The result is an empire comprising conquerors and the conquered, colonizers and the colonized. As new generations are reared in the colonies, the emphasis is on education. Children become units of the cultural market. And young people are literally carried from their mothers' wombs into some institution where alien concepts are instilled into their plastic mentality. The suppressors begin to capitalize not only on the raw materials of the suppressed people but on their mentality as well.

Hence a young man discards his native tongue and travels thousands and thousands of miles away from his native land and expends all his intellectual energy doing what? Studying the English language, a language in essence no more and no less a native tongue spoken by another people just as his own people back home speak theirs. Soon he 'receives' his degree and returns home an 'educated' man and a 'cultured' gentleman is made. His salary is increased accordingly and that's another lifetime gone. To such wastages of intellect has colonialism driven men.

In the language of Nkrumah in *Africa Must Unite*,

our pattern of education has been aligned hitherto to the demands of British examination councils. Above all, it was formulated and administered by an alien administration desirous of extending its dominant ideas and thought processes to us. We were trained to be inferior copies of Englishmen, caricatures to be laughed at with our pretensions to British bourgeois gentility, our grammatical faultiness and distorted standard betraying us at every turn.

Thus the indoctrination continues till the colony is peopled by a generation that accepts these measures as matter of fact.

But the story does not stop there. For soon, the colonizer finds, to his consternation, that history alters the situation in a direction he did not foresee. As young generations come up in the parent country, they realize that their national ways of life have been accepted by the world as the be all and end all of culture. And in fact they are taught in schools that this is so. And they see other cultures ridiculed and debased in films and television. What else could they be, they ask, but the master race? Sometimes this leads to fascism and, inevitably, self-annihilation. But the worst aspect of this is that these young people, since they evidently stand on the peak of human progress, soon begin to feel that there is no more room for improvement. They become bored with life generally, grow rebellious and uninspired. And this same society that once knew tough people, disciplined and made great by want, starts producing beatniks, drug addicts, and particularly in music and various aspects of culture, imitators of the people they once rejected and suppressed.

Meanwhile their counterparts in the colonies, owing mostly to economic necessity, are busy assimilating the best of the culture of the parent country and, at the same time, researching into their own history to eradicate the stigma of past humiliations and excavate evidence of their vanished greatness. If they are lucky, they uncover most of these from obscurity. But lucky or not, they find out sooner or later that the greatness of the 'mother country' is nothing more than echoes from the past. They become conscious of their own new strength in history and their over-ripeness for freedom. The inevitable ensues: Revolution! And the world experiences history's oft repeated negation of negation. The leaders of a revolution turn out to be the very men who have assimilated most from the culture they are striving to destroy.

This is only one arc in the infinite spiral of history but I think it does illustrate the point. To fulfil one's historical mission, one must know his position on this upward dialectical relay. I fear that the African youth of my time may go down in history as a generation that never knew their cue.

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of The Three Internationals

THE INTERNATIONALE, by R. Palme Dutt. London, Lawrence & Wishart.

If there is any doubt that the story of the Internationals are at once the story of the world working class and also the story of the rise of Communism, this history should serve to dispel it. For it shows clearly that Marxism—the theory of scientific socialism now internationally accepted as the basis of the ideology of the Communist Parties—has always been the *main* current of the working class movement, the majority current, the main theoretical base of the whole class. Living as we do in an age where ceaseless propaganda has sought to present communist theory as the view of a minority, an errant sect, and a theory generally 'discredited' in the eyes of a solidly conservative or social-democratic working class, this truth needs to be constantly stated. And the truth is that, in its international alliances, the working class has always found its theoretical foundations in revolutionary Marxism; Second International reformism has, in fact, been the deviant and errant minority course.

The First International grew when the modern industrial working class—the proletariat with nothing to sell save its ability to work—was itself new, inexperienced, facing a whole world of new problems without any history of its own from which to learn how to go forward. It was a class which had to create for itself a theory and an ideology which would enable it to challenge the state of capitalism and to move forward purposefully towards socialism. Only such a formidable genius as that of Marx could have measured up to the needs of such a time. Steering itself by that genius, the First International grew, and led some impressive, pioneering working class struggles between the years 1865 and 1875. Its decline appears to have been less the result of its own weak-

nesses than a deflection of the decline of the revolutionary wave which had surged across Europe to crash in greatest triumph and greatest tragedy with the daring Paris Commune of 1871. The Franco-German combined reaction which drowned the Paris Commune in blood triumphed over the revolutionary storm, whose focus had been the International, the Marxian International.

By contemporary standards, the First International was small in numbers, small in mass influence. Its constituent bodies were confined to the advanced capitalist countries of Europe, with small echoes only in the United States of America. Yet its achievements were considerable. By the time of its decline and the death of its main inspirer, Karl Marx, it had left a profound mark on our world. It had brought together in several countries the advanced and class-conscious elements to form the first solidly based working-class socialist parties; it had created the first real international alliance of revolutionary socialist parties, striking out in unity regardless of national frontiers; but above all it had given to them—and simultaneously bequeathed to all subsequent generations of men under capitalism down to our own time—an ideology which has stood the test of time, and proved its validity in one of the most eventful periods of social clash and change which has ever been.

The First International clarified many of the problems of socialist advance. It showed beyond doubt that, in the modern industrial working class, there was to be found the progressive force of capitalist society—the force which would be at once the revolutionary grave-digger of the capitalist order and the main constructors of the new socialist order. It was left for the Second International to seek to translate that belief into reality, to gather up the mass of the working class, to organise them into parties and trade unions which would count their members not in hundreds but in tens of thousands, and which would count their votes in election times in millions—parties which in the opening years of the twentieth century seemed to many to stand on the threshold of Parliamentary majorities and Parliamentary power.

The Second International rose in the period of the rise of imperialism, in the days of the great imperial expansions, of the conquest and division of all Asia and Africa amongst the main imperial powers, when the armies of world-scale war were forming up, and the first major imperialist war was discernible ahead on the horizon of history by those whose understanding was illumined

by Marxism; as all the International's leaders, Kautsky, Liebknecht and Lenin were.

But imperialism not only influenced the course of armies; it influenced also the ideology of classes. Born out of the apparent stability and strength of imperialism, reformist illusions began to erode the ranks of the Second International. The international began to separate into reformists and revolutionaries—both generally claiming to be Marxists. The separation reached breaking point over the outbreak of war itself in 1914. The war had been clearly enough foreseen by the parties affiliated to the International. The virtually unanimous resolutions, branding it as a war for territorial conquest in which the working class had no interest, had been public for years. But when war came, reformism had eaten too deeply into the ranks for many of the International's affiliates to carry out their own resolutions and fight *against* imperialism war and *against* their own governments which were waging it. Most of the leaders of the International went over to the side of 'their' imperialists, joining with them in war-mongering and incitement to war, against foreign workers who they now called 'enemy'.

Few sections stood firm. Outstandingly the Russian Social Democrats, headed by Lenin, the foremost Marxist of his time and perhaps of all time, stood by the decisions made by the International. The unity of revolutionary and reformist could no longer be maintained not even uneasily, in a single International. Before world working class unity could again be established it was necessary, as Lenin argued forcibly, to divide clearly, along lines of principle.

The war was a period of dividing. Shortly after its end, it was possible to again unite, this time—as in Marx's time—in an international of revolutionary socialists from which the reformists had separated finally. Thus the Third International came to inherit the banner of revolutionary class struggle, of Marxism, which had been first raised by the First International. But with a difference. The First International had been an organisation confined to the advanced countries of Europe and America, and the Second maintained that pattern. But now, in the Third Communist International newly forming parties of revolutionary socialism from the colonial lands of Asia, Africa and South America were included. The Third International thus became, in a special way, the first truly world-wide organisation of the working class.

By the time the International was formed in 1921, the workers of Russia had already fought and won their revolution, conquered power from a capitalist state, and set out deliberately to construct

the first ever socialist society in their own country. The Russian working class thus proved themselves to be the advance-guard and the pace-setters of the socialist movement, its real leading cadre. Russian experience and Russian example thus became a profound and valuable guide for the workers of every other country, and for the International itself. No serious revolutionary party could then—or now—afford to ignore the experience of the Russian workers, or fail to treat with the most tremendous seriousness the views and opinions of the Russian Communists who had ventured further into the new world of socialist construction than anyone else.

The heart of the Third International, its leading core was undoubtedly the Russian working class and the Bolshevik Party; its inspiration above all others, Lenin until his death. In the eyes of its enemies and its assailers, the International was seen as an arm of the Bolshevik Party, and a puppet of the Soviet Government. This picture was a distortion. But it is idle to pretend that, given the leading role of the Russian working class in the International, it could fail to be influenced by every vicissitude in Soviet affairs, every turn and swing in Soviet politics.

The Third International existed for twenty years. Its founding congress took place in 1921, its final world congress in 1936. In 1943 it was formally dissolved by decision of its affiliated parties. This short life-span had profound effects upon the world. It was during this period that Communism became a world phenomenon, with parties in the majority of countries of the globe. It was in this period that the alliance was struck in deeds between the Communist parties and the revolutionary national liberation movements of the colonial lands; during this period that the theory of the united front was hammered out and first tried in practice, laying down the experience which in a later age was to guide the development of many countries towards Peoples Democratic and National Democratic states.

While the Third International grew to bestride the whole world, the Second International foundered. Though constituent bodies in many countries remained, even prospered, the International as such declined in significance. It ceased to have any significant effect upon the world's working class, and became increasingly a centre of anti-communist intrigue, dedicated to deepening the divisions in the working class, not to healing them, a bitter factional grouping which could no longer seriously claim leadership of any real mass movement of the working class. That claim passed finally and irretrievably to the Third International at its very formation, when the militant

revolutionary core of the socialist parties in all countries broke their allegiance with the past and joined the new international.

The Third International's dissolution in 1943 signalled the growth of Communism to maturity in many countries. The statement of dissolution said that the maturity and self-sufficiency of many parties had already some time before then led to the virtual withering away of the leadership functions of the international; by 1943, in fact, the very existence of the International, with certain constitutional rights of direction over affiliated parties, was proving to be a hindrance to the parties' further development where once, in the days of their maturity, it had been a help. Since that time, Communist international co-operation has passed through various phases—from the post-second world war Cominform, which was a loose grouping of only some of the Communist and workers' parties for exchange of opinion only, to periodic international conferences. Maturity has thus brought a new type of unity, expressed not through affiliation to a single centre, but through identity of action and periodic joint statements of policy.

Because the period of the Third International and after has been the period of the most rapid growth of the working class movement, it should provide the most vivid and varied history. No one in the English-speaking world is better equipped to write that history than R. Palme Dutt, who has participated in its every turn as a leader of the British Communist Party since its foundation, and written about its problems and tasks, month by month, as editor of *Labour Monthly* also since its foundation in the 1920's. Disappointingly, to this reader at least, this very section of the history is the least satisfying in the book. The reason no doubt is that Dutt is not just a writer; he is also a maker of history.

In all his writing he is concerned to aid the advance on a world scale to socialism, a task requiring the profoundest unity of the working class everywhere. In this period of far-reaching controversy in the Communist movement, every aspect of the past of the U.S.S.R., of the Communist International and of international communist conferences of recent years is being mulled over, reconsidered, debated and analysed. Dutt appears to have set himself (without distorting the whole history) to avoid matter that might prove to be fuel to stoke up the controversy rather than light to illuminate the past. For me, at least, vital questions about this period remain unanswered. For example: To what extent did left-wing sectarianism in the Comintern affect the advance of Communism in the colonial countries? Did the distortions of Communist

standards during the Stalin era in the U.S.S.R. influence the growth of the parties outside the U.S.S.R.? In the light of the history of individual parties, was the attempt to run a centralised, highly disciplined apparatus by directions from a centre—in Moscow or anywhere else—justified by results? Did it in fact become a hindrance only when the Comintern was dissolved, or earlier? In what practical demonstrations was it shown that the Comintern had—as its statement says—outlived its usefulness and become a brake on further development? And finally: was the dissolution of the Comintern without any attempt to substitute *any* other means for regular co-operation justified; or was it an error reflecting developments inside the movement at that time?

These questions remain unanswered. Perhaps it is that all this is too recent history for any of those who participated in these events to be able to look on them dispassionately, objectively with the historian's long view. But until such questions are answered, until the Third International is subjected to searching historical analysis, there will be a gap in the understanding of our generation which can prevent our learning from — and thus avoiding — whatever errors might have been made before. Historical analysis cannot be silenced by political orthodoxy — or at least not for long. I have no doubt that, now that the way to an assessment of this period has been opened by Dutt, the rest of the assessment will follow. For myself I hope that it is Dutt who carries on where he has left off. His pen and acute analytical mind are what the working class needs at this time to clear away some of the obscurity and doubt which still linger round much of the Communist history of recent years. Such further study will surely help towards the aim of the present book, which is to advance the understanding of the working class and equip it to construct socialism everywhere, so that — in the words of the song from which his title is taken —

'The Internationale shall be the human race'.

Or — as the version sung in South Africa has it, which I personally prefer —

'The International unites the human race.'

T.

THERE CAN BE few subjects in contemporary politics more needy of thorough historical assessment than the meteoric rise of the Communist movement—from a tiny sect in the early nineteenth century to the greatest single movement the world has ever known,

in our own time. So far as I am aware, in the English speaking world, only the professional anti-communist peddlers have hitherto been sufficiently attracted to the subject to give any sort of serious attention to it, but they have been concerned more with poisoning the air with anti-communism than with historic fact. In English at least, there has been no serious study of the growth of Communism up to the present time, except for piecemeal accounts of particular developments in particular countries, often confined to the fairly short period since the first world war. R. Palme Dutt's recent book *The Internationale* partly fills the gap.

Guerillas in the Philippines

THE FOREST, by William J. Pomeroy. Berlin, Seven Seas Books (Central Books, London, 5s.).

WITH THE TRIUMPH of socialism and weakening of imperialism following fascism's, defeat in the last world war, the movements for national liberation received a great impetus and the collapse of the shameful colonial system of imperialism was assured.

In Asia national liberation armies had roused the people against the Japanese invader, but with Japan's defeat that very nationalism was feared by the American, British, French and Dutch imperialists who sought to re-establish their colonial rule.

The pattern, which is commonplace today, began to assert itself on a wide scale, of a once down-trodden and exploited people asserting their right to land, freedom and national independence, and of imperialism and its hired puppet governments ruthlessly attempting to suppress those aspirations.

One of the first guerrilla struggles to break out after the war took place in the Philippine islands, and *The Forest* by William Pomeroy is a brilliant record of that struggle at its height. A quiet but passionate testament to the heroism of the Filipino people *The Forest* has much to recommend it. Rich in historical content, dealing with a struggle about which unfortunately little is known in the Western world, the book is essential to the political student. At the same time it is an invaluable contribution to the study of guerrilla warfare. But it is as a poet that Mr. Pomeroy will have his widest appeal.

Beautifully poetic *The Forest* is essentially a moving story of man in his quest for freedom. Pomeroy, a true internationalist, rises above the Filipino struggle alone, and sings to the strength and brotherhood of mankind. In this he succeeds in making the struggle to free the Philippines, the struggle of man everywhere. In a style as clear, simple and direct as a freedom song Pomeroy records the awful, unspeakable hardships and suffering a people are prepared to endure, the terrible dangers they are ready to face in their determined struggle to be free.

Pomeroy is admirably equipped to tell the story. As an American soldier he arrived in the Philippines in 1944, with Filipino hopes high that after centuries of foreign domination independence would soon be theirs. To Pomeroy's dismay and horror he found that American military forces, far from being an army of liberation, were acting in the interests of the big landlords to suppress the peasant movement that had grown out of the fight against fascism. When independence came on July 4th, 1946 (with typical brashness on America's own independence day celebrations), it had so many strings attached that the Filipino people could not breathe. Their mass organizations opposed this phoney travesty of independence which continued to doom them to backwardness as peasant producers of raw materials for U.S. industry, and forced them to buy in return American goods that they could easily make themselves. The Filipino people demanded real independence and full democratic rights.

American imperialism and the puppet Filipino government it created set out to smash the people's resistance with violence, terror and murder. But the people hit back. The old guerrilla units that had fought the Japanese were regrouped and gave battle to the mercenary armies of the landlords and government hirelings of American imperialism. The historic role of completing the colonial revolution in the Philippines fell to the Huks (Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan)—the Filipino Army of National Liberation.

In 1950, with the revolutionary situation in the Philippines at a high tempo, William Pomeroy and his Filipina wife, Celia, answered a call for volunteers and joined the Huk guerrillas based in the dense mountain forests.

The opening sentence of the book states: 'Whoever enter forest leave behind the open world.' The forest is a wilderness where survival is precarious. On entering it 'he who would be a revolutionary abandons home and lives on the margin of life'. Refuge of the hunted and harassed, sanctuary for those who would rather fight than submit, 'always the mountain forest has sheltered the Philippine urge to liberty'.

From the hidden world of the forest the Huks give direction to the

people of the open world, for the forest becomes the nerve centre of revolution where 'the click of the mimeograph machine matches leaf rustle and lizard rush'.

With quiet courage the author portrays the real meaning of life as a guerrilla fighter. No romantic notions are here for death continually stalks the guerrilla's trails and the forest is 'a green lid on endurance, hunger and suffering'. Willing to accept discipline and danger without a murmur for the guerrilla hardship is a permanent way of life. The guerrilla 'takes his life in his hands and hangs it upon a thread', the forest fruit is 'sour, bitter, astringent, like a struggle for freedom', and his hide-out 'is a draughty cave where he guards a little flame on a windy night'.

In the forest life depends on the collective band, man alone is doomed and the towering impenetrable fastness is an awesome reminder of the collectivity of life. The guerrilla learns real involvement, sharing his life and possessions with his comrades and merging his identity completely with the movement. In the everlasting, enduring wilderness the struggle and the forest become inseparable, because the forest teaches the guerrilla how to endure.

From their forest fortress the Huks became strong enough to challenge the power of the U.S. backed puppets. China, Greece, Korea, Indonesia, Veitnam, Malaya, the Philippines—the U.S.A. sends no arms to those struggling for freedom, instead tons of lethal equipment are sent to suppress liberty—and when mercenaries are no longer effective American troops are despatched. Trained and re-organized by professional interventionists fresh from suppressing peoples' movements in Greece and Korea, equipped from boot-laces to bazookas with U.S. military aid, 100,000 puppet troops were thrown against 10,000 ill-equipped Huks.

When the enemy cuts off the food supply from the villages and penetrates to the hiding places, when death litters the forest glades and the guerrilla flees like a hunted quarry into the primitive, unpathed wilderness, when defeat rears its ugly head the revolutionary faces his severest test. The test of man is to overcome all obstacles. This is the test of progress and this is the test of the struggle. The forest becomes the testing place—'we are undergoing trial by forest, a contest of endurance, of will against men and wilderness'. It is easy to surrender or lie down and die but the struggle demands that the revolutionary endure all privations, that he preserve himself to continue the fight. 'We stumble, fall, rise and stagger on again, because we refuse to accept the fact of death. How can we die? We are RIGHT, and all that we fight is WRONG.'

Ringed by the enemy, with capture or death looming close the author

is touched by fatalism and wonders if his small band is the last that remains of a movement in retreat. In the death-like stillness that pervades the forest he has grown to love, a leaf moves . . . 'Leaves move. I watch the moving leaves. The forest lives. The movement lives . . . I know that we shall go on, enduring even if we are the last, and with hope, because the very act of doing so transfers the life that we embody to the hands of others who will come after, as the falling leaf is supplanted by the outgrowth of another, as the forest endures against decay. . . .'

In 1952 Bill and Celia Pomeroy were captured and sentenced to life imprisonment. Ten years later their sentences were commuted but he was deported while she was denied permission to leave her homeland. Following world-wide protests the couple were reunited. In Philippine prisons since as far back as 1950, still under sentence of death or life imprisonment, are many heroic leaders. Ten thousand of the country's finest sons and daughters are dead, but the struggle continues and there are new inhabitants of the forest.

Reading this exceptionally fine book one cannot but feel tremendously inspired for the author unquestionably succeeds in showing there is no truth that a revolutionary movement dies. The forest and the struggle are enduring, as enduring as the desire of the common people to be free.

'The forest is there, unchanged, unconquered, waiting.'

Alexander Sibeko

Apartheid Analysed

THE MENACE OF APARTHEID, by Sol Dubula. Prague, Peace and Socialism, 6d.

APARTHEID IS A new word for an old relationship.' This is the opening sentence in a new pamphlet, *The Menace of Apartheid*, by Sol Dubula, published in Prague by *Peace and Socialism*. It continues:

'Cheap black labour has always been the chief source of wealth in South Africa. This factor more than any other, has given rise to what is today one of the most brutal and barbaric systems of race and national oppression which history has known.'

As this opening paragraph shows, this is a hard-hitting, realistic description of apartheid, how and why it functions. The writer has

assembled some excellent facts, statistics and quotations from South African official sources. Short but informative sections deal with political rights, land, pass laws and freedom of movement, trade unions and education. One of the best sections is an excellent exposé of the fraud of Bantustans—so-called 'homelands' for the African people. An analysis of why and where South Africa obtains support, and a summary of United Nations' activities on apartheid, provide more useful information.

The pamphlet points out the need for international action on the apartheid issue, and the menace that Verwoerd's South Africa constitutes both to free African states and to world peace.

This is a short, readable and up-to-date booklet on South Africa; it should be widely distributed, and if so, it will make a positive contribution to strengthening the struggle against apartheid.

F. Azad



Communique of joint meeting of Communist Party of Great Britain and South African Communist Party

A MEETING HAS been held between representatives of the South African Communist Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain. The South African delegation consisted of four members of their Central Committee and the British delegation consisted of John Gollan, General Secretary; R. Palme Dutt, Executive Committee and Political Committee; and Idris Cox and Jack Woddis from the International Department.

Both delegations spoke warmly of the close friendship, understanding and practical co-operation which had always existed between the two Parties, and expressed their full confidence that these relations would continue.

The British delegation saluted the courageous stand and leadership of the heroes of the South African liberation movement, both Communist and non-Communist, who had faced imprisonment, torture and even death in the struggle for freedom. It recalled the bravery and integrity of such leaders as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and scores of others who, from Verwoerd's jails, continue to inspire the struggle of the South African people for democracy and national liberation. Proud tribute was paid to the memory of Vuyisile Mini, Zinakhele Mkaba, and Wilson Khayinga, who went to their deaths rather than betray their comrades. The British delegation pledged that the Communist Party of Great Britain would continue to do all within its power to rally ever more thousands of the British people to demand an end to British imperialist support for Verwoerd's shameful regime.

The South African delegation expressed their great appreciation of

the many acts of solidarity and practical help shown by the British Party towards the struggle in South Africa. The special measures of support which the British Party provided following the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, and the practical forms of assistance now being rendered have been warmly welcomed. The South African delegation emphasized the importance which their Party attaches to the political activity carried out in Britain by the British Party to win the people and their organizations to take a principled stand against apartheid. In this connection, the South African delegation stressed the valuable role played by the Party press and the *Daily Worker* in helping to expose the character of the South African regime and in making known the struggle and demands of the national liberation movement and democratic forces in South Africa.

South African Situation

The South African delegation gave a detailed review of the situation in their country and explained the conditions of their struggle which formed the basis for the conclusions expressed by their Central Committee in its recent statement *The South African People Will Win Their Freedom*. The international solidarity movement against apartheid was of the utmost value and significance in striving to isolate the Verwoerd regime from the financial, political and military backing of the imperialist countries which sustained it. But the decisive battlefield was in South Africa itself; the key to victory was the national liberation struggles of the oppressed people. Ruthless terror and police state measures unleashed by the Verwoerd regime has inflicted heavy losses on the movement, which had to be taken into account in a realistic and sober assessment of the situation. But despite temporary setbacks, the apparently flourishing economy, and the widespread diffusion of racialistic and fascist ideas among the white population, the regime was fundamentally unstable and insecure. The harsh conditions of life and oppression among the majority of the people aroused their revolutionary determination and resistance. The decision of the liberation movement to prepare for the armed overthrow of the white supremacy state remained basically correct, irrespective of the success or failure of any particular plan or operation. Such preparation had to be accompanied by intensified political work, whatever the difficulties, to rally and organize the people. Fascist terror called for new methods of work, but the basic task was still the strengthening and cohesion of the united front of national liberation in the form which it had achieved in many years of struggle, the Congress alliance. The Party was pledged to work with devotion, seriousness of purpose and confidence in victory

for these aims, for the overthrow of apartheid and the winning of their freedom by the South African people.

The British delegation opened a general discussion on the current imperialist counter-offensive against the national liberation movements throughout the world, exemplified in the U.S. aggression against Vietnam in Asia, the Dominican Republic in Latin America, and the Congo in Africa. This counter-offensive was taking many forms in Africa—military aggression, conspiracies and coups, assassination of national leaders, intrigues with local reactionaries, economic pressures, and the spreading of ideological confusion. Special emphasis was placed on the strategy of the imperialists in Africa, aimed at maintaining their open grip on southern Africa both for the sake of the wealth and rich investments in this region, and for the purpose of using it as a base for intrigue and aggression against the independent states in the rest of the continent. It was considered that the most advanced states in Africa were particularly menaced by these new threats.

Britain's Responsibility

The South African delegation stressed Britain's special responsibility for the dependent status of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, and pointed out the danger that British Government policy was paving the way to the economic absorption and domination of these states by the Verwoerd regime.

Both delegations expressed complete opposition to the continued rule of Southern Rhodesia by the white settler minority, and expressed their complete solidarity with the struggle of the four million African people and their demands for the suspension of the existing Constitution, the release of the political prisoners, and the drawing up of a new constitution based on majority rule.

They discussed the need for still greater political activity among the British working class and general public in order to expose the shameful role being played by British imperialism as the principal supporter of the Verwoerd regime. It was agreed that vigorous support should continue to be given to the Anti-Apartheid Movement and other progressive organizations in Britain campaigning on the issue of South Africa.

Representatives of each Party explained their Party's attitude to the situation in the international Communist movement, and their views as to the steps that should be taken to overcome the present disunity.

This fruitful and practical discussion, which was conducted throughout with the greatest warmth and frankness, ended with a unanimous decision of both delegations for the two Parties to continue regular consultations and co-operation on matters of common concern.

LENIN

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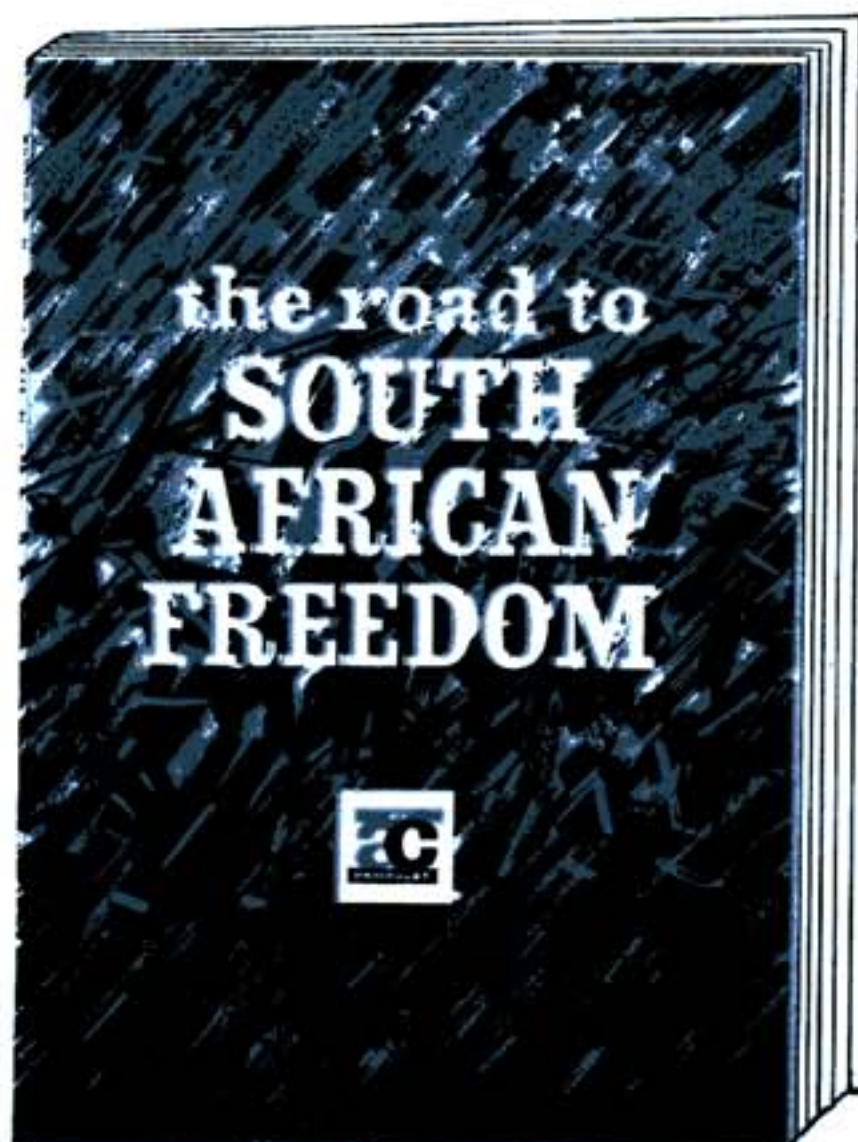
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