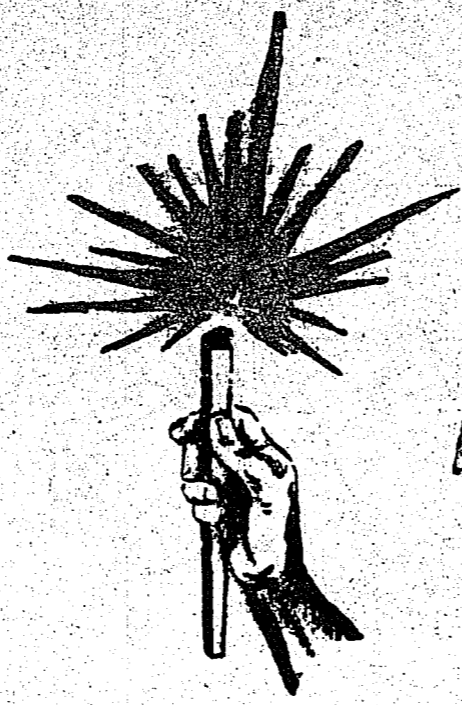


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A SOCIALIST WEEKLY OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

No. 136 2p.

(Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper)

FRIDAY, JULY 23, 1965

Two Tasks for Geneva

THE 18-nation disarmament talks are scheduled to resume in Geneva on Tuesday. It is expected that a total test-ban treaty (the existing test-ban treaty signed in 1963 applies only to tests under

water, in the atmosphere and in space) and an agreement on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons will stand high on the agenda.

A complete test ban embracing underground tests and an agreement

to stop the further spread of nuclear weapons would constitute important contributions to peace.

For years the basic obstacle to a complete test ban agreement, which would be an important curb on the development of new and more destructive nuclear weapons, has been the West's refusal to acknowledge that all tests, including those underground, can be detected by existing means of detection.

INSPECTIONS

They therefore demanded at two to three inspections a year—but when the Soviet Union accepted this figure the Western Powers stepped up their demand, insisting on at least seven.

The Soviet scientists and negotiators had all along insisted that existing means of detection were adequate, and that a nuclear test agreement could be reliably monitored without inspections.

Even the London Times (11.6.63) was obliged to concede that "The Russians have most of the scientists on their side when they say that inspections are not vital".

Experience has indeed shown the Soviet view to be correct: underground tests in the United States, even when conducted under conditions said to be especially favourable to concealment, have been detected as far away as Sweden, while underground tests carried out in the Soviet Union (including one deliberately held to demonstrate that such tests could be detected) have been monitored in the United States.

DELIBERATE

There is in fact evidence that in the past U.S. policy-makers have deliberately concealed their ability to detect underground tests in order to block a complete test-ban agreement and thus leave their hands free to continue the development of nuclear weapons through underground tests.

Talks

Complete test ban and A-weapon Curb

by a Spark Correspondent

Five months before the signing of the partial test-ban agreement, when Western negotiators were insisting that underground tests could not be reliably detected, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk admitted that U.S. ability to detect violations of a test-ban treaty was "better than can be fully disclosed".

Early this year a number of reports appeared on both sides of the Atlantic to the effect that "new techniques" now made it possible reliably to detect underground tests. Western scientists, we were told, "are convinced that the time has come for a new look at the treaty".

The Western scientists were, in fact, belatedly acknowledging that the Soviet scientists were right.

FUTILITY

Furthermore, more and more voices had been heard pointing to the futility of the continued nuclear build-up with the aid of underground tests when both the United States and the Soviet Union already have more than enough nuclear weapons to destroy each other.

Writing in last November's *Scientific American*, Dr. Jerome Weisner, once chief Presidential scientific adviser, and another respected U.S. scientist, Dr. Herbert York, warned that defence against thermo-nuclear attack is impossible and that the clearly predictable course of the present arms race is a steady spiral downwards into oblivion.

The two scientists demonstrated that the continuance of underground tests served no useful purpose and could make

no contribution to the security of the United States, despite the claims of the die-hards who call for their continuance.

WILL SHOW

The Geneva talks will show whether the Western negotiators have paid heed to the voices of the scientists, and whether they are now ready to conclude a complete test-ban agreement.

Likewise, having for years resisted efforts to stop the further spread of nuclear weapons, the Western Powers now seem to have come round to the view that the proliferation of nuclear weapons should be checked before it is too late.

Hitherto they have argued that their moves to create some sort of N.A.T.O. or "Atlantic" nuclear force with West German participation do not constitute proliferation.

There are now indications that the West no longer seeks to maintain this untenable position, and that there is a growing awareness of the danger of the further spread of nuclear weapons and of the urgency of the matter.

NEW URGENCY

"A delay of a year or so or perhaps even of months, in the implementation of measures bearing on the nuclear proliferation problem could well mean the difference between success and failure", wrote Mr. William C. Foster, Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, in the authoritative American journal *Foreign Affairs*.

His warning was given new urgency by the ill-concealed hint given by the West German Foreign Minister, Dr. Schröder, last week to the effect that if West Germany does not get a finger on the nuclear trigger through some form of multilateral force, she will have to "acquire" nuclear weapons some other way (see p.6—Ed.).

Lord Chalfont, the British Minister responsible for disarmament, has expressed the view that the "nuclear club" might well double in membership during the next fifteen years.

Dr. Glen T. Seaborg, chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Committee, believes that as well as the five countries that already have the bomb, there are seven others (Japan, India, West Germany, Sweden, Canada, Italy and Israel) that are capable of building one, and at least five (Brazil, Switzerland, Spain, Yugoslavia and Egypt) that will have the capability in a few years.

SOUTH AFRICA

One of the most urgent problems facing mankind, he conceded, "is to keep the whole world from being armed to the teeth with atomic bombs."

Dr. Seaborg thought it essential that the nuclear Powers (the United

States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China) should try to reach agreement between themselves and then try to prevent nuclear weapons spreading to other countries.

We in Africa likewise watch the build-up of South Africa's atomic industry with concern. The emergence of South Africa as a nuclear power would constitute a grave threat to the peace of our continent.

A STEP

Over three years ago an unnamed South African scientist declared in the *Rand Daily Mail* (12.1.62) that "it is within the bounds of our resources to make an atom bomb", while a member of the South African Atomic Energy Board, Dr. Andries Visser, has declared that South Africa should begin to produce atomic weapons in order to use them against the "loud mouthed Afro-Asian states".

Agreement to check the further spread of nuclear weapons would mean that nuclear weapons would be kept out of the hands of the South African racists, and out of the hands of the West German militarists and revenge-seekers. It would help rid the world of the fear of nuclear war. It could constitute a step on the road to general and complete disarmament.

'If the World can survive ...'

"SCIENCE can be applied for good ends, for the betterment of the human race, or for bad ends, for the making of weapons of destruction. In no field of science is the contrast between these two aspects so great as it is in atomic energy. The hydrogen bomb, that instrument of mass destruction which we all fear and dread so much, is based on the same source of power. Scientists hope that, in the near future, thermo-nuclear reaction will release unlimited resources of power for industrial use.

"If the world can survive the threat of annihilation posed by the hydrogen bomb, and other agents of mass destruction, then the peaceful application of thermo-nuclear energy which is at present predominantly turned to warlike purposes, will bring about an unprecedented release of the human race from drudgery and fear, starvation and poverty, which is now the lot of so many."

—KWAME NKURUMAH, 24.11.64

EDITORIAL

Whose Land?

ADVERTISEMENTS are appearing in a section of the world press inviting whites to settle in South Africa. The advertisements carry photographs of super-modern cities with all the latest buildings and skyscrapers with broad avenues, side walks, parks and so forth. Next to this first photograph, there is a second of two European women with their offspring, all clad in bikinis and basking under a sun-shade on a typical Waikiki-like beach.

The first general impression that these two pictures give is of some great modern city where both activity and beauty are combined.

It comes as a great shock when it is, in fact, discovered that the advertisement refers to the land of police torture and brutality—South Africa. The realisation of this makes one ask: Whose land?

* * *

Are both for the majority indigenous Africans or the minority white settlers?

The answer is quite obvious.

The answer is clearer in the piece of news that a sun-tanned Greek Cypriot who got into South Africa as a result of this advertisement was barred because he was "too dark".

The South African government which had paid his fare from Port Said, granted him a temporary residence permit.

When he landed at Durban he said although South Africa had given him a visa he was at first refused entry by an official who thought his skin was too dark.

He was barred at Cape Town because he had become a "prohibited immigrant". Senator Trollip, the South African Immigration Minister, has ordered an investigation into the affair.

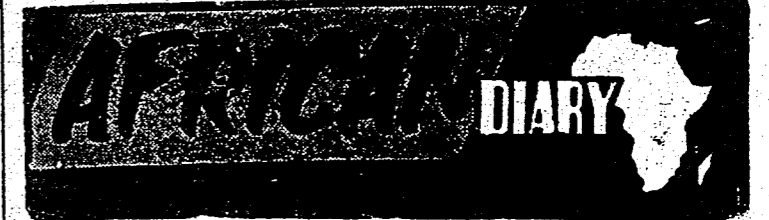
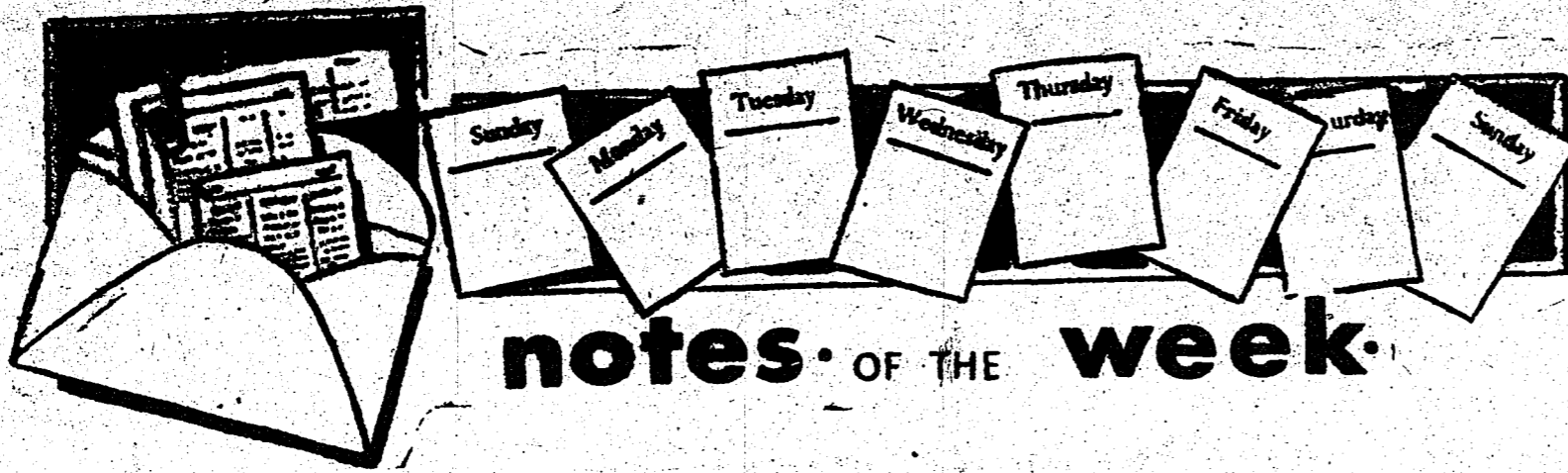
The advertisement apart from its undisputed falsity, has a very significant aspect, as far as the African majority is concerned.

It shows the desperation to which the fascist settler regime is prepared to go in attracting Europeans to come to South Africa to help in the continual enslavement of the African people.

* * *

The advertisement ends with the ominous words: "South Africa has huge natural resources. And a future that is just as large".

In these words Verwoerd sounds both his battle cry and his death knell, for he will use any means to keep those resources, and guarantee that future for his fellow whites; but his determination will only strengthen that of the African people to take those resources and that future for themselves.



JULY 6:
ZAMBIA: Mr. Matiya Ngalande, Zambian High Commissioner in Ghana has said that Zambia is Committed to strive for the strengthening of the O.A.U. to ensure the Salvation of all Africans.
MAURITANIA: An agency report quoting official Mauritanian sources said for the interest in African Unity, Mauritania is to withdraw from the Afro-Malagasy Common Services Organisation.
SUDAN: The police have dispersed demonstrators in Khartoum protesting against the release of eight men of the former military junta of the ousted President Ibrahim Abboud.
U.A.R.: Four people were killed and two injured when a petroleum storage tank exploded on Lake Suez in the United Arab Republic.
GHANA: President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana in a message sent to Dr. Kamuzu Banda, Malawi Premier on the occasion of the first anniversary of Malawi's independence, has expressed the hope that Ghana and Malawi would work relentlessly together to remove all forms of foreign domination and realise "our great objective of the early establishment of a Continental Union Government for Africa".
 * Ghana's Foreign Minister and also the current President of the United Nations General Assembly Mr. Alex Quaison-Sackey, speaking at a dance at the Hotel "Diplomat" in New York to the members of the U.S.A. branch of the Party to celebrate Ghana's fifth Republic anniversary has expressed the hope that "our brothers in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, South-west Africa, Mozambique and the so-called Portuguese Guinea will soon be free and will join us in building a new Africa."

July 7
ALGERIA: Colonel Boumediene is expected to announce his new Algerian revolutionary government within the next 48 hours, Reuter reports. Colonel Boumediene is president of the 26-member revolutionary council set up after President Ahmed Ben Bella was ousted on June 19.
GHANA: Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, General Secretary of the Party, Chairman of the Central Committee today addressed the closing session of the three-week course for Ministers, Regional Commissioners and Party functionaries at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba. He urged them to look forward to the next five years with determination and selfless devotion to the cause of the country's development.
TANZANIA: The 11th anniversary of the Tanganyika African National Union has been celebrated throughout Tanzania today. "Saba-Saba" feast has been organised to mark the occasion.
UGANDA: Dr. Milton Obote, who is on a five-day official visit to Yugoslavia today, had talks with Prime Minister Mr. Peter Stambolic on the international situation and increasing bilateral co-operation between their two countries.
SUDAN: Two Southern Sudanese Government Ministers have resigned in protest against the nomination of Mr. Salmon M'Jok, secretary-general of the Sudanese United Party, as the Southern representative on the Sudan Supreme Council.
CONGO (LEOPOLDVILLE): President Joseph Kasavubu of the Congo today signed a decree to remove Mr. G. Munongo, Premier Tshombe's right-hand man who was recently elected Governor of Eastern Katanga, from his Central Government post of Minister of the Interior, it has been announced in Leopoldville today.
KENYA: Mr. Tom Mboya, Minister of Economic Planning and Development, has been deposed as the Party secretary. Six Ministers including Mr. Mboya are reportedly out of the country.
 * Kenya has become a partner to four conventions and four protocols of the U.N. it has been announced in New York today.
GHANA: Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, speaking on a subject "Who holds power in Ghana" at Winneba today declared "as far as I am concerned, there is only one correct answer and that is the people. The people should have some social function and organisation otherwise they are in a loose form and that is why we in Ghana have taken a step forward to say that ours is a people's parliamentary socialist."
 * Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has said that the Party Press must conform to the Party's principles of democratic centralism and that an Editor should not criticise just because he is in the Editor's chair and the Party Press, he said, must back the majority view.
July 9
U.A.R.: Mr. Muhammed Fajek, head of the African Department of the office of the U.A.R. has arrived in Bamako for talks with President Modibo Keita, on preparations for the O.A.U. Summit Conference in Accra next September.
TANZANIA: Mr. Oscar Kambona Tanzanian Foreign Minister has today urged United Nations members to call on Britain to grant independence to Southern Rhodesia on the basis of majority rule.

IF ANY doubted that Prince Philip's "patience" plea addressed to the African majority in Rhodesia would give new encouragement to the die-hard settler minority, racist Premier Ian Smith's recent interview with a Spanish journalist provides the answer.

Mr. Smith was reported to have said that he had a written undertaking from the British Government not to interfere in Rhodesia's internal affairs.

Just how Mr. Wilson thinks he can end the racist regime in Salisbury—and it is this and not the prevention of some unilateral declaration of independence which is the real issue—without "interfering" in Rhodesia's internal affairs is not clear.

The news of Mr. Smith's statement was greeted with an embarrassed silence in London, where British spokesmen could not confirm or deny that such a letter had been sent recently.

But, as some commentators noted, Mr. Bottomley, the British Commonwealth Relations Secretary, did in fact give such an assurance when he was in Rhodesia in February, and Mr. Wilson repeated it in the House of Commons last month.

"Any attempt by Britain to legislate on matters

within the competence of the Rhodesian Parliament would break an established convention going back more than forty years", argued the *Daily Telegraph*, one of the most zealous of Mr. Smith's London apologists.

We can only observe that Britain has not always been so scrupulous in its dealings with its colonies—especially those seeking independence.

According to the Spanish journalist, Mr. Smith declared that the atmosphere for "independence" negotiations was "better than for some time". Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, British Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, is currently in Salisbury for talks—but has "no time to meet African leaders.

Project Camelot

POLITICAL and intellectual leaders in South America—even those which are strong advocates of closer cooperation with the United States—are, according to the "New York Times" (9.7.65) "profoundly disturbed" by the "dangerous expansion" of military influence in the policies of the Johnson administration.

This is not the first time that fears have been expressed regarding what might

be termed the growing militarisation of many aspects of American life. Indeed, even the retiring President Eisenhower felt it necessary to warn against the growing pressures of what he termed the "military-industrial complex".

This militarisation extends even to the academic field. It has long been common knowledge that the large proportion of the research done in American universities is financed and controlled by the U.S. military authorities.

Now apparently the U.S. Defence Department would like to extend its influence

to Latin American universities.

Working through the American University in Washington, it attempted to involve universities in Argentina, Colombia, Peru and Venezuela in a six-million-dollar "study programme" called "Project Camelot".

It was described as a study of the "potential for internal war" in Latin American countries. It was in other words, a thinly-disguised attempt to use Latin American scholars as intelligence agents.

The need for such a study, according to an outline of the American University's paper on the project, was based on the new emphasis on "the United States Army's role in the overall United States policy."

Just what this roll is can be clearly seen in the Dominican Republic, where a

Verwoerd's "Justice"

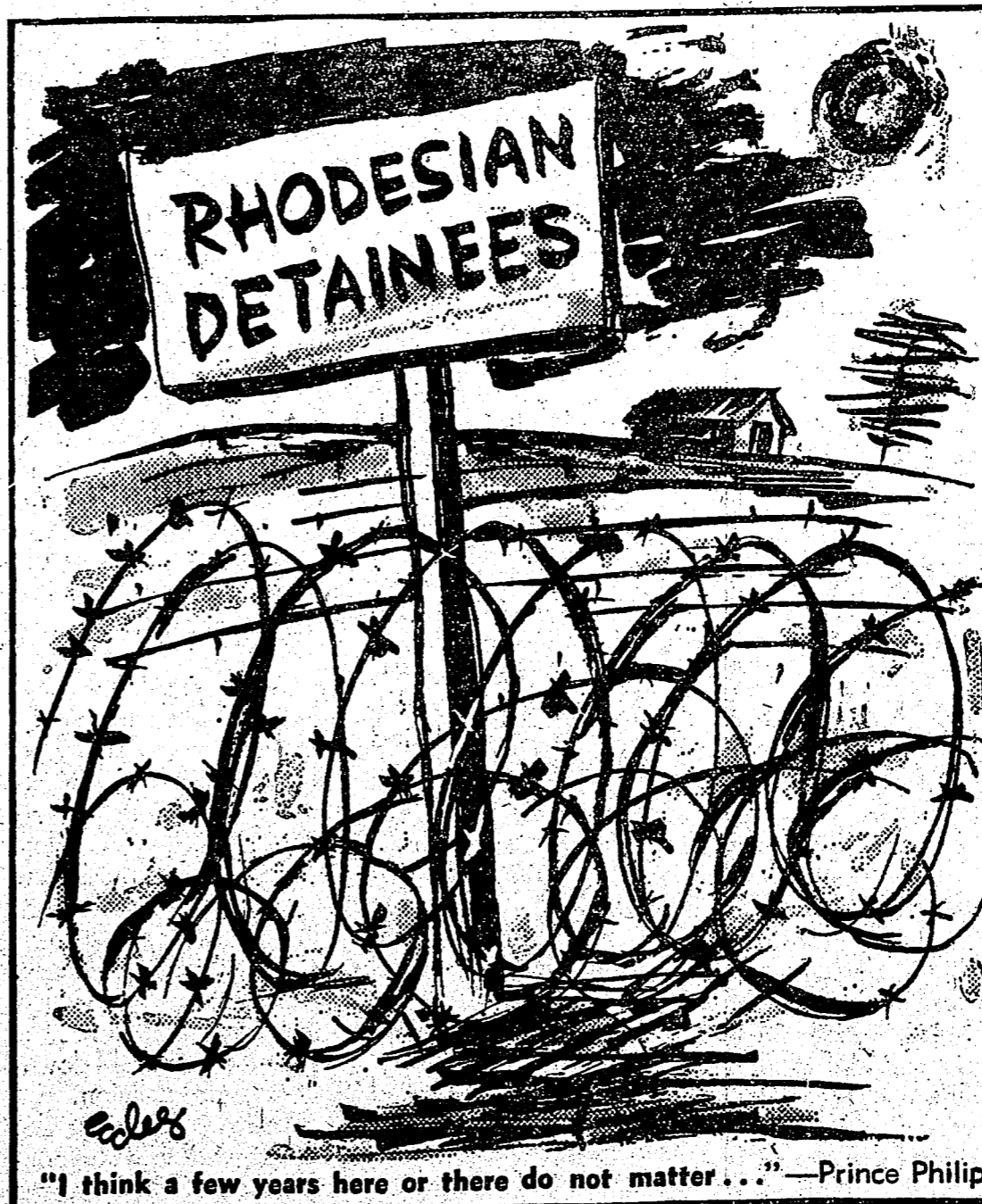
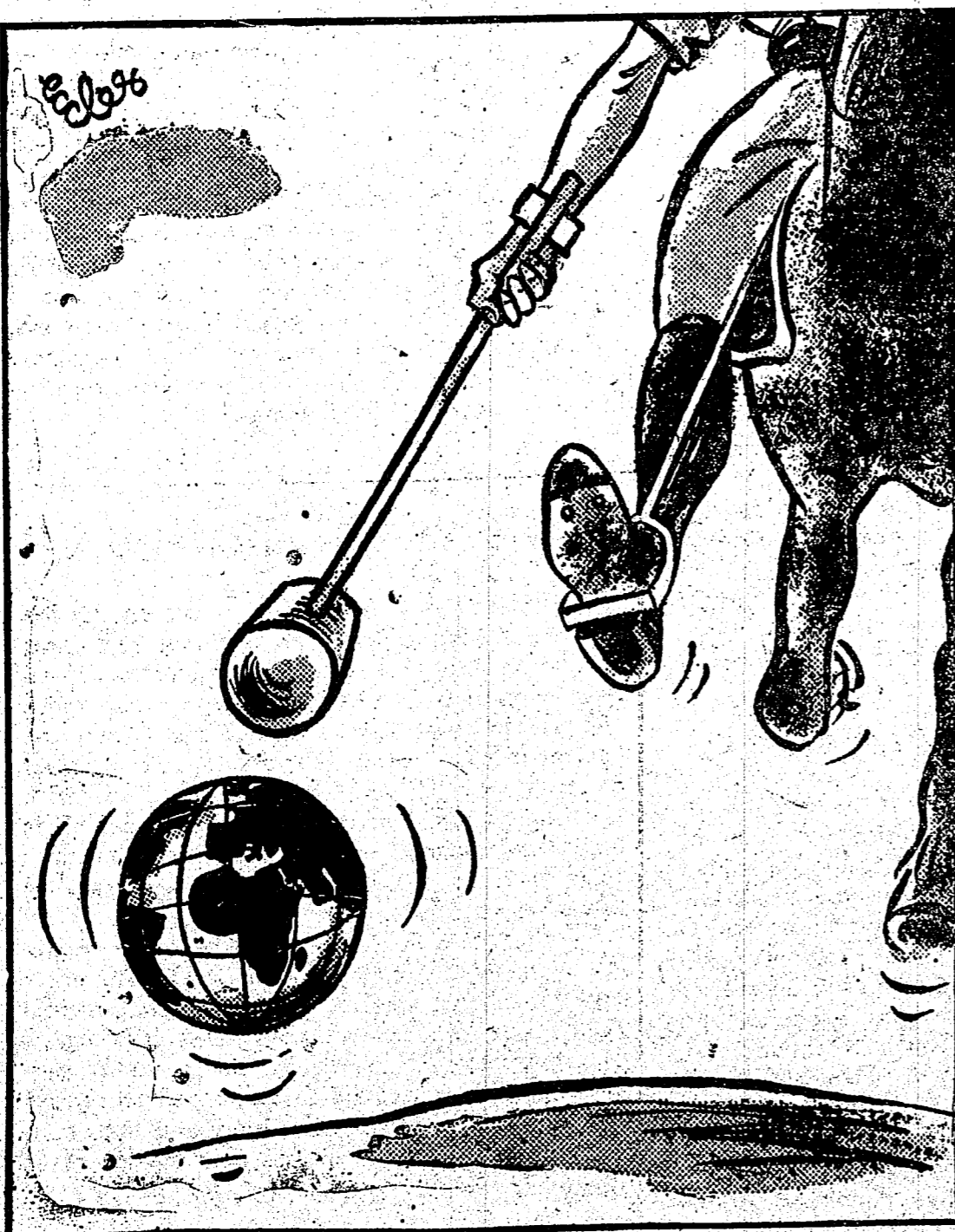
ELSEWHERE in this issue we publish an analysis of apartheid. This grim picture of racist dictatorship is supplemented by the reports of what one correspondent terms "a seemingly endless series of political trials" now being held in South Africa's Eastern Cape Province.

The trials started at the end of 1963, then lapsed. But in the last ten months they have continued without letup, the prosecutors demanding and getting heavier prison sentences than ever before", writes the correspondent of the *New York Times*.

(Continued on page 6)

PRINCE PHILIP AND RHODESIA

How cartoonist Eccles of the London "Daily Worker" views the Polo-playing Prince's remarks



"I think a few years here or there do not matter..."—Prince Philip

Agricultural Progress Since Independence

Ending excessive dependence on one crop

THE success of the socialist transformation that is taking place in Ghana will in large degree depend upon the extent to which we are able to overcome the legacy of excessive dependence on one crop—cocoa—bequeathed us by colonialism.

It will depend upon our increasing the production of other crops, both to provide food for our people and, to provide industrial raw materials, through the use of more advanced methods and improved organisation, and thus enable us to save the foreign currency we need to buy the machinery to build up our new industries, without which there can be no talk of genuine economic independence.

It is in this light that this week's pledge by Ghanaian farmers to support the programme of the Party and Government to diversify agriculture by exercising voluntary restraint on further cocoa planting and

from this increased production was lost as a result of the steep decline in cocoa prices on the speculative world market, as part of the general decline in the world prices of primary products which have had serious effects on the economic situation of the developing countries.

Ghana's cocoa farmers were protected from the worst effects of this slump by the guaranteed price system.

Nevertheless, the situation was a classic illustration of the dangers of dependence upon one crop and of the need for diversification.

SOUND FOUNDATION

It demonstrated the correctness of the government's policy of laying a sound foundation for economic independence by building up national industries.

These industries included many which relied upon agricultural raw materials, and the government resolved that these raw materials—rubber, tobacco, sugar-

meers' League) in 1962 and placed under the United Ghana Farmers' Co-operative Council (U.G.F.C.C.).

Mr. Sarpong Kumankumah took over from Mr. Kyei Barfour, who was appointed national organiser of the Young Farmers' Club in 1954 by the Ministry of Agriculture.

Mr. Sarpong Kumankumah intensified the "Go Back To The Land Campaign" launched by the government in the fifties.

INCENTIVE

The incentive of a £6-a-month subsistence allowance per head given to the members of the League by the government through the United Ghana Farmers' Co-operative Council attracted many school leavers.

The Young Farmers' League, now independent of U.G.F.C.C. today has no less than 39 settlement farms throughout the country with a total membership of over 2,000 and a total land area of over 70,000 acres.

by S. A. Nti

As a result of an intensive campaign led by the Council's General Secretary, Mr. Martin Appiah Danquah, 3,116 Co-operative farms with total membership of 73,037, have established and thousands of acres have already been brought under cultivation. The crops grown include: rubber, oil palms, urena lobata, kenaf, tobacco, rice, pineapple, ground nuts, citrus fruits and maize.

Livestock and poultry farming has also been taken very seriously by the farmers. Farmers organised by the United Ghana Farmers Co-operative Council now rear over 700,000 birds.

NEW ACRES

Meanwhile, the State Farms Corporation, with a labour force of 16,000 has already brought more than 63,000 acres under cultivation.

Cash crops include oil palm, cotton, urena lobata, tobacco, potatoes, banana, rice, maize, sugar-cane, citrus fruits, coconut and kola.

It is also paying great attention to poultry and livestock. Poultry is kept for both meat and eggs. Many institutions get regular supplies of eggs and other food items from the State Farms Corporation.

The Workers Brigade (formerly the Builders Brigade) was also reorganised, with a considerable percentage of its labour force engaged in farming. They are also cultivating cash crops including those mentioned above.

Altogether, well over 100,000 are engaged in collective farming projects, apart from the hundreds of individual farmers who are expected to contribute 85 per cent of the target for the 7-year Plan.

At the moment Ghana's total annual production of food, fibre and tree crops is approximately 3,500,000 tons. By 1970—that is at the end of the 7-year Development Plan period—it is expected that this total will exceed 5,500,000 tons, including many new food and fibre crops.

OUT OF STEP

But the traditional methods of cutlass and hoe will always keep productivity low—no matter how large the number of land workers. This is out of step with Ghana's forward march.

The government saw mechanisation as the only solution to the problem. So it has imported thousands of farm machines and much agricultural equipment.

With the aid of international bodies such as the Food and Agricultural Organisation, U.S. Aid Mission, the British Aid Mission, the Yugoslav, Soviet and Czechoslovak Aid Missions and many from other parts of the world, Ghana has established hundreds of tractor training centres throughout the farming zones to train young people especially how to handle the various types of farming machinery.

Extension officers (Agricultural Assistants) stationed all over the farming areas

advise farmers on the use of fertiliser, when to plant and what soil suits what plants.

Many difficulties which confronted farmers have been obviated. Profitable and stable markets have now been found by the Cocoa Marketing Board for such crops as coffee and an Agricultural Credit Bank has been established to cater for the needs of farmers.

DISTRIBUTION

One problem still facing the government is that of the distribution of foodstuffs.

From time immemorial urban centres have got their food supplies through middlemen.

These middlemen pay the farmers low prices, while selling to the townspeople at high prices.

Therefore, while townspeople feel that prices are high because of scarcity, the farmers feel that the low prices of food paid by the middlemen are the result of over-production. So they become reluctant to grow more.

The government, therefore, established the Food Marketing Board in 1963 with a view to solving this acute problem. The aim of the Board is to buy surplus foods from the farmers at reasonable prices to encourage them to grow more, and at the same time sell to the townsfolk at reasonable prices, too.

The Board is now building silos at all the regional centres with refrigeration facilities in each to preserve perishable commodities. They have a storage capacity of between 5,000 and 10,000 tons.

When these silos are complete, the Board will buy all surplus foods during the main season for storage and sell to the workers during the off-season so that the problem of scarcity which usually occurs during the off-season will be obviated.

FEEDER ROADS

The emphasis is also on the construction of feeder roads in the farming zones to link the trunk roads so that farmers may cart their produce from their farms to marketing centres to sell.

By the help of the United Ghana Farmers' Co-operative Council, the Young Farmers' League, Workers



Through such means as the "Spray Your Farms" campaign, the government helped cocoa farmers to increase output more than two-and-a-half times.

Brigade and State Farms Corporation the country now gets sufficient eggs for home consumption, thus saving Ghana from importing eggs from abroad.

EXPORT SURPLUS

It is hoped that by the end of the plan period there will be a surplus for export.

Ghana's main task now is how to expand her animal husbandry. She has a large expanse of land but the problem is how to get sufficient water to irrigate the grazing lands, throughout the year. In the savannah areas, especially in the north, which look most suitable for the establishment of livestock farming, there is only one single rainfall season (from April to September).

Although a considerable amount of rain (about 40 inches in most places) falls,

most of it washes away and is followed by a severe dry season during which livestock suffer from hunger and thirst.

The government have caused a considerable number of dams to be built, especially in the Northern regions.

WIDE VARIETY

According to the Plan, at least some 80,000 acres of land will be brought under irrigation.

When all Ghana's agricultural plans are implemented she will not only be able to provide a wide variety of foodstuffs but also be able to feed many of her numerous industries with raw materials so as to enable her to cut down her imports, thus helping her to save foreign exchange and strengthening her economic independence.



Co-operative farmers tend young palm oil trees planted as part of the drive to diversify agriculture and enable it to supply raw materials for the new industries.

shifting to other cash export and food crops on the basis of guaranteed prices by State-owned marketing boards should be seen.

Attention has focused on the farmers' patriotic decision to accept a lower price for cocoa, but there can be no doubt that in the long-term view the moves to diversify agriculture on the basis of a guaranteed price system represent a much more significant step.

These moves will enable our country to build a more varied agriculture, able more fully to satisfy the needs of the nation.

They represent a new stage in the plan to improve the country's agriculture which the government has been implementing during the eight years since independence.

GAINS LOST

Through the use of advanced methods and such drives as the "Spray Your Farm" campaign, the government was able to help the cocoa farmers to increase their production to a figure over two-and-a-half times what it was in 1950.

But unfortunately the whole of the expected gain

cane, oil palms, jute etc.—should be grown in Ghana on a commercial scale.

Many agricultural experts both Ghanaian and expatriate were invited to prepare surveys and advise whether such crops would thrive well in Ghanaian soils, and how they would benefit the farmers and the Government economically.

TWO PROBLEMS

According to the experts, some crops like potatoes, which were declared unsuitable for cultivation in Ghana by the colonial administration, can in fact thrive well here.

Armed with the information gathered by the experts, the government went into action.

Its aim was to solve two problems:

- (a) To provide balanced diets for the people,
- (b) and to feed the proposed industries with raw materials.

This necessitated the reorganisation of some agricultural institutions.

The Young Farmers' Club, founded by Archie Casely Hayford in 1952, was renamed Future Farmers' League (now Young Far-

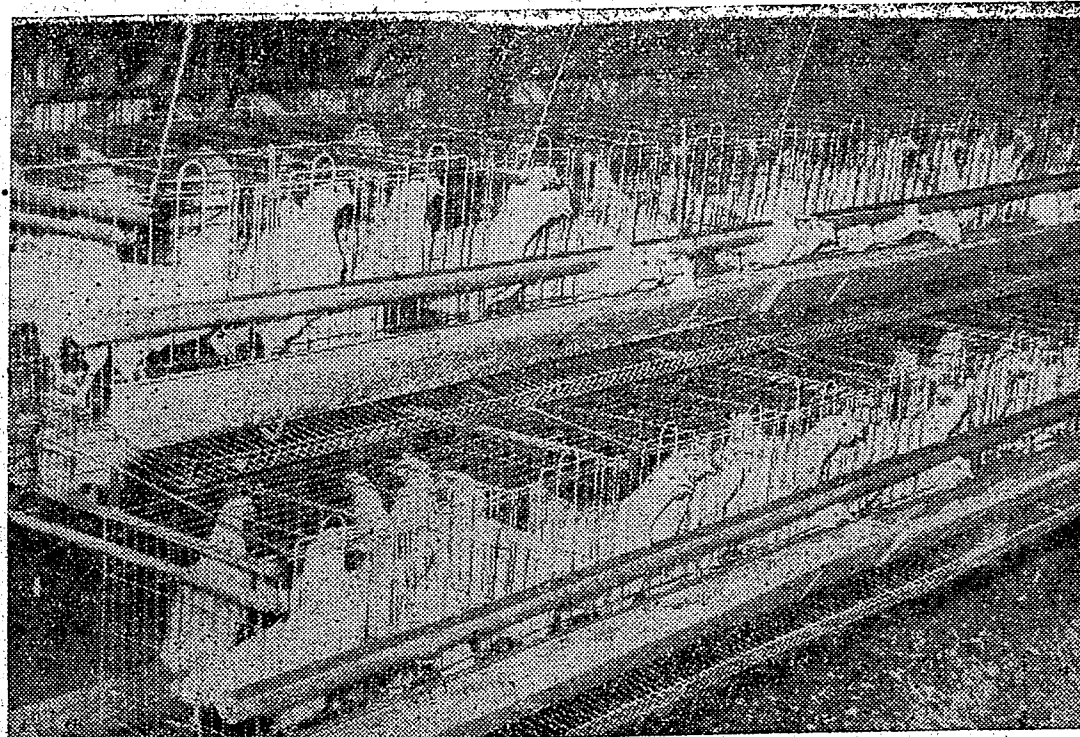
To attract many more youths to take to farming, the Future Farmers Training Club has been established within the Young Farmers' League with branches throughout the country. The club's present total membership is over 50,000—Primary, Middle School children and Secondary, Teacher Training and Polytechnique, College students.

The United Ghana Farmers' Co-operative Council itself was in (in addition to being the sole buying agent for cocoa) charged with organising farmers cultivating crops other than cocoa into Co-operative Societies.

REORGANISED

The Ministry of Agriculture, too, was reorganised. The research division which was non-productive was taken over by the State Farms Corporation, established in the middle of 1962.

Many of the extension officers and the technicians were transferred to the United Ghana Farmers' Co-operative Council to advise the farmers how to use fertilizers and to help mechanise the Co-operative Farms.



The State Farms Corporation is paying great attention to poultry farming for both eggs and meat through its efforts, and those of the U.G.F.C.C., the Young Farmers and the Workers Brigade, the country now gets sufficient eggs for home consumption.

Apartheid and the Violation of Human Rights

RACIAL theories and racial discrimination are an inseparable part of imperialism and colonialism. It was by cultivating the myth of allegedly "superior" and "inferior" races, the myth of supposedly "master" and "servant" peoples, that a handful of West European countries justified their conquest, looting and prolonged subjugation of the entire continents of America, Asia and Africa.

The story of Hitlerite Germany, revealed in mass genocide, slave labour and innumerable abominable atrocities, revealed to the world the horror of racist theory carried to its lunatic consequences. After the international exposure of these terrible crimes, people everywhere were repelled and revolted by the ideas of open racialism, which were specifically condemned and repudiated in the Charter of the United Nations. The peoples of Africa and Asia surged forward to win political independence.

But it would be deluding ourselves to think that racialism disappeared from the world with the defeat of Nazi Germany and the proclaiming of the United Nations Charter. Racist ideas and practices die hard, especially when—as is always the case—there are unscrupulous groups who profit richly by cultivating the myths of racism.

Even in the United States which proclaims itself the leader of the so-called "free world", 22 million negroes are subjected to innumerable forms of persecution and discrimination for no other reasons than that their ancestors originated in Africa. We who come from this continent are only too conscious that Afro-Americans are denied the right to vote; that their living standards are far below average; that in every job they are the last to be hired and the first to be fired.

In all but one field

In most countries, even where it is rife, race discrimination is at least publicly regarded as something rather shameful, to be concealed or denied. In South Africa racism is elevated to a national policy, to a way of life for the whole nation.

In South Africa the law itself enshrines racial discrimination, and for sixteen years since the Nationalist Government came to power, this discrimination has been enforced more and more severely. The practice of racism by a minority against the majority is known as "apartheid", and apartheid has become the very epitome of racial discrimination, the most extreme form of the violation of human rights and dignities.

Apartheid is the very summit of racism: it is the centre from which racists all over the world draw inspiration and strength. The destruction of apartheid would herald the end of racism in South Africa and the beginning of a new era in man's development.

Apartheid penetrates every facet of life in South Africa and violates human rights from before birth until after death. The division, with one important exception that we will deal with later, is based absolutely on the lines of pig-

In the United Kingdom, which proclaims itself the centre of a multiracial Commonwealth, racism and discrimination are rife. Coloured people who live in England are continually conscious of the barriers erected against them in regard to housing and employment, and the fact that racial incitement flourishes not only on the "lunatic fringe" but amongst leading circles of the ruling class.

It is no longer considered judicious or fashionable to preach racism openly, or to boast, as did Rudyard Kipling reflecting the ideas of imperialism in his times, of the "White man's burden"—the burden of governing the "lesser breeds" of mankind.

But it is the same belief of ruling circles, of powerful industrialised nations that they have the right to direct, manipulate and exploit those whose development has been held back by imperialism—it is the same belief that lies behind the aggressions, intrigues, manoeuvres and assassinations by neo-colonialists and their agents today.

It is these racist concepts which have produced a dulling of humanity and conscience that permitted yesterday, the horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki; the atrocities of the French in Algeria and the British in Kenya; the inhuman slaughter of Vietnamese peasants by Americans and their agents.

It is racism, conscious or unconscious, which tolerates the continuance of a world situation where there is an enormous gap between living conditions and standards in a few industrialised States and the "world slums" where the great majority of the human race live in abject poverty, the victims of generations of colonialist exploitation and robbery.

mentation of the skin, thus affecting every aspect of the lives of the thirteen and a half million non-white people—African, Indian and Coloured.

Apartheid in the State Structure—the foundation of the discrimination that pervades the national life of South Africa. Only Whites (three and a half million out of seventeen million) can be elected to the Parliament, the Provincial and City Councils, and only whites can vote in the elections for these bodies. There are no Non-White judges or magistrates or senior officials in any branch of the civil service.

Apartheid in Land Occupation—robbery legalised in the laws of this all-White Parliament means that 87 per cent of the land of South Africa is reserved for the exclusive ownership and occupation of Whites. The remaining 13 per cent—the so-called "Reserves"—are poverty-stricken, overcrowded rural slums containing none of the mining industry, cities and other wealthy resources created very largely by the sweated labour of the African people.

Apartheid in Health means that African infants die at 25 times the rate of White infants; that there are 16 times as many hospital beds for the White minority of three and a half million as for the African majority of nearly 12

million; one doctor to every 400 White and one to every 10,000 Non-Whites; a staggering increase of 40 per cent in tuberculosis among African infants since 1962; 183 new cases of tuberculosis every day; 10,000 deaths from tuberculosis every year.

Apartheid in Education means £72 a year spent on every White school-child; £6.10 a year on every African child; free, compulsory education for all Whites up to 16 years; Bantu education, neither compulsory nor free for Africans; 10 developed Universities for Whites; 3 tribal colleges plus a correspondence University for Africans.

Apartheid in Work means a job reservation law, reserving certain jobs for Whites only; a colour bar in industry that effectually debar Africans from skilled labour; a gap between skilled and unskilled wages that gives White workers and professionals the highest standard of living in the world, while condemning the mass of the people to a life of poverty and hunger and no trade union rights for African workers. There is an industrial boom in South Africa today, but the boom doesn't reach the mass of the people who still struggle below the breadline.

Apartheid in Social Security means that a destitute White man of over 65 gets a pension of £13.10 a month, a destitute African less than £1.10 a month; it means unemployment pay for Whites only.

Apartheid in Culture and Sport means theatres, concerts, entertainment for Whites only. Coloured people in Cape Town who went to a performance of Beethoven's *Eroica* were photographed by Security Police, and are now debarred from concerts: an orchestra of White musicians was not permitted to accompany an African choir singing the *Messiah*; no mixed sport at home while sports teams sent overseas are all-White. Under pressure some Non-White sportsmen are now being sent, but separately, not as representatives of the South African nation.

Apartheid in Justice means 4 million Africans jailed in 10 years for pass-law offences—designed to restrict freedom of movement and impose starvation wages. These laws don't exist anywhere else in the world. It means fines, light sentences or suspended sentences for Whites who commit murderous assaults against Africans, while Non-Whites guilty of similar or lesser offences are given long terms of imprisonment and even the death sentence.

Apartheid in Family Life means laws to prevent marriage or intercourse between Whites and Non-Whites, laws that violate the most basic and elementary of human needs, that separate wife from husband, that make it illegal for married people to live together. Do you know that some African women who have been debarred from living with their husbands in the towns are given the concession of a conception permit—a permit allowing them to visit their husbands for

a short specified period for the purpose of conceiving a child?

Apartheid in Prisons means different diets, clothes and conditions for Whites and Africans; degradation, terrible physical assaults for African and Non-White prisoners.

And there is even **Apartheid in Death** where crematoriums carry a notice "For Whites Only", and White and Non-White mourners are not even permitted to stand together at the graveside of the dead.

Human rights are constantly and ever more severely violated by the most inhuman and vicious of laws. In 1963 and 1964 we had in South Africa the so-called 90-day law, that permitted arrest and indefinite detention without charge in solitary confinement, and tortures, to political suspects or those from whom the Security Police wished to prise some information. People were kept completely isolated, without work or books, for periods of up to a year; all who experienced this were deeply affected; several went mad; three committed suicide.

The Minister of Justice, Johannes Balthazar Vorster, yielding to strong pressures, temporary suspended the law, only to bring in new laws last month that have been described by legal men as "frightening", "incredible" and "without parallel in the free world".

They give the police powers to arrest and hold in isolation anyone required as a witness—that is anyone—for up to six months or 180 days; the law expressly excludes any access to the victim; it prohibits bail in certain specified crimes (including "subversion"); and enables the Minister to prohibit the publication of any information about arrested people. So that it is possible for people to vanish into solitary confinement without anyone knowing what has happened to them.

There are already over 2,500 political prisoners crammed into South African jails, treated with brutality and utmost severity; political prisoners may receive one letter and one visitor in six months, may never have any remission of sentence (this is automatic

for ordinary criminals) and are often kept in solitary confinement for prolonged periods.

What is worse, they are deprived of their ultimate right—the right to be released when they have served their sentence. Either they are simply kept on in prison, or else they are brought to court and charged again, often for the same offence for which they have just finished serving their sentence, but under a different law. Once more they are convicted and sent back to prison.

We mention these matters among a hundred others that could be cited because we feel the attention of the Commission should be directed towards these most flagrant violations of human rights; people of the world have acted before to save political prisoners from death or interminable jail sentences: action must be taken to rescue these finest of all South Africans from the living hell that they must endure.

But now we come to the one field in which apartheid does not operate. Naturally Africans are the majority of political prisoners in the organised resistance to apartheid, but White, Coloured and Indian men and women are also in jail for resistance to apartheid, serving long terms of imprisonment including life sentences. The resistance movement unites South Africans of all national groups.

Those who cannot be convicted of political offences, but who are known to oppose apartheid, become subject to an evil system of bans. Teachers are banned from schools, factory workers are banned from entering factories, journalists and writers are banned from writing, professors are banned from the Universities. Mothers are banned from their own children's birthday parties.

These bans constitute such an extraordinary violation of human rights that only by a special clause may some husbands and wives speak to each other. There is a sickness in such a country—a sickness that can only survive by constantly spreading and becoming more virulent.

A threat to all Africa

THIS system of apartheid is the centre of an aggressive grouping in Africa constituting a threat to the security and peace of the African continent.

South Africa's booming economy and industrial growth is combined with greatly increased military expenditure and the development of industries related to armaments. Enormous and ever-increasing arms expenditure is linked with the placing of the whole White population on a war basis.

Women and children are trained to shoot—White women and children, that is; youths are given special training: a national survival plan is being put into operation; the ever-expanding police force is armed and mobile, and is closely linked with the armed forces.

It is now a well-established fact that an unholy alliance exists between Verwoerd, Salazar and Smith. This alliance has a common

Congo is a clear indication of the military design of the white fascist government of South Africa to extend its trenches further and further north.

The so-called "mercenaries" who went to join Tshombe's reactionary force did not do so voluntarily. They are in fact part and parcel of the white fascist military establishment.

The maintenance of

Now We Must Act

THE great majority of peoples throughout the world have condemned apartheid at every All-African Conference and every Afro-Asian Conference. The theories and practices of white supremacy in South Africa have been recognised as an intolerable indignity and a serious threat.

Solemn decisions have been taken, and in some cases carried out to cut off all commercial, diplomatic and other traffic and communications with the apartheid state. South African aircraft are barred from flying over the African continent and their ships the use of African ports.

Since its inception the United Nations has repeatedly expressed repugnance to apartheid principles.

Both the General Assembly and Security Council recognise South Africa's racial policies as contrary to the fundamental principles and purposes of the United Nations, to its obligations as a Member State, and to the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Security Council has agreed on the necessity of an arms embargo on South Africa, and the United Nations has recognised that apartheid policies are a cause of international friction that seriously disturbs the maintenance of international peace and security.

We should express the gratitude of the oppressed people of South Africa to those countries who have stood loyally by the decisions of the African, Afro-Asian, United Nations and other representative gatherings. At no small sacrifice and loss, most of the African countries, the socialist countries and the Asian countries have observed the decisions to boycott apartheid South Africa.

But these noble actions have been seriously undermined by the sabotaging action of the imperialist countries who are undermining the international movement for sanctions.

The United States, Britain and France, who are permanent members of the Security Council, as well as West Germany, Japan, Italy and Belgium, have deliberately refrained from imposing sanctions on South Africa in terms of the General Assembly resolution of November 6, 1962, and have, according to the latest report of the Special Committee on apartheid, greatly increased their trade and investments in South Africa.

A large part of recent investments has gone to the development of arms industries that will make South Africa virtually self-sufficient for most military equipment and has overcome the effects of economic measures taken at great sacrifice by other countries both in Africa and Europe.

France is quite cynically, blatantly rushing in to fill any gaps left by the United States and United Kingdom arms embargo and supplying major weapons such as

White supremacy rule in South Africa and Southern Africa by means of violence and armed force cannot be detached from the general offensive of imperialism in Vietnam, the Congo and the Dominican Republic.

At the core of reaction in Africa, within South Africa, an inevitable conflict is developing. It is not a static situation: it is building towards a fatal climax.

jet planes and submarines. Japan is now South Africa's third largest trading partner, after Britain and America, and in open defiance of the wishes of other African nations; is wallowing in the pleasures of trade with South Africa, which has bestowed the category of "European" on Japanese, so that they may not be humiliated by apartheid laws when they come to make their trade agreements.

Has not the time arrived when Japan should be asked to choose whether it wants to continue to trade with South Africa, or with the rest of Africa?

West Germany is co-operating with the South African Government in the manufacture of nuclear arms and missiles in South Africa. The Bonn Government has entered into agreement with the South African Government whereby some ex-Nazi Generals and nuclear scientists are now secretly working on this project in South Africa.

All this co-operation by these countries encourages the South African Government to persist with apartheid policies, aggravates the explosive situation in South Africa, and increases the dangers of violence and armed conflict.

We have dealt in this report with the problem of South Africa, not because we think our own country is the only victim of racism—far from it—or because we do not deeply sympathise with all the victims of colour, race, or any other sort of victimisation and persecution wherever they may be.

But we do believe that apartheid, a vicious type of colonialism developed over many years, has become a crucial issue which illuminates and symbolises racism and the denial of human rights everywhere.

In fighting apartheid, we are also fighting the disgraceful suppression of the African majority by the arrogant white racists in Rhodesia. We are fighting the brutal reign of terror practiced by the Portuguese fascists in Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea. We are at one with our African brothers and sisters resisting neo-colonialism in the Congo and throughout our continent. We are with all our brothers and sisters resisting imperialism, with the heroic and unconquerable people of Vietnam, north and south, the civil rights demonstrators, black and white, in the United States of America, the peoples demanding popular government in the Dominican Republic.

We proclaim that there can be no peace and no freedom anywhere in the world while racism is rife and where people are made to suffer because of their nationality, race or colour. There can be no just settlement of the world's problems while the great majority of the human race is condemned by the heritage of a colonial past to a life of crushing poverty and avoidable disease.

The New World Policeman

America has torn up its birth certificate

FOR more than a hundred years after the War of Independence up to the end of the nineteenth century when it turned to an active policy of imperialism, signalled by the seizure of Cuba and the Philippines in 1898, the United States of America gloried in the proud name of the Land of the Free.

And the name was not without foundation. For, as Lenin, one of the founders of scientific socialism, commented, "the history of modern civilised America opens with one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars of which there have been so few".

In this Leninist sense it can be said without fear of exaggeration that the contemporary anti-colonial revolutions, now rapidly approaching consummation in Latin America, Africa and Asia had their antecedent in the revolt of the American people against British colonial rule.

TRULY GREAT

The birth certificate of the new transatlantic republic which emerged from the revolt—the Declaration of Independence—has taken its place as one of the truly great documents in the long history of man's fight for freedom and democratic rights.

And today after the lapse of nearly two hundred years the timeliness of its wording, its humanism and its universality stand out most clearly when read in the light of the current United States' actions in Vietnam and Latin America.

When the Declaration denounces the British monarch of the day for "having sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people", are we not reminded of the swarms of CIA officers and marines who have brought so much suffering to the people of Vietnam, and now to Santo Domingo?

For years before the present escalation of the war in Vietnam the CIA had been financing the private army

by John Gibbons

of Colonel Le Quang Tung to the tune of \$250,000 a month. This special force was raised, according to *The Times* (London) "for clandestine operations in North Vietnam".

And the words in the Declaration: "He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people" apply in full measure to the current operations of the U.S. Seventh Fleet against North Vietnam.

MERCENARIES

And do we not see the prototype of the 30,000 mercenary Hessians used by the British King in the war against the Americans in the 30,000 U.S. troops in the guise of "advisers" fighting against the Vietnam people's militia? The description of the Hessians in the Declaration reads like a report of the transportation of U.S. troops today:

"He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages."

What the framers of the Declaration of Independence understandably could not foresee in the eighteenth century was that their mid-twentieth century successors having donned the mantle of imperialism, would be waging a colonial war ten thousand miles away in Vietnam infinitely more ruthless and accompanied by even greater "cruelty and perfidy".

It would be difficult indeed to imagine anything "more barbarous" than roasting villagers with napalm and choking them with gas.

Thus the wheel of U.S. history has turned the full circle, from waging a liberatory war against colonial-

ists to waging a ruthless colonialist war against an Asian people fighting for liberation, to inspiring the bombing of Santo Domingo which killed over a thousand of its defenceless citizens.

This is at once the paradox and the shame of the United States. But it is more than that. It signifies repudiation of the Declaration of Independence, the tearing up of the country's birth certificate by the Johnsons, Rusks and McNamaras.

GOLDWATER

The terror bombing in the two hemispheres and the use of gas in Vietnam are the kind of war for which the Goldwater extremists screamed during the 1964 election campaign; it is the war which the American voters overwhelmingly rejected; in the belief that Johnson really was a man of peace, the people gave him the biggest electoral victory ever won by any American President.

Never has an electorate been so cynically deceived. Instead of the peace for which they voted, they find themselves involved in a war of aggression against a small peaceful country in South-East Asia and in a full-scale invasion of the Dominican Republic in the Western hemisphere.

The Washington correspondent of *The Times* (London) told his readers that it "is important to realise" that the man in charge of the war in Vietnam is none other than the newly-elected President of the United States himself:

"Almost nobody stands between him and the aircraft and ships he orders into action. The senior officers who plan the operations are strictly rationed, as it were in aerial sorties. They never know when the next sortie is coming until this extra ordinary Texan

draws the flight plan and decides upon the bomb load."

The reason for the American presence in South Vietnam, according to Johnson, is to "defend freedom and democratic principles". How unoriginal! Nearly two hundred years ago George the Third was indulging in similar terminology to justify the presence of his Hessians in America.

Of course it's easy, but not very convincing, to blame Moscow, Peking and Havana for the political troubles now besetting the Johnson Administration in Latin America. And it would be too much to expect Johnson to put the blame where it rightfully belongs—on his own Administration and on previous occupants of the White House.

LANDINGS

We recall, for example, that marines were landed in the Dominican Republic in 1904, that is, long before Cuba gave birth to Fidel Castro. The second landing of Marines took place in 1916, a year before the October Revolution in Russia. And since Mr. Johnson can hardly blame the unborn Castro for the 1904 landing, nor the unborn Russian Revolution for the 1916 landing, whom will he blame!

Puerto Rico, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama also have had landings of marines at one time or another; they have experienced the Monroe Doctrine, the Big Stick Doctrine of Theodore Roosevelt, the Truman Doctrine, Eisenhower Doctrine, and now comes the Johnson Doctrine with its message: *National Liberation only by permission of LBJ.*

Much more explicit and much less sanctimonious about the reason for these colonial wars is Mr. Hanson Baldwin, military expert of the *New York Times*, the man who is said to do the thinking aloud for the Pentagon and who has no time for the sophistry of the politician.

This talk about defence of freedom and democracy, he writes, is a "polite fiction", sheer "cant". "The reasons why we are fighting in Vietnam," he continues, "have little to do with making Saigon safe for democracy or freedom."

UNJUST WAR

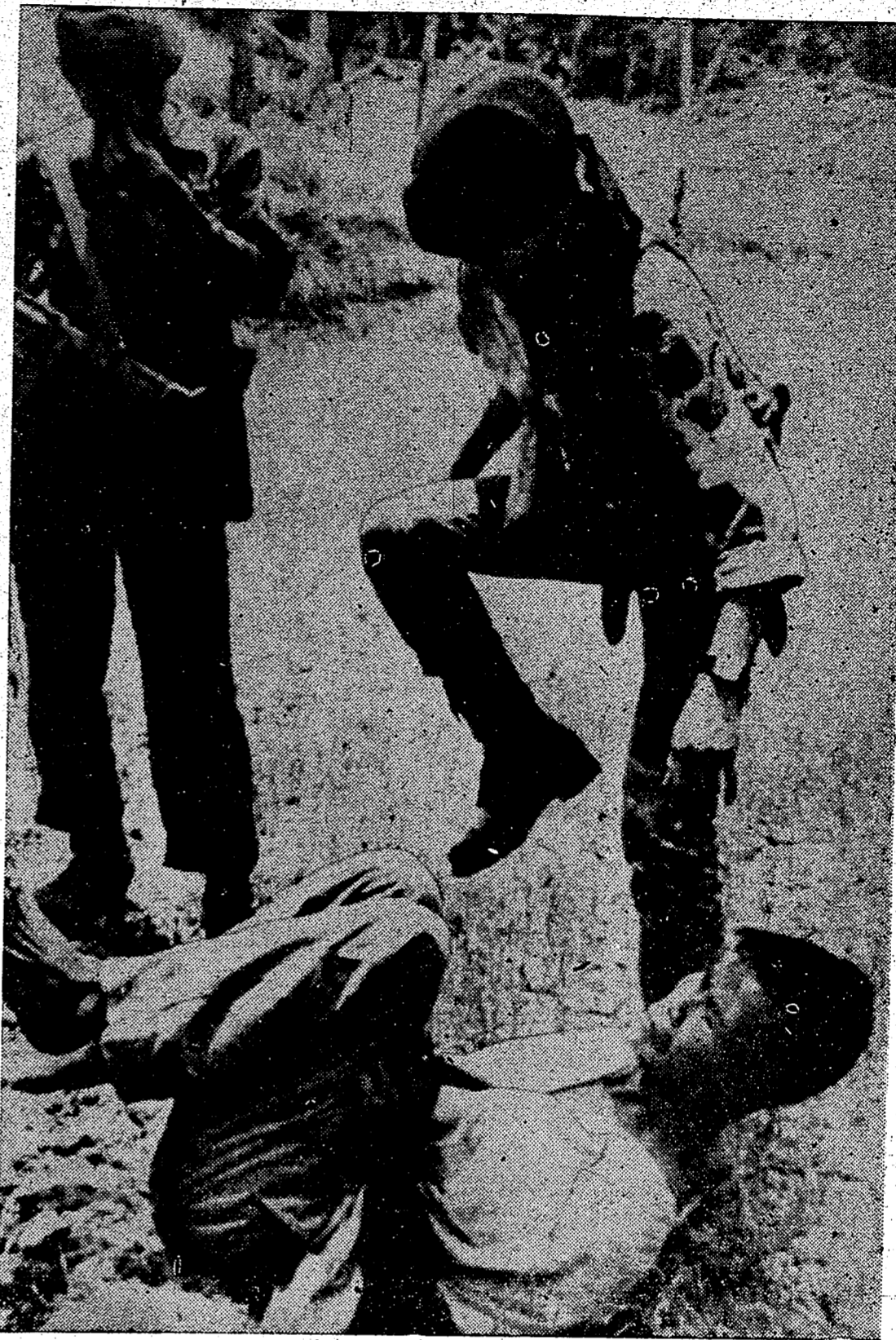
"We are there," says Baldwin, "for reasons of U.S. global prestige and power," and for these reasons "we probably need to send to Vietnam anything from 200,000 to 1,000,000 men."

For the magazine *U.S. News & World Report*, which transmits the thinking of Big Business, the reason is:

"one of the world's richest areas is open to the winner in Indo-China... Tin, rubber, rice, key strategic raw materials are what the war is really about";

It is, then, an imperialist war and, like all imperialist wars, an unjust war.

For the people of South Vietnam it is, as the War of Independence was for the people of America, a just war against a foreign



The South Vietnamese soldier, torturing a prisoner alleged to be a National Liberation Front fighter, is trained, armed, paid and clothed by Washington. He is led by U.S. "advisers", who do nothing to check torture and brutality by their puppets. U.S. press reports have in fact given details of acts of brutality committed by American soldiers themselves—indeed, by dropping napalm and destroying villages, the U.S. forces practice indiscriminate mass brutality.

invader and local Quislings, for freedom and national independence.

The American actions in South Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic are, then, a declaration of war against the national-liberation movement of the peoples. But to act as exporter of counter-revolution in the midst of the world-wide anti-imperialist revolution is to court isolation and condemnation.

U.S. ALLIES

When we look at America's allies against the people of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic whom do we see? First that old tyrant and American pensioner Chiang Kai-Shek, then the South Korean puppets and mercenaries, and these are followed by dictators like Franco and Salazar.

It is sad to see in this unworthy company Britain's Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson, who seems to have taken upon himself the role of excuser-in-chief for Johnson's Goldwater type of war, for the napalm burning and gas.

KISS OF DEATH

True, Wilson paid for this with a revolt of a hundred and more of his own supporters in the House of Commons, with a loss of face throughout his Party and, most embarrassing of all, Goldwater's admiration for his policy and the kiss of political death from Sir Alex Douglas Home, the Tory Leader.

Trampling upon the Declaration of Independence was the prelude to trampling upon the Charter of

the United Nations. U Thant, secretary-general of the world body, was curiously informed by Rusk that President Johnson was "very upset" by his suggestion for peace talks on Vietnam in conformity with the Charter.

The NATO allies of the United States, including the British Prime Minister whose exclusive special relationship with Washington is now that of a very poor relation, were kept completely in the dark about the decision to bomb North Vietnam; the member-countries of the Organisation of American States were treated in the same high-handed and contemptuous manner.

As for the U.S. Congress, it was "informed" about the bombing of North Vietnam and the despatch of troops to the Dominican Republic *post factum*. Such are the workings of democracy in the "open society" over which Mr. Johnson presides.

'POLICE POWERS'

In 1904 when Theodore Roosevelt first despatched the marines to the Dominican Republic he described his action as the exercise of "police powers". Now, sixty years later, the present White House incumbent, pursuing the illusion of world-wide U.S. domination is exercising two-hemisphere police powers.

A policeman's lot, it is said, is not a happy one. But it can be said with even more certainty that in the sphere of politics the lot of the political policeman is a highly ephemeral one.

The true custodians of the national heritage of the

United States are the people, who so overwhelmingly rejected Goldwaterism in the 1964 election, and not those who trample on charters and treaties and who combine international police powers with international gangsterism.

And friends of peace all over the world have been greatly heartened by the growing opposition of the people of the United States to the Administration's reckless policy in Vietnam and in the Dominican Republic.

FREEDOM NOW

In their fight at home against the racial shame of Alabama and Mississippi the people of America, white and black, have had their martyrs in the men and women, clergy and lay, bludgeoned and shot to death by racists; within the portals of the White House itself, probably for the first time in American history, freedom fighters conducted a sit-down demonstration in the corridors chanting the slogan: *Freedom Now*.

Never since the days of the Civil War has there been such massive unity between whites and Negroes in the United States; the slowness displayed by the Administration to take action against the racists in Selma, in contrast to the speed displayed in massing troops in Vietnam and in Caribbean, has opened the eyes of many.

Freedom Now is their slogan, too, for South Vietnam and for Santo Domingo, for all peoples fighting their wars of independence against world imperialism.



In 1904 when Theodore Roosevelt first dispatched the marines to the Dominican Republic he described his action as the exercise of "police powers." Now, sixty years later, the present incumbent of the White House, pursuing the illusion of world-wide U.S. domination, is exercising two-hemisphere police powers.

Bonn's Nuclear Blackmail

Minister's Ominous Hint

by A Spark Correspondent

THE West German militarists are becoming more and more insistent in their demand for nuclear weapons. At a time when there is talk of new moves toward agreement on checking the spread of nuclear weapons, Dr. Schroder, the West German Foreign Minister, has made it clear that unless his conditions for a West German nuclear trigger are met, his country may have to "acquire" such weapons for itself.

Ever since 1954, when West Germany became a member of the Western alliance, Western spokesmen have tried to lull the fears of a world which all too well remembers the World War Two crimes of German militarism by claiming that West Germany had renounced her right to manufacture atomic weapons.

But, as Dr. Schroder indicates, there are more ways of getting nuclear weapons than manufacturing them; they can be "acquired" from other Powers. Furthermore, the 1954 agreement laid

down that West Germany would not manufacture atomic weapons on her own territory. It said nothing about co-operation with other Powers—and it is known that there is the close co-operation between West Germany and, for example, South Africa, on atomic matters.

DEMAND

This is not the first time that West German leaders have pressed their demand for nuclear weapons, using every trick and manoeuvre to further their ends.

The Potsdam Agreement concluded at the end of World War Two provided for the complete demilitarisation and disarmament of Germany and the elimination or control of all German industry that could be used for military production.

It decreed that, in order to prevent the revival or reorganisation of German militarism and Nazism, any maintenance and production of all aircraft and all arms, ammunition and implements of war should be prevented.

In March, 1951 the Western Allies, in defiance of the Potsdam Agreement, revised the Occupation Statute under which West Germany was ruled—but they still re-

tained the clause prohibiting the production not only of air, land and sea weapons, but also of materials concerned with the production of atomic bombs.

But hardly were the signatures on this dry before April 23, 1951 the Western allies gave West Germany permission to carry out research into certain types of nuclear and jet physics, though making the proviso that it should be unconnected with military purposes and each project should receive permission from the Military Security Board.

Nevertheless, it was a West German foot in the door.

With the establishment of the European Defence Community duly signed on May 8, 1952, West Germany was to be permitted the construction of nuclear reactors—for civilian purposes only, and limited to the production of 500 grammes of fissionable materials a year; to restrict production or importation of the necessary raw materials to nine tons annually; or a stock-pile not exceeding eighteen tons at any time.

By 1955 West Germany had established atomic reactors at Karlsruhe and Munich. Significantly, Herr Strauss, who later became West German Defence Minister, was appointed Minister for Atomic Questions. Meanwhile West Germany's economic strength was continuing to grow. Her role in N.A.T.O., increased correspondingly.

JOBS

The West German Army was soon well on the way to becoming the largest Western ground force in Europe, while West German officers, including generals who had served Hitler to the end, got key command jobs in N.A.T.O.'s forces and at N.A.T.O. Headquarters.

West German politicians began to draw the appropriate conclusions. On April 4, 1957, the then West German Chancellor Adenauer proclaimed:

"We cannot renounce the right of our troops to be equipped with the most

modern conventional arms. We do not possess the 'big' atomic arms. I am not convinced it would not lead to such a relaxation if the Federal Republic were the only country to deprive itself of such weapons."

This statement caused alarm and concern inside West Germany. German nuclear scientists, among whom are a number of Nobel Prize-winners, issued a statement in which they indicated their refusal to participate in the production of nuclear weapons. Dr. Adenauer contemptuously dismissed this statement as "irrelevant".

However, in the face of adverse public opinion, the West German authorities shifted their ground.

The demand that West Germany should have nuclear weapons became the demand that N.A.T.O.—in which West Germany was playing an increasingly influential role—should become a nuclear power.

Nevertheless the drive to prepare the ground for West

German acquisition of nuclear weapons went on simultaneously. Speaking at Georgetown University, Washington, on January 29, 1961 Herr Strauss declared:

"The possession of nuclear weapons and control over these weapons is becoming the symbol and even the characteristic aspect for the decisive criterion of sovereignty."

Dr. Adenauer was no less persistent. In May, 1961 he told a cheering youth rally at Hamburg that he wanted nuclear arms for German forces as well as for other N.A.T.O. troops, and within a matter of days he told Wurzburg students that Federal Germany must have nuclear weapons.

WEAPONS

In August of the same year Herr Strauss declared: "Yes I am for the atomic bomb. I say it would be insanity to write off the bomb and turn back to cannon and tanks as if there were nothing else."

At the same time another West German Cabinet Minister, Herr Luecke (who recently visited Ghana) said: "The Bundeswehr (the West German Army—Ed.) needs the most modern weapons, including atomic weapons. I would refuse to work in a cabinet which refused to arm the Bundeswehr with atomic weapons."

From 1958 onwards atomic weapons and missiles were being brought into Western Germany under the aegis of N.A.T.O. This was soon followed by West Germany accepting the offer by the United States to purchase *Matador* pilotless bombers and *Nike* rockets, capable of carrying atomic warheads.

RESEARCH

Meanwhile, taking advantage of the permission to conduct their own research, West German scientists, according to press reports, had elaborated certain processes which could result in producing atomic explosives more cheaply. The London *Daily Herald* (11.7.61) reported—

"A cheap 'backroom' method developed by the Germans for making atomic bomb explosive is

being investigated in Britain. If it worked... it would be missed by disarmament inspectors."

Nor were West German efforts to secure nuclear weapons restricted to the pursuit of its own research and collaboration with N.A.T.O. in the hope of getting a finger on the nuclear trigger—an aspiration, it should be noted, that was—and indeed still is—encouraged by many in Washington.

West Germany also tried to get atomic know-how through co-operation with General de Gaulle, who is building up an "independent" French nuclear striking force, much to the irritation of Britain and the United States.

If the West German militarists and revenge seekers do get their hands on nuclear weapons, the possibility of Bonn provoking a Third World War cannot be ruled out.

For, as Professor Henry Kissinger, the U.S. expert on strategy has said,

"If one of America's European allies attacked the Soviet Union, even against American wishes, it would be impossible to abandon that ally to its fate."

In other words, a clash provoked by West Germany—the only Power in Europe which seeks a revision of the post-war frontiers—could lead straight to world war.

THREAT

Nor is it without significance that a few days after Dr. Schroder made his threat about "acquiring" nuclear weapons, the West German Government published plans of what it would do after its takeover of the German Democratic Republic.

After this takeover (supposedly "on a democratic basis") the Prussian Junkers—the class from which West German militarism sprang—would be given back their estates, which have now become co-operative farms in the Socialist German Democratic Republic.

Likewise the publicly-owned industries of the German Democratic Republic would be handed over to the West German monopolies—the same monopolies which once supported Hitler and which now back West Germany's drive for revenge.

Bonn has issued its programme for action; now it wants the nuclear weapons to do the job. It must not have them.

Berlin: Breeding Ground of Tension

TIME and time again during recent years West Berlin has been the centre of events which could have sparked off a world-wide conflict. Once again there are signs that a new crisis is in the offing, with U.S. helicopter flights over East Berlin—the capital of the German Democratic Republic—and disputes regarding barge and other traffic to and from West Berlin.

Political emotions are constantly being stirred up in West Berlin. Every visit by a Western notable, whether it was Kennedy ("I am a Berliner"), Lyndon Johnson (who distributed ball point pens as a symbol of the "free world's") advanced techniques or more recently the British Prime Minister Mr. Harold Wilson and the British Queen, has been used to keep the pot boiling.

Why is Berlin a divided city? Who is interested in increasing the tension in the city and why?

It was Soviet forces which, after fierce fighting, captured Berlin in 1945. A great deal is made in the press of the so-called rights of the Western powers in Berlin. So it is important to ask "What rights?" They are certainly not the rights of conquest.

AGREEMENT

The Western powers are in Berlin because of the agreement drawn up by the Allies which gave the troops of all four powers an area of Berlin each to administer.

And when the Western governments began openly tearing up the provisions of the Potsdam agreement, they also legal right they had for staying in Berlin.

Take a look at a map—Berlin is in 100 miles inside the German Democratic Republic. It is not a part of the Federal Republic (West Germany).

All lines of communication between West Berlin and West Germany or other parts of the world have to pass through or over the territory of the German

Democratic Republic.

All civilian traffic for West Berlin by road, rail and water goes this way.

Similarly the military presence of Western powers is maintained in West Berlin by passage of troops, armour and other equipment over the roads and rails of the German Democratic Republic.

CURRENCY

It was the Western Powers which, in the course of dividing Germany, split Berlin, ending any pretence of four-power control. They did it through the introduction of a new currency.

Post-war Germany badly needed a new currency and by mid-March, 1948 the four powers had agreed what it should be, how much should be printed and where and what the exchange rate should be.

But by that time shiploads of new notes for West Germany were already in Bremen harbour, secretly printed in the U.S.

Without any warning, in June 1948, the Western governments introduced this separate currency into West Germany and five days later into West Berlin, although they had stated that they would not do this.

There were no barriers then for trade between Berlin and the surrounding territory of the Soviet Zone. Two different currencies circulating at the same time would have produced economic chaos in East Germany.

So the Soviet administration put up customs points all round the border between West Berlin and its

own zone of occupation and hastily prepared a new currency.

Berlin was split. There was a great public uproar in the West and the airlift was organised to take food to the "starving" West Berliners.

It was a gigantic fraud. There was plenty of food in East Berlin and the West Berliners were free to go and get it.

But as the arch warmonger John Forster Dulles, then America's Foreign Secretary, said (January 10, 1949):

"There could be a settlement on the Berlin situation at any time, on the basis of a Soviet currency for Berlin and our right to bring in food, raw materials and fuel to the Western sectors. The present situation is however to United States advantage for propaganda purposes. We are getting credit for keeping the people of Berlin from starving; the Russians are getting the blame for their privations."

West Berlin is not a part of the West Germany. But is used to further the aggressive intentions of German militarism and Big Business.

POWER

The West German militarists and revenge-seekers are carrying on where Hitler left off. They want to change the frontiers of Europe by force. Once more they threaten the peace of the world. Once again they are building up military power.

Look what has happened since the end of the war.

At the end of the war the four Allies, (Britain, the Soviet Union, America and France) signed an agreement at Potsdam that Germany should be administered under an Allied Control Council in four zones, each one under the direction of one of the Allies.

The agreed aim of the Allied Administration was to destroy fascism in Ger-

many completely: to break up the great trusts and combines which had backed Hitler and to demilitarise Germany.

Right from the start the Western governments began to break the Potsdam agreement. They refused to break up the great trusts and estates; they put ex-Nazis into official positions. They laid the basis for the growth again of German military strength and big business—the Krupp empire is again a power in Europe.

In the Soviet Zone alone, the trusts and great estates were broken up and the fascists were rooted out.

BALKANISATION

The Western powers then began the process of dividing Germany. In December 1946 the British and American Zones were fused and in 1948 the French Zone was added. This was done despite the fact that the Soviet Union did not agree.

The *New York Herald Tribune*, (20.12.47) wrote:

"The division of Germany will give the United States a free hand to include West Germany in a system of Western states."

Within a year the Federal Republic was founded with a Constitution approved by the Western powers. A month later, in face of this situation, the German Democratic Republic was established in East Germany.

BERLIN WALL

Why had the so-called "Berlin Wall" to be built? Nobody likes the idea of a wall that divides a city and its people. But the Western powers used and are using West Berlin as a base for hostile actions against the surrounding German Democratic Republic.

The currency speculation and organised smuggling centred in West Berlin did enormous damage to the economy of the G.D.R. The "open" frontier with West Berlin cost the working people of the G.D.R. at least £300 million a year.

Over eighty espionage and revenge-seeking organisations—some of them financed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency—have offices in West Berlin; there are a dozen Nazi-type parties at work, calling for the return of Germany's "lost lands".

From this base—100 miles inside the German Democratic Republic—they tried and are still trying, to organise spying, sabotage and provocative incidents to keep East and West at daggers drawn.

The wall was built to lessen the risk of incidents that could endanger world peace.

Had the G.D.R. any right to build the wall?

Yes. Like every other sovereign state, it is perfectly entitled to take such steps as it sees fit to protect its frontiers. It is similar in purpose to the frontiers between many other states in the world.

FREE CITY

The unusual features are (1) that it runs through a densely-populated, city and (2) it was built some twelve years after the frontier which it marked had become the legal dividing line between two different territories.

On the first point, it should be remembered that there are frontier guards even on such a "friendly" frontier as that between France and Belgium—and they on occasion use firearms against smugglers and other illegal frontier crossers.

One difference is that there are usually no pressmen about; another is that the authorities on one side of the France-Belgium frontier are not going all out to provoke incidents as the West Berlin authorities are.

The G.D.R. and the Soviet Union have proposed that West Berlin become a free city under international supervision, and with all rights of access guaranteed. Thus a constant threat to peace would be removed.

Verwoerd's "Justice"

Continued from page 2

"So far, 452 persons have been sent to jail for a total 2,339 years for such offences as belonging to the African National Congress, attending its meetings or soliciting contributions for its treasury."

Conviction on each count usually brings three years in prison, and the number of counts is increasing. In one case, for example, the prosecutor asked for two terms of three years each for the "crime" of having distributed a pamphlet on two different days.

Although most of the accused come from the Port Elizabeth area, the "trials" take place in remote farming hamlets as much as 160 miles away—clearly in order to make the already difficult problem of securing legal assistance more difficult.

It also means that there is no publicity, for, in the words of the *New York*

Times correspondent, "there is often no one in the courtroom who is not a part of the machinery of the state except the accused and his counsel"—when there is a counsel.

The prosecution relies on the "evidence" of well-drilled informers. In the trial of Sylvia Neame, for example, the first white person to be charged with membership of the African National Congress, one witness testimony was found to be memorised verbatim from the indictment.

When he faltered, the defence counsel gave him the next word. "Oh, yes, thank you," said the witness and carried on.

The families of the defendants in this series of "trials" have mostly been left destitute. The Defence and Aid organisation estimates that 3,000 women and children have lost their only means of support.