

Voice of AFRICA



© SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT
ON SOUTH AFRICA
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● RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION MUST BE CONDEMNED AND ELIMINATED FROM ANY PART OF THE WORLD WHERE IT IS PRACTISED.
THIS MUST BE THE CRY OF THE HUMAN RACE.

● THE SOUTH AFRICAN REGIME SHOWS EXACTLY THOSE SYMPTONS WHICH HAVE INVARIABLY PRECEDED REVOLUTIONS ELSEWHERE.

● SOUTH AFRICA IS A COUNTRY TIMED FOR EXPLOSION, LIKE HAITI BEFORE ITS REVOLT, AND FOR THE SAME REASONS: RACIAL TYRANNY AND FEAR.

● IT IS INCONCEIVABLE THAT A RACIAL MINORITY WILL BE ABLE FOREVER TO MAINTAIN DOMINATION OVER AN AWAKENED MAJORITY.

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OUR OPINION

PLOT AGAINST GHANA

We Take Our Stand

WITHIN a year and a half two dastardly attempts have been made on the life of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah.

Who wants Nkrumah killed?

Who are so bent on doing away with Nkrumah and what he stands for?

For us it is time to stick our tongues out and take our stand.

For the sinister plan to eliminate Dr. Nkrumah there is an interplay of various factors but all hostile to the development of Ghana and Africa and favouring the continued exploitation of our human and material resources by imperialism.

Events in Ghana—and outside it—during the past six years have made us know the plotters against the people.

In a nutshell the plotters are self-exiled leaders of the defunct United Party allied with imperialism and neo-colonialism, philistinism and opportunism of the petty bourgeoisie and "liberal" intellectuals in the country.

Imperialism is anxious to regain its economic control of Ghana and hold its positions on the continent of Africa.

What are the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism?

They are the monopoly groups and financial circles in Western Europe, Britain and the United States of America.

It is they who supply the enemies of Ghana, inside and outside, with money, arrange contacts, organize diplomatic support and

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Charter of the United Nations.

mobilise the Western Press and Radio against us.

The petty bourgeoisie and "liberal" intellectuals can be found inside and outside the Party. They are guided not by the interest of the socialist struggle of the country but by the petty and mean consideration of "offending nobody, repelling nobody and scaring nobody". The danger is that they might develop gradually into an "opposition" in and out of the Party.

Here are the roots of counter-revolution against the people of Ghana.

And it is here that we take our first stand. We are not obliged to march shoulder to shoulder with active preachers of views that are repudiated by the majority of the Party.

We must ruthlessly and forcibly crush all attempts at an imperialist-backed bourgeois counter-revolution.

We in Ghana are happy, proud and fortunate to have a leader who knows where he is leading his people.

What does Nkrumah stand for?

He has taken his stand in African affairs and he never hides his intentions in international matters.

In Africa, he stands for an end to neo-colonialism and racialism. He stands for a United States of Africa as a safeguard for true independence, progress and happiness.

In world affairs he stands for peace, understanding and friendship among nations.

He is never silent in the face of injustice and never fails to criticise whatever is manifestly wrong. He expresses his views honestly and fearlessly and fights with all his strength for freedom and justice for people throughout the world.

Dr. Nkrumah charges African leaders to follow the policy of positive non-alignment so as to enable them AT ANY TIME to adopt measures which will best suit their national interests and, promote the cause of peace. For he believes that it is only by avoiding entanglement in quarrels of the Great Powers that we shall be able to assert our African Personality on the side of peace in conformity with the

He advocates socialism for Ghana and Africa, for under any other system the progress of the continent can only be slow. The people of Africa want to see progress and socialism is the only means that will bring it speedily.

Only under socialism will a rapid, genuine, really mass forward movement embracing, first the majority and then the whole of the population, commence in all spheres of public and personal life.

This is the pattern socialism in Africa will take. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for some time. But in the end socialism will definitely triumph. Nkrumaism will triumph in Africa.

All these factors have created a direct striving on the part of the countries of the "free world" to crush Ghana and her leader.

And it is here that we take our second stand.

We declare war—a just and legitimate war—for socialism in Ghana and Africa and against imperialism and exploitation in Africa.

REVOLT IN SOUTH AFRICA

WE devote a considerable number of our pages in our first issue of 1964 to a special feature on South Africa.

We do this not only as a contribution to enlighten decent men and women throughout the world of the forces of oppression in that country but also as a duty we owe to ourselves as Africans and the African Revolution to expose the forces which aid and abet a system of repression and place a majority of the population, the Africans, outside society.

In doing so we are tempted to ask rather pertinent questions; and provide rather pertinent answers: but we stand by them.

What must be understood is that the South African regime is a ruthless dictatorship. But as a dictatorship—and as in all dictatorships—what forces are keeping it up? Where does their strength lie?

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Dr. Kwame Nkrumah writes on:

The African Press

IF we interpret journalism as the dissemination of news and the clarion to action, then journalism is certainly not new to Africa.

From time immemorial we have developed our own special system of transmitting news and messages across the country, from village to village, from community to community; we have devised our peculiar means of gathering our people together and putting problems before them for decision. The talking drums and the courier have been the harbingers of news. From the days of the drum, we have accepted as an inexorable canon that the news which was transmitted should be true and the information conveyed accurate and reliable. For the safety and the lives of many people might depend upon it.

INDIGENOUS NEWSPAPERS

In these modern days, we have the teleprinter and the telex machine for conveying news at greater speed. But the principle and the purpose of it all remain the same. Even while the drum spoke, we in Africa were developing more modern forms of journalism.

Indigenous newspapers in West Africa have at least a hundred years of history behind them. In 1858, only fourteen years after the Bond of 1884 and before the Gold Coast had been annexed as a definitive colony of Great Britain the WEST AFRICAN HERALD was edited by Charles Bannerman, a son of the soil. About the same time, John Tengo Jabavu was editing the IMVO in South Africa. In Nigeria, the basic ideas of modern nationalism were developed by John Payne

Jackson from 1891, in his journal, THE LAGOS WEEKLY RECORD.

James Brew in the Gold Coast of the 1870's, and J. E. Casely Hayford, a generation later edited vocal, nationalist papers; but they were restricted in the circulation to the few literate readers along the coast.

FACING THE DANGER

The astonishing thing about these editors and their small band of journalistic collaborators was how they managed to build up a secret intelligence and news-gathering service along the coast, which involved, beside the normal hazards of anti-colonialist activity, the danger of some of them finding a premature watery grave.

In those days, there was no proper road between Cape Coast and Accra—not even the rough one we knew before the Government of the Convention People's Party built the present modern ones. So these editors and their co-workers worked their clandestine way by canoe along the coast to the capital, Accra. There they ferreted out all the latest material that could be used against the colonialist government, and then they paddled their dangerous way back to Cape Coast. All these activities were done at night. It was always a puzzle to the British administration in Accra as to how these newspapers were able to appear in Cape Coast with such "hot" news so quickly.

DOCTRINE OF EQUAL RIGHTS

Nevertheless these and other journalists did much to spread the doctrine of equal rights for Africans, especially as schooling began to widen out gradually and we were becoming conscious of ourselves as political beings.

In North Africa, in 1930, L'ACTION TUNISIENNE was launched by Habib Bourguiba, now President of Tunisia, and a group of his Neo Destour party members. In the Ivory Coast in 1935, the journal L'ECLAIREUE had an immense success in African circles. It led a campaign against reactionary chiefs and colonialists oppression. It demanded measures of social reconstruction and urged the cause of the unemployed and of the African farmers, who had been hit by the colonialist-made economic crisis.

REVOLUTIONARY MOUTHPIECE

Nnamdi Azikiwe's WEST AFRICAN PILOT and the organ of the Convention People's Party—the ACCRA EVENING NEWS—in more recent years, led in the field of nationalist journalism. Wallace Johnson of Sierra Leone, with his WEST AFRICAN STANDARD, did some ground work in trade union journalism. THE AFRICANIST emerged as the custodian of South African nationalism in 1953 and remained a revolutionary mouthpiece of the Africans of South Africa. Its founder and first editor was Mangaliso Sobukwe, President of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa, who is now detained indefinitely on Robben Island after serving three years' imprisonment for his part in the cause of freedom.

George Padmore, working outside Africa, but identifying himself completely with its struggles, carried on almost all of his adult life a tenacious fight for African nationalism and independence. His contributions to the press of Africa and to that of peoples of African descent in the West Indies and the United States; his widespread journalistic writings throughout the world, served as a rallying point and inspira-

tion to the leaders of African independence and the masses.

The African press, born of incipient nationalism, nurtured on political consciousness and developed side by side with a growing sense of responsibility, is now strong and healthy, despite the many obstacles placed in its way. However, the fact that the press in Africa to-day is an important and influential institution, does not alone lend importance to your meeting to-day.

The special significance of this gathering is that it is the first conference of African journalists since the Organisation of African Unity was established at Addis Ababa in May this year.

As such it can do nothing less than fulfil the purpose of a continental press conference on the Unity of Africa.

As a professional man, the African journalist shares with other journalists throughout the world, the duty of gathering information carefully and of disseminating it honestly.

To temper with the truth is treason to the human mind. By poisoning the well-springs of public opinion with falsehood, you defeat, in the long run, your own needs. Once a journal gains a reputation for even occasional unreliability or distortion, its value is destroyed.

It is part of our revolutionary credo that within the competitive system of capitalism, the press cannot function in accordance with a strict regard for the sacredness of facts, and that *the press, therefore, should NOT remain in private hands.*

As, in a capitalist or—neo-colonialist environment, profit from circulation and advertising is the major consideration, the journalist working within it is caught by its mechanics.

No matter how great his personal integrity, as long as he remains, he must mould his thinking to its dictates. Consciously or unconsciously, he is forced into arranging news and information to fit the outlook of his

journal. He finds himself rejecting or distorting facts that do not coincide with the outlook and interest of his employer or the medium's advertisers. Willy-nilly, he adjusts his ideas to that of the class which his journal represents, the class for which it caters, the interests and objectives which it serves to advance.

Under the pressure of competition for advertising revenue, trivialities are blown up, the vulgar emphasised, ethics forgotten, the important trimmed to the class outlook. Enmities are fanned and peace is perverted. The search is for sensation and the justification of an unjust system in which truth or the journalist must become the casualty.

CAPITALIST JOURNALISM

It is no wonder, then, that for every decent or well-informed journal in a capitalist country, you have many more of the kind that concentrates on sensationalism and scandal; that cover up facts or deny them; that manufacture news in order to mislead and corrupt. There are journals that employ special techniques of presentation in order to ensnare the minds not just of thousands but of the millions, that read them.

Every means, both subtle and raw are used to maintain sway over the minds of men, and thus secure and hold their support in the continued exploitation and suppression of the oppressed. Oft-times they are led to concur in their own exploitation. They are enjoined against peace, they are manoeuvred against freedom and right.

Unfortunately, some of these journals have made their way into our continent and are employing their influence to wean our people to ideas and ways of life that run counter to our image and our hopes.

We must be vigilant against their penetration and their incitement. We must be careful not to take their falsities as models, either for our public or our journalists. For our African journalists have a different task, a higher responsibility,

a greater objective, which demand a mould of quite another order.

In Africa today, three types of African journalists can be recognised on our continent:

There are those who are purposefully and unreservedly devoted to the cause of the African Revolution. Such journalists are dedicated to African freedom, African progress and African unity.

Then, there are those who by their work serve only the interests of private capital. These journalists have no minds of their own, no devotion to their people or their continent. They carry out the dictates of their foreign employers operating in Africa; they gyrate in the effort to anticipate their masters' wishes.

Thirdly, there are those journalists who, unwittingly or deliberately, serve the interests of foreign governments by their support of the client and puppet regimes that have been established in Africa.

The last two categories wrap their distortions and their diversions from the truth in a morbid appeal to chauvinism, unreason and talent animosities.

Whether they are aware of it or not, they are misusing their talents and their opportunity in the interest of Africa's enemies and against those of our people, our continent and our cause.

We who are fighting against colonialism and imperialism, we who are fighting against the blandishment of client states and settler governments in Africa, and are seeking to create a just society in which the welfare of each shall be the welfare of all, must stand against the methods of those whose journalism has precisely the opposite ends.

We have nothing to gain by suppressing or distorting facts.

Circulation of itself is not our first consideration; though obviously we are anxious to reach and inform the widest possible audience. But we have no wish to play upon

the gullibility of that audience, for it is precisely to the interests of that audience that we are dedicated. And we can only promote those interests by self-criticism and the faithful presentation of truth and fact.

The journalist who works faithfully for our African Revolution refuses to sell his soul to imperialism and to Moloch, and thus starts with an advantage over his col-

The true African journalist, abjuring imperialist blandishments and bribes, can certainly call his soul his own. His work may be more difficult because of deficiencies in the technical means of gathering information and the daily harassments that confront him; his remuneration may not be great and expense accounts non-existent.

But he has other, more satisfying rewards. *He draws contentment*



This is the text of an address by OSAGYEFO DR KWAME NKRUMAH, President of the Republic of Ghana, at the opening of the Second Conference of African Journalists held in Accra on November 11, 1963.

It is a bold statement by an African leader on the proper role of the African Press vis-à-vis the African Revolution.

We regard this statement by Dr. Nkrumah as the CHARTER OF AFRICAN JOURNALISM and it will go down in our history as one of his greatest contribution to the African Revolution.

leagues of the imperialist and neo-colonialist press.

His integrity, as long as he persists in this decision, is assured. To the true African journalist, his newspaper is a collective organiser, a collective instrument of mobilisation and a collective educator—a weapon, first and foremost, to overthrow colonialism and imperialism, and to assist total African independence and unity.

from an honest job honestly done. His satisfaction is, in his integrity, in work performed for the betterment of his fellows and the society of which he is a worthy member.

He does not need to peep through keyholes for scandals, or bribe-underlings to divulge what should remain private and personal; he does not need to concoct or manufacture exciting revelations. He is not forced to doctor news and de-

base public standards to fit the purpose of the rich and the would-be richer. I am reminded here that a British journalist friend of mine once told me that sometimes the news items he sent to his paper in London were so doctored that he had difficulty in recognising what he himself had written.

The true African journalist very often works for the organ of the political party to which he himself

independence for African nations, complete independence for African States, and a decent life for the African masses.

This is a convenient point at which to trace the history of the concept of African Unity.

Ghana is not the first independent African State. But the philosophy of African Unity is primarily the creation of the founder and first President of the State of Ghana. In 1957, March 6, when the sovereign State of Ghana was born, Liberia was already 115 years old. Ethiopia had been independent since 1000 B.C.; Sudan, Tunisia, Libya, Morocco and Egypt had all been independent if not for some decades at least for some years. Nevertheless, the task fell on the shoulders of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, then Prime Minister of Ghana, to preach and later give concrete expression to this soul-stirring doctrine of African Unity.

On mid-night March 5th-6th in Accra, Osagyefo made the historic statement: "*The independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked up with the total liberation of Africa*".

Revolutionary

The occasion was the celebration of Ghana's attainment of political freedom from British rule. This message has underlined everything which our President has done ever since on the African continent. It is important to understand the message. It says that our independent Ghana must be a driving force fighting for the complete emancipation of Africa. It also says that until Africa is completely free, Ghana's independence is not even safe or secure.

How was Ghana to perform this historic task so bravely enunciated by her man of destiny? At first it looked a mere dream, a mere flight of fancy. How can small Ghana with only 6½ million people redeem a whole continent of 260 million people? Yet this is how many revolutionary ideas are born. Its authors are usually scoffed at. But time proves them right and sooner or later the detractors worship at the feet of the master.

The formula for giving effect to this bold new doctrine was and is African Unity. The Independent

African States must be brought together and constituted into a powerful force in the service of the entire African continent.

Accordingly, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah decided to summon a meeting of all Independent African States at the time. The meeting took place here in Accra in April 1958 exactly thirteen months after Ghana's independence. The countries that attended were Ethiopia, United Arab Republic, Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Morocco, Liberia and of course Ghana, the host country. Only South Africa did not attend. She was not invited because we regard the present government of South Africa as a non-African government serving non-African interests. This conference has gone down in history as the first ever conference of independent African States. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah had succeeded in lighting the torch of liberty and freedom for all Africa to see. And by this process the man himself ceased to be a Ghanaian leader and became transformed into an African crusader.

This first ever conference of independent African States discussed many issues facing both independent and dependent Africa. However, its historical value lies in the formulation of a few cardinal principles to guide the activities of both independent African States and those countries still under colonial rule. The main principles to which attention must be drawn are: —

1. a common foreign policy of positive non-alignment based on respect for the Charter of the United Nations, adherence to the Bandung principles of peaceful co-existence and the maintenance of world peace. This policy is to be given effect through joint action of representatives of African States in the U.N.
2. co-ordinated development in independent African States. This principle covers co-ordinated economic development and planning, co-ordinated development of our culture, a co-ordinated approach to the matter of foreign capital, and co-ordination of Africa's trade union movement;
3. the immediate termination of

colonialism everywhere in Africa. This principle lays it down as a duty for all independent African States to assist the national liberation movements in every possible way;

4. the liquidation of racialism in South Africa and in all countries with mixed populations;
5. Africa must be kept free of the military and nuclear schemes of tries with mixed population;

Not long after the first conference of Independent African States, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah organised another conference of African leaders in Accra. This took place in December, 1958, only eight months after the first conference. This time the conference was attended, not by independent African States, but by all nationalist political parties and movements in those African countries that were still under colonial rule. This conference has gone down in history as the All-African Peoples' Conference which established its headquarters in Accra.

The All-African Peoples' Conference set itself two main tasks: —

1. to win political freedom for all African territories still under colonial domination; and
2. to fight against neo-colonialism in these African States which had already won political freedom. This means fighting for complete independence in the economic, cultural, administrative and military spheres.

AFTERMATH OF THE TWO CONFERENCES

Through the organisation of the All-African Peoples' Conference, the national liberation in Africa were brought together and linked up with the independent African States.

These two forces—Conference of Independent African States and the All-African Peoples' Conference—proved the biggest force ever organised in the fight against colonialism in Africa. These were both the creations of our Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. And the result they achieved was great and is apparent for all to see. In 1958, there were only eight independent African States. But four years later, by 1962 there were 32 African States. By any calculation, this is staggering achievement.

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for their own ends through bribery and corruption. But thanks to the firm resistance at all levels of our national movements, they are often foiled.

A more effective method of destroying our political stability is to intensify our poverty so that popular dissatisfaction will infect our states with treason and violence. The legacies of poverty and backwardness, left by the colonialists and which can be removed only by great sacrifices spread over long periods, offer fertile fields for such intrigue.

We have seen enough to know that the imperialists use decolonisation as a manoeuvre for the greater exploitation of their former colonies. They do not accept it as a historical necessity to end a shameful and untenable period in human history. In the face of stormy winds of freedom blowing through Africa, the colonialists have only veered their course; they have not changed it. Where once they ruled by force, they now manipulate to maintain their hold (on Africa) by cunning, bribery and subterranean violence.

Ironically, they follow in the footsteps of the early Portuguese explorers, who first named the southern tip of our continent the Cape of Storms; and then changed the name to the Cape of Good Hope. The change of name could not change the weather conditions; and did not more for the indigenous inhabitants than to make that corner of Africa as hell on earth for them.

NEO-COLONIALISM

If the imperialists have been forced by circumstances to cede independence to former colonies, we know by now that the intention was to make that independence purely nominal. Wherever independence aims to become a reality, the hostility of the imperialists knows no bounds. This ulterior intention has resulted in dividing Africa into client states and states whose independence hangs by thread.

As colonialism vanishes away from Africa under the blows of Freedom Fighters, neo-colonialism

is raising its head as the greatest threat to our freedom and progress.

What is neo-colonialism ?

It is the situation we find in a country where a colonial power grants nominal political independence to a territory, but sees to it that the control of the economic arrangements of the territory are still in the hands of the ex-colonial power, which is thereby able to dominate its economy and, indirectly, the state apparatus. It is empire-building without the flag.

And this is how it works :

They see to it that the political power remains in the hands of indigenous reactionaries.

They manoeuvre to control the Army, the Police and even the Intelligence Services.

They see to it that the economic institutions of the country are in the hands of their agents and that economic production is completely controlled by private foreign capital, leaving only the less profitable infra-structure in the hands of the indigenous population.

They divide the Trade Union and other popular movements.

When they have gained full control, in this way, of a client or puppet state, with a client or puppet administration, then they are in a position to do what they like with the territory, its government and its people.

If they cannot get their own way, then they engineer political and military coups, to overthrow the regimes and install new reactionary regimes which will carry out their orders.

Some of us allow ourselves to be used as agents of such neo-colonialist and settler government espionage systems operating in Africa. Even the Fascist Regime of South Africa could have agents among us here.

I have always been particularly proud of my trade union associations. As a worker in my student days in America, I belonged to the Maritime Workers' Union and

played an active part in our struggle to better the living conditions of our fellow workers.

From the very early days of the African resistance struggle, trade unions have played a dominant role in the conquering liberation movements. That is our experience in Ghana, and I know the experience throughout the other African countries.

Throughout this vast continent of ours, workers organised or unorganised must become aware of the duty they owe not only to their own country but to mother Africa and must rapidly adjust themselves to the new role of nation building and also guard jealously our independence against incursions of neo-colonialism.

African workers must organise themselves for the final overthrow of colonialism and liquidation of neo-colonialism. The African trade unions must be the vanguard in this continental struggle, because the workers suffer most under colonialist or neo-colonialist exploitation. The journalists of Africa must recognise this and use the African press supporting our trade unions and exposing the evils of neo-colonialism.

AATUF

My faith in the All-African Trade Union Federation as the most positive and reliable ally in our struggle against neo-colonialism is an abiding one. AATUF must have the unconditional support of the African Press as against the other neo-colonialist trade union groupings in Africa, either of the ICFTU or those who serve as vehicle of neo-colonialist infiltration. Our African journalists must help explain the importance of trade Unions in our African revolution.

The African trade unions are those that have their roots in the broad mass of our people. They must be in a position to bring to our attention quickly the feelings of the workers and we must draw them into consultation on the formulation of Government policy.

There cannot be any conflict of interest in the task of nation build-

ing. It must be the responsibility of the African Governments to encourage our trade unions and help them consolidate their strength.

To build Africa which must be Africa liberated from exploitation, Africa just and strong, we must build it with the people and for the people.

Africa must win through to real independence: and the only road open to us in the one whose first station was the Summit Conference of Addis Ababa. We must now press on quickly to a union Government of Africa.

Those who say that a continental government of Africa is illusory are deceiving themselves. Worse, they are deceiving their people, who see in the unity of our continent the way to a better life. They ignore the lessons of history: If the United States of America could do it, if the Soviet Union could do it, if India could do it, why not Africa?

And it needs to be done now. No useful purpose is served by putting it off. On the contrary, recent events have shown that delay can only exacerbate our divisions and make our coming together more difficult.

We want the widest economic and social development, and we want it as soon as possible. We can get it, and get it quicker, only by planning it on a continental scale. And it becomes more and more obvious that continental planning cannot precede but must emanate from a continental government of Africa. It is this recognition that directs our enemies and detractors to keep us divided.

An All-African High Command is an immediate necessity, so that we can be ready at all times to protect our sovereignty and our independence. Otherwise, we will fight among ourselves, and destroy all we have so far achieved, to the delight and advantage of the neo-colonialists.

Only a continental government of Africa will give reality and purpose to African Unity. Without it, African Unity will remain an empty and sentimental slogan.

How can we hope to stop France from continually testing atom bombs in the Sahara? Only a Continental Government of Africa can make de Gaulle's France pause to reflect. No Resolutions or Charters can hope to do this.

A continental government for Africa, backed by a continental army under a unified High Command, would have authority to keep the peace throughout Africa. It would close the road now wide open to a neo-colonialist takeover in Africa.

BORDER DISPUTES.

The Moroccan-Algerian border dispute which erupted into open warfare last month (October 1963), and others like it, present a grave symptom of our desperate plight as independent states. Among the colonial legacies which imperil our present and our future, there is the uneasy condition of ill-defined boundaries between states which hug a nationalist passion and new-found independence. What can more easily lead to strife, conflict and war?

With all the goodwill and wise leadership in the world, these border disputed cannot be permanently settled. Especially when they have their origin in the criminal colonial scramble for Africa. Why visit the sins of colonialism upon the children of the African Revolution? Why should we pay for the sins that colonialists have committed against us? The only solution to such border disputes lies in the establishment of a Union Government of Africa in which we shall all enjoy a common union citizenship which will make boundaries melt away.

We were divided on our continent not by chance or by choice, but by force. We cannot cure that division by force among ourselves. We can only cure it by African unity, by coming together within a union government, not by perpetuating the artificial boundaries between us.

In the face of the assaults which neo-colonialism is now making on the whole of Africa, and of the preparations for war in those parts of Africa still occupied by the imperialists, the dividing line between

triumph and disaster for African unity surmounted by a continental government is very thin. The military coups and plots, the border disputes in independent Africa, do not help to correct this situation.

We have allowed the neo-colonialists to intimidate us and make us afraid to move on to a continental government in Africa. While we listen to their counsels about the difficulties and the inopportunities while we allow them to convince us that there are too many differences between us; while we permit them to assure us that we can only prosper by being strung to them and not to ourselves; they are getting on with their plans to drive us further and further apart and deepen the rifts between us.

Time is being used by them to sow confusion and destruction among us. We can frustrate their knavish tricks only by coming together NOW. Putting off the reality of African Union will only add inertia to the confusion, it will bring the African revolution to a standstill, perhaps for the next thousand years. Now is the hour to seal the Union Government of Africa.

This is the Africa which you, as African journalists must help to create and develop, the new Africa of which our people dream, for which they stretch out their hands. With your brains and your pens, with the strength of your faith and the passion of your thoughts and words, you are the vanguard of the crusade for a United Africa.

Never sell yourselves for a mess of pottage; never allow yourselves to be bought.

Less than six months have elapsed since Addis Ababa and, as I said the other day, the course of events has already overtaken us. We must take care that it does not overwhelm us completely. If there has been an ebb in the full tide of continental unity which launched the Addis Ababa Charter, we must attribute it to pressure on the client states and to a general stepping up of imperialist intrigues and threats throughout Africa.

Let us, for example take the Congo—that large and rich state in the



go ahead with plans for the structure of neo-colonialism here on the Latin American model.

If we let go the Congo it will strengthen the colonialists and the settler-governments of Southern Africa. It will mean the handing over the struggle of our brothers in Northern and Southern Rhodesia and in South Africa and the Protectorates to the more ruthless persecution of the practitioners of apartheid and quasi-apartheid. It will give encouragement to Verwoerd and his allies to strengthen still further the army that is being built up in South Africa.

This is the time we should be getting together to coalesce our forces against the threat of apartheid. South Africa's menace to our African independence. We would be foolish if we sit back calmly while South Africa's ground to air-missile base endangers our very existence.

If we let go the Congo we shall reinforce neo-colonialist presence here in Africa. While we are dilly-dallying, they are getting busier and busier on our continent. Western Powers are increasing their investments in South Africa and refuse to be deflected from their support of Verwoerd and his regime. Surely these are signs of imperialist strength and unity, while we demonstrate our divisions and our feebleness.

If we let go the Congo we shall nullify the Addis Ababa Charter and confuse our minds with the hope for a unity that will never be fulfilled. We shall hand to neo-colonialist an instrument that will help them rather than the unity of Africa. The Congo is a symbol to all of us. And what goes on there now may be a symbol of what can happen to Ghana, or Nigeria, or Guinea, or Mali, or Tanganyika or any other African state.

It is against these manoeuvres of imperialists and neo-colonialists that the African journalists must be vigilant. He must shout for all the world to hear, and place on it the responsibility for thwarting their designs against Africa. The African

journalist must be just as vigilant against our own faults and deflections; and against our dilatoriness and unwillingness to make a reality of African unity.

His is the duty to guard our African Revolution and see that it moves forward in the right direction. He must speak out no matter what the cost. His columns must vibrate with the call to the African nations to take up the challenge that the African Revolution poses.

The African Revolution has, for the most part, adopted one-party rule as its most appropriate political instrument for ending tribalism and planning development within the democratic framework of our African society. Even if we wanted it, we could not afford the deferment of strong and immediate governmental action which class and party politics entail.

We cannot afford the political luxuries of capitalist democracy. We have neither the capital no the time.

The multiplication of political parties in Western Europe has not prevented the enthronement of dictatorial powers in some countries nor political instability in others. We see the Executives of the United States constantly frustrated over its measures to end racialism and to introduce social security legislation. What can go on there for decades without political breakdown would bring chaos and disaster within a short time in any African state.

That is why Ghana has chosen the way of a people's socialist parliamentary democracy.

We are aware that the one-party system cannot function in an environment contained by the restrictions of a client or a neo-colonialist states.

We have also chosen the path of socialism for our economic reconstruction, because we believe that it is the only way to liquidate the remnants of colonialism.

We believe that it is the only sure way, and the quickest, to build a happy life for the masses of our people.

Unless Africa embraces socialism, it will move backward instead of

heart of Africa—as the yardstick by which to measure whether we have progressed or not—since the Summit Conference. If we look closely, we will see no progress, but rather a slackening of the high resolves and practical measures which we enunciated at Addis Ababa.

THE CONGO

The situation in the Congo approximates that which found the Latin American states engulfed in political and military coups by juntas in the pay of outside interests and the control of foreign intelligence agencies.

The Belgian exploiters return in droves, secure in the knowledge that Mobutu's army is the only source of governmental power, and that he will protect them if the people's fury erupts.

American and Belgian capitalists have now resolved their differences in the Congo, whose wealth they mean to exploit as joint partners once a military dictatorship has broken completely the Lumumbaist political forces and the resistance of the industrial workers.

The writing on the wall for the Congo is as plain as it was in Peru, as it was in the Dominican Republic and in Honduras—as it was in South Vietnam before the military junta took place over in order to give the war against the people of Vietnam a new lease of life.

The plight of the Congo is no secret in Africa. It is known in the fullest detail in every part of the world. What will happen if we allow the Congo Republic to go the way of a Latin American Republic? We shall do no less than give the green light for the consortium of imperialists now operating in Africa to

forward. Under any other system our progress can only be slow. Our people will lose their patience. They want to see progress, and socialism is the only means that will bring it speedily.

Congo Brazzaville and Dahomey are object lessons for us. The attempt to enforce a one-party system in a non-socialist environment can lead only to disaster.

Because we want strong and yet democratic government in our African Revolution, we must guard against the dangers inherent in gov-

ernments whose only opposition to tyranny and abuse lies in the folds of the ruling party itself. A ceaseless flow of self-criticism, an unending vigilance against tyranny and nepotism and other forms of bribery and corruption, unswerving loyalty to principles approved by the masses of the people, these are the main safeguards for the people under one-party rule.

Who is best able to exercise that vigilance, to furnish the material for self-criticism, to sound warnings against any departure from princi-

ples, if not the press of Revolutionary Africa?

The African press has a vital part to play in the revolution which is now sweeping over the continent. Our newspapers, our broadcasting, our information services, our television, must reach out to the masses of our people—the workers, the farmers, the trade unionists and peasants, to the university students, the young and the old—to explain the meaning and purpose of the

Continued on page 32.

PORTRAIT OF AN ARCH-IMPERIALIST:

CECIL JOHN RHODES

*

*



ON December 31, 1963 the Central African Federation was dissolved. The Federation—made up of Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia—was created by Britain in 1953 against the background of African opposition to perpetuate white man's rule in Central Africa and to fulfil the supposed dream of arch-imperialist Cecil John Rhodes.

Rhodes was born in 1853. The fifth son of a Hertfordshire family, he became a diamond digger in Kimberly shire in 1871.

After journeying through Southern Africa the agricultural and mineral wealth of the area had a profound influence on his mind.

Like the typical British, "he was filled with the desire that fine country be secured for occupation by the British race, and that no power but Great Britain be allowed to dominate in the administration of South Africa."

His ambition as businessman and politician was to create a connected chain of British possessions which might justify the words, "Africa British from the Cape to Cairo", but the treaty between Great Britain and Germany in 1890, by extending the "German sphere of influence" to the frontier of the Congo Free State, defeated this hope.

In 1893, a war with the brave Matabele added to the British empire about 450,000 square miles of country.

In six years it had become Rhodesia.

When Rhodes became Prime minister of the Cape in 1890 he exploited the Africans by employing them in their thousands in his mining industry.

It was Rhodes who protested against the "uncivilized Kaffir" voting on questions of "highly civilized white policy".

And it was he who extended the principle of "self-government" in "native affairs". His ideals culminated in the Glen Grey Act of 1894.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA TODAY



*The Awakening African
Majority: You have nothing to lose but your Chains!
You have a Country to regain!*

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VOICE OF KGAGUDI MAREDI, BANISHED FROM SEKHUNILAND

*The men in Pretoria
Call me Agitator, Number One Agitator!
Yes, I agitate, but not for myself.
I agitate for freedom, and freedom
Is in unity. It is not
A thing apart, a selfish whim.
Without freedom
My people cannot work for the world
— Only for their masters.
Without freedom
Where is tomorrow's yield, the harvest,
Or the thanksgiving?
If this is the language of agitation
Then Maredi remains
What he was in Sekhuniland.*

South Africa—Towards Division?

Verwoerd's Sinister Plan

"WE want a White South Africa even if it is a small one," said Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd of South Africa recently. Reportedly Verwoerd and his cabinet had agreed on a partition of South Africa between Black and White.

This came as no surprise to anybody. De Burgher newspaper of Verwoerd's Nationalist Party, had been preparing the Afrikaner public for just such an announcement. Its theme over the last few months had been that the arrangements for Apartheid, which could have been carefully and humanely carried out over the years, would now have to be carried out within a short space of time.

The plan is to turn over 40 per cent of the land to Black South Africans while the Whites retain 60 per cent. Such a division, of course, raises countless questions. But one major consideration is that Africans inside and outside South Africa will not accept Verwoerd's plans, or anybody else's for the balkanisation of any part of Africa. In 1955, Paul Mosaka, then member of the African Advisory Board, suggested a division of South Africa to the ruling white minority. The government ignored the suggestion then and Mosaka's colleagues attacked him bitterly. His idea was to turn the Eastern part of South Africa over to the Africans and leave the Whites with the West.

THE PIONEERS

The story of expropriation of African land, however, goes back as far as 1652 when Jan Van Riebeck landed at the Cape under the pretext of setting up a naval base. His orders included acquiring land for gardens so as to be able to supply the Dutch ships with fresh fruit and vegetables. Riebeck misunderstood both the African sense of hospitality and the African system of land holding in common. He

claimed more and more freehold for the Dutch.

When the British took over in 1795, the land question became even more acute. Matters came to a head after governors like Lord Charles Somerset and Sir George Grey had introduced "neutral territories." These were strips of land which were to act as buffers between the Black and White races. Ultimately wars were fought over these strips in which Africans matched shields and spears against European canons and rifles.

By 1910, date of the Act of Union, the Africans had lost much of their land and the land Act of 1913 set out to continue, by legal means, where the wars had left off.

It forbade the African to purchase land from a White, but allowed the White to purchase African owned land.

The second Land Act of 1936, introduced, with a number of Herzog's equally notorious racist bills, finally deprived Africans of the few rights they had with regard to the land. Such Acts should have made the Zulu anger of a century earlier more understandable to the European.

When Dingaan, the brother of the great Zulu warrior, Chaka, killed Piet Retief, leader of the Boer Voortrekkers, the White world exclaimed in horror. But Dingaan had given the Afrikaners land to SETTLE ON, NOT TO OWN. The traditional African outlook was—and still is—that "land is divine" and could not be owned by individuals.

The balkanisation of South Africa went faster after Dr. Daniel Francois Malan, Apartheid's chief architect, attained power in 1948.

The idea of "Bantustans" was

first mooted under various names. It added up to the Africans being relegated to rural areas, ruled by bogus Black governments. And only a limited number would be allowed into towns to provide cheap migrant labour.

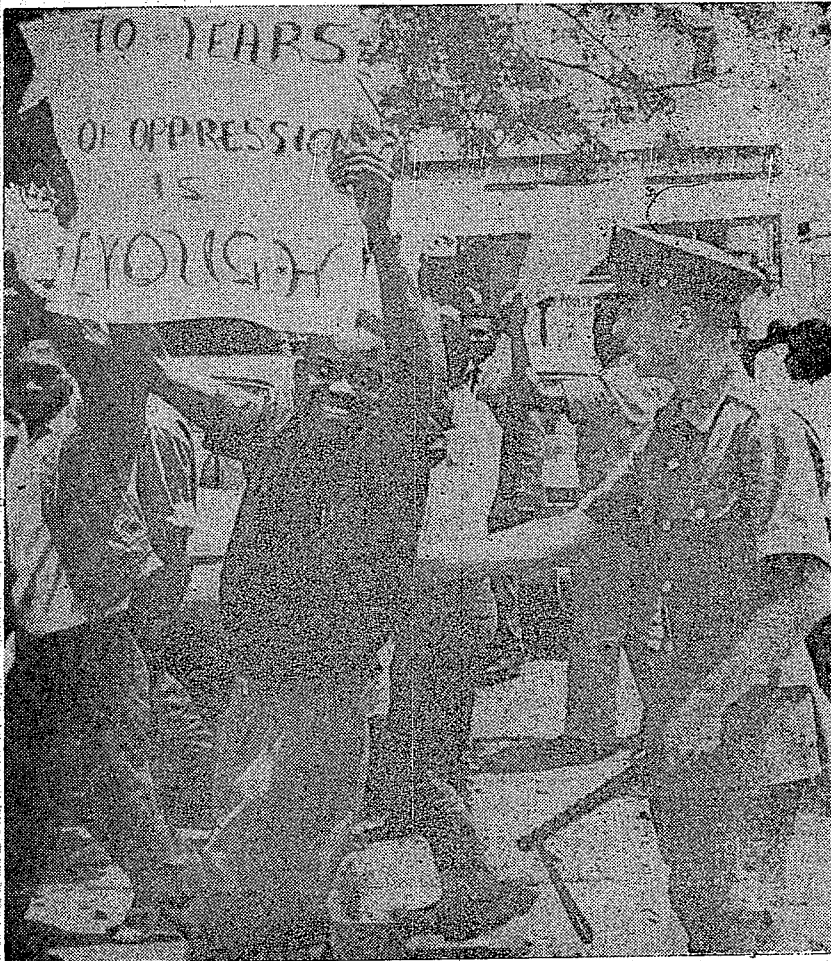
Transkei Bantustan for the Xhosa people under Chief Mantanzima has now been created according to this idea and the world has been told that this is the first example of Black self government in South Africa. But finance, defence and foreign affairs are not in the hands of the Xhosas.

This was the pilot scheme. Now we know that it will be applied to 40 per cent of South Africa's territory and the remaining 60 per cent will go to the Whites. That is to say 12 million Blacks will be herded into that 40 per cent while three million Whites will occupy the 60 per cent which is the best part of South Africa.

According to Verwoerd's plans, from Cape Town to Port Elizabeth area is for the Whites. It includes the vine yards of Winburg and Paarl; the finest holiday resorts; the Knysna forests which supply props for mines, railway sleepers and building materials.

Included also is the Orange Free State (predominantly in the hands of Afrikaner farmers and South Transvaal, including the "maize triangle." There are several important towns in the area—Belfast and Witbank, with their coal fields; Pretoria, with its iron ore from Thaba Zimbi and Cullinan's diamonds and asbestos. Johannesburg and the gold of the Witwatersrand Reef, and the diamond rich areas of Kimberley will all be places for Whites.

The Africans will get Natal, Zululand, Transkei and part of the Eastern Cape—the most arid part of the country. Today, before any additions have been made to the population, the people of the place



live in dire misery. Tuberculosis figures for the area soar higher every year and there are countless *kwashiokor* (malnutrition victims). Eastern Transvaal, which will also be included, somewhat redeems the situation in that it is good orange, banana and groundnut country, but it would be hopelessly overpopulated when Verwoerd's plans are put into effect. Western Transvaal, sprawling towards the semi-desert of Bechuanaland and South West Africa, forms the remainder of this scheduled African area.

Apart from the Africans of the country, South Africa also has 2.5 million Coloureds and Indians.

These presumably, would be pushed into the African area which would then find itself supporting 14.5 million people.

OPPOSITION A SHAM

Whites in Natal, most of whom are members of the United Party which forms the parliamentary opposition, have objected. They, however, have never been effective. They are a minority, and anyway hardly differ from Verwoerd on questions of race. Verwoerd's plan will serve a double purpose. As well as segregating Africans, it will wipe out Natal as the stronghold of the

United Party and the Liberals—in view of their record, not a great loss to the African freedom movement.

To be able to carry out his plans, Verwoerd knows he is going to have to fight. Hence South Africa is arming herself to the teeth with planes from England and France, so-called defensive weapons from the United States and automatic rifles from Israel. "Unless we create areas of Black liberty," said Verwoerd, "the whole of South Africa will be black." But Africans know what Verwoerd's definition of liberty means for them: the liberty to sweat out life in White-owned mines and factories, or starve.

BANTU EDUCATION

BY FRANZ J. T. LEE

J. G. STRIJDOM, the late Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa said in 1953: "Our policy is that the Europeans must stand their ground and must remain BAAS (master) in South Africa... Our view is that in every sphere the European must retain the right to rule the country and to keep it white man's country". ("African Nationalism", by N. Sithole, 1961 Ed., P/47). The Afrikaner Nationalist party, which has been in power since 1948, postulates a policy of "Baasskap" (literally: boss-ship). Alternatively it is known as "Apartheid" which prescribes a rigid demarcation between White and Non-White, or, European and Non-European (African); its essence is to keep the Africans at the niveau of a cheap migratory labour force.

SEMI-LITERACY

Every Herrenvolk government is charged with the responsibility of protecting the mining industry as the primary industry round which the other secondary industries revolve. Gold-mining consumes a large amount of unskilled labour, hence Parliament has to see that the non-white population is kept mainly illiterate or semi-literate. This became the policy of every successive parliament ever since Union Day, May 31st, 1910.

Long before the Nationalist parties of Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd were formed, there was already a separate education between the various racial-groups. The mines demanded labour, hence the educational monstrosity, "Bantu Education" had to be born. In the eyes of the Herrenvolk every child who is born black is a potential mine-labourer.

Verwoerd himself said: "There is no place for him (the African) in

the European community above the levels of certain forms of labour: until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze". (Bantu Education: "Policy for the immediate future" (P/23). Statement by: Dr. Verwoerd, 1954).

On another occasion he said: "What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when he cannot use it in practice?... That is quite absurd". (Education for Barbarism, Isaac B. Tabata, 1959 Ed. P/30).

Verwoerd simply wants to resurrect a dead tribalism in the midst of industrialism. In the his own words, "(Bantu) education should stand with both feet in the Reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society". (ibid. P/28).

Long before the term "apartheid" was known of, a special department: the Native Affairs Department, (N.A.D.), was created to burn the midnight oil day after day to work at this problem. It created what are known as the "Native Reserves" or "Bantustans". It was not for lack of land that they were made small, comprising only 13 per cent of the total land area; they were simply overcrowded with 4/5ths of the total population by design, in order to ensure a cheap migratory labour force. When the Nationalists came into power they created nothing new. Without a radical alteration of the socio-economic set-up in South Africa, it is not possible for any Herrenvolk to depart from the status quo whetehr it is called baass-

kap, apartheid, segregation or separate development.

It is the hard economic and political factors today which dictate the future policy and programme of the governments to be in power. At present South Africa is to be split up so that instead of a multi-racial society within a single state the development must be towards Bantustans, Coloured-stans, Indian-stans, China-stans, and if necessary, even "Russian-stans", alongside the white Republic. The fraud about the so-called "independent" Transkei is that it will be subordinate to the Central European State which has to see to its foreign policy, defence and economic affairs.

BANTU AUTHORITIES AND APARTHEID IN PRACTICE

The "Bantu Authorities Act, 1951", aims to retribalize the African in the second part of the 20th Century. The "Bantu Education Act, 1953" is designed to fit the Africans into a separate community. The 12 million Africans living in the Reserves are to be reshuffled and resettled according to ethnic groupings; Xhosa, Satho, Zulu, Venda.

It is of interest to note that Verwoerd is not interested in dividing the European section in its various groups. He rather makes every day new attempts to unite them; at the expense of the Africans, as soon as possible. Every village will be turned into a Bantu Community with a "government"-appointed Chief who constitutes a Bantu Authority. The ludicrousness in chieftainship lies in the fact that many Africans do not even know the language of the tribe to which their forebears belong, let alone the ancient rites associated with it. In nuce, the Africans have to be dumped into camps where they will live by selling their labour cheaply at a fixed low price.

It is the duty of the "Police"—Chiefs, to enforce these Draconic Laws. Verwoerd aims to create a complete rightless, voteless and defenceless community which serve The African has no permanent se- only as a reservoir for cheap labour.

curity for himself and his family. He lives with one foot in his place of employment and one in his respective Reserve. Against this background "Bantu Education" has to be seen and understood.

Under the present educational system, the Africans will eventually be reduced to utter helotry. The schools and universities are no longer centres of education but of indoctrination for the docile acceptance of slavery. It becomes clear that Bantu Education is intended to rob the African of education, cut him off from the main stream of modern culture and intellectual progress and shut him into a spiritual "ghetto".

Although Verwoerd too eagerly boasts that he is giving education to many more Africans than ever before yet in concreto he wants to get four-fifths of the total population as quickly as possible through the mills of his "Slave Education", in order that they can be docile, obedient slaves, quite contented with their lot. Bantu Education presages what is in store for the 1,500,000 Coloureds and 500,000 Indians. In the fully-developed plans for the Africans they can see an image of their future state of complete bondage.

DEBASEMENT OF EDUCATION

The N.A.D. controls education, deals with the supply of cheap labour, with agriculture, the collection of income, poll, hut and labour taxes, and, among other oppressive duties, also with the enforcement of the hated pass laws. About taxation, Moses Kotane, an A.N.C. member, said in September, 1958: "Like the pass laws and permit regulations the taxation of Africans is imposed essentially for labour compulsion purposes". (The Poll Tax Increase, Fighting Talk, No. 6, P/5). Apart from these duties, the Chief has to see to the local management of schools and act as a "Tribal Authority".

In schools an inordinate time is given to religious instructions and devoted duties. The longest teaching time is given to manual training.



NELSON MANDELA

And there is plenty of practice. **The students have to learn how to use a broom, pick or shovel scientifically, as they have to be familiar with these tools to the highest efficiency for their future exploitation.** New books considered for Bantu schools are being written by servants, lackeys and Quislings of the N.A.D. International scientific books, that can poison their enslaved mind, understood in the Herrenvolk sense of reasoning, are declared taboo. Even the S. A. Public Libraries came under the axe of Apartheid.

BANTU EDUCATION IN PRACTICE

Theoretically all African children have the right to schooling from

the ages of eight or nine onwards—not earlier. After four years the pupils in Standard Two have to write an external N.A.D. examination. Only those granted a First Grade (above 80 percent) are allowed to proceed. Some obtaining 60 per cent or more may be given a second chance.

However, the failing ones provide fodder par excellence for the mire-Moloch. Since by law the African is forbidden to do any skilled work on the mines, these semi-illiterate children will be material as recruits in the future for the migratory system. Four years later the remaining pupils have to write the Standard 6 examination.

Students are not passing due to educational merit or intelligence but are rather judged from the most effective degree of indoctrination and ignorance. Further a certain low number is calculated to pass each year in the First Grade and not more. For the vast majority of Africans, this is the dead end of their studies. Two years later the mere handful Matriculants who pass the Standard 10 Examination in the First Grade have only the "tribal universities" to attend.

In the **Daily Despatch**, 16th February, 1961, and the **Star**, 26th February, 1962, the Matriculation Results of the African High Schools are given as follows:

BANTU EDUCATION ACT

	Pass %
1953	47.3
1956	46.1
1957	39.2
1958	37.6
1959	18.8
1960	17.9

THE AFRICANS HAVE DEFINITELY NOT BECOME MORE STUPID OR LAZIER; IPSO FACTO THE WHOLE "BANTU EDUCATION" IS A "HELLISH, DIABOLICAL" CRIME COMMITTED AGAINST THE THOUSANDS OF AFRICAN CHILDREN BY THE HERRENVOLK.

TRIBAL UNIVERSITIES

Ever since 1960 and the passing of the "Separate University Education Act" the non-Europeans could no more attend the two Public Universities—Cape Town and Witwatersrand. In 1960 500 non-European students have been attending these universities. The University of Natal, Durban, had 560 non-European students in 1958. It was feared that the non-Europeans would outnumber the whites, hence separate universities had to solve the problem. In 1949, Fort Hare, founded in 1917 and being the oldest Bantu University College in Southern

Africa, was affiliated to the Rhodes University, Grahamstown, in order to control its education and teaching staff. In 1959, the professoriate consisted of 38 lecturers of whom 11 were Africans including two professors.

With the change-over in 1960 many an "unwanted" teacher was sacked or had no alternative but resign his post. The following tribal universities came into being: Turfloop College in the Pietersburg district, for the Sotho, Venda Iswana Herero tribes; in Bellville, the "Bush" College for Coloureds and Malayas; in Emgangezi, the Ngoya College for Zulus. The University of South Africa, Pretoria, controls the examinations of all the "Tribal and Slave Universities". Even the Pius XII University of Roma, Basutoland, is caught in its poisonous fangs.

IT HAS FAILED

Bantu Education, like any other educational system, requires certain prerequisites for its success. Firstly, it must be acceptable to those for whom it is designed. Secondly, it must not only be offered as beneficial to them but be seen by the people as such. Thirdly, it must be in keeping with the general cultural, social, economic and political trends of the time. All these requirements are absent in the Verwoerdian Bantu Education.

Not a single section of the African population accepts it. None see Bantu Education as bestowing sincere benefits of any kind. They reject it as "Education for Barbarism"; beyond doubt, a system that has to bolster itself up with machine guns, Saracens and police is bound to fail.

The policy of Apartheid is dooming South Africa to chronic poverty, turmoil and chaos. All these, in spite of the fact that South Africa is the highest industrialised country on the African continent and the world's largest producer of gold and other minerals. There is already a shortage of skilled labour—thousands of people are out of work,

and hundreds are losing their jobs each week.

There is an acute housing shortage. Due to the Group Areas Act, hundreds of Africans have lost their homes and are left roofless. There is a dire need for nurses and doctors (not "witch-doctors")—hundreds of Africans are dying daily due to lack of hospitalisation—yet intellectuals like Dr. K. G. Abrahams and Dr. N. E. Alexander are being persecuted and jailed. The Government proceeds in passing more and more oppressive laws. An explosion must very soon occur somewhere—in fact, Civil War has broken out already. The whole state of affairs is an absurd anachronism. The whole concept of Apartheid is an outrage to human intelligence.

MAN IN PRE-HISTORY

Apartheid blames a man for his biology. At least "Communism"—which is one of the alternatives for the African people—blames one for his views which one can change. But how can one change his skin-colour? Everyone who sees Apartheid as an outrage to any man of colour, living in any part of the world, a cancer to the whole human race, a degradation of human dignity and worth, should assist the Africans actively to eradicate this Satanic monstrosity, destroying all its evils which endanger home sapiens as a whole.

As Prof. Bloch says: "Man is still living in his pre-history. The true Genesis is not at the beginning but at the end." We have still to create the real world, "die wahre Heimat" on earth. This is the only Hope for the Youth of Tomorrow.

VERWOERD'S ALLIES

by
Jack Woddis

IN the past few months, different United Nations Committees have made clear in the people's detestation of the whole rotten system of apartheid, and, even more important their determination that action should be taken on an international scale to stop any more support being given by the imperialist countries to Verwoerd.

As issue after issue is raised, and debate follows debate, the support for action against apartheid grows—and the isolation of the South African Government, increases.

Almost alone of all the members of the United Nations **Britain** clings to the hated Verwoerd Government, and hypocritically talks of its abhorrence of apartheid while trying to block every attempt on the part of the United Nations to take measures of real significance against South Africa.

HISTORIC RESOLUTION

In November last year the U.N. General Assembly passed a historic resolution, by sixty-seven votes to sixteen, calling on all U.N. members to break diplomatic relations with and to end the passage of ships and aircraft to and from South Africa; and to cut off trade, including arms and ammunition supply. It further asked the Security Council to impose sanctions to compel South Africa's compliance with the U.N. resolutions and to consider her expulsion.

Among the sixteen votes against were **Britain, the United States, France, Portugal and Spain.**

On August 7th last year, the U.N. Security Council passed a resolution calling for an embargo on the sale and supply of arms to South Africa, urging the release of people imprisoned for their opposition to apartheid and asking the U.N. Secretary-General to keep the situa-

tion under review and report to the council by October 30th, 1963.

On this occasion, **Britain and France** abstained.

On October 10th the General Assembly Special Political Committee carried, by eighty-seven votes to one, a motion censuring the South African Government for bringing Nelson Mandela and his twenty-nine comrades to trial.

Britain abstained, along with the **United States, France** and six other countries. Portugal was the one vote against.

FOUND IT WISER

On the following day, October 11th, the U.N. General Assembly voted overwhelmingly for a resolution condemning the South African Government for its "repression of persons opposing apartheid" and requesting it "to abandon forthwith the arbitrary trial now in progress and forthwith to grant unconditional release to all political prisoners and to all persons imprisoned, interned, or subjected to other restrictions for having opposed the policy of apartheid".

The voting was 106 for, no abstentions, and one, South Africa, against. Four countries, including Spain and Portugal, were absent when the vote was taken.

Britain, the United States, France and Australia, who the night before had abstained on a similar motion in the Special Political Committee now at last found it wiser to vote for, though not without making clear in their speeches their objections to points in the resolutions.

On October 14th the U.N. Secretary General reported on the progress made as regards member states' compliance with the August 7th Security Council resolution calling for an arms embargo.

He stated that forty-three states had replied saying that they had already pledged themselves to carry out the resolution, and that some had also instituted a total trade boycott.

A forty-fourth reply had been received—from **Britain**, arguing that the resolution was not mandatory, and making it clear that the **British Government** did not intend to carry it out.

BRITAIN MAIN SUPPLIER

On October 16th it was reported that a serious arms shortage was expected in South Africa within three months, and that this was due to overseas manufacturers declining such orders from South Africa owing to their difficulty in obtaining export permits from their governments.

On October 21, it was announced that Canada had joined other countries in banning the shipment of arms to South Africa.

Britain, the main supplier of arms to Verwoerd, is still defying the U.N. resolution and is still helping the South African Government to hold down the people.



Verwoerd . . . head of the fascist regime in South Africa.

BRITIAN, APARTHEID & ECONOMICS

By

Arthur James

A BRITISH company, Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, owns a group of mines called West Witwatersrand—"West Wits". These mines employ more than 54,000 men, almost all Africans. And they produce more gold than all the gold mines in the United States of America.

This company was founded by the archetypal imperialist, Cecil Rhodes. The son of a clergyman, Rhodes made a fortune in diamonds and engineered the amalgamation of the properties out of which grew the De Beers Corporation which today markets 97 per cent of the diamonds mined in the entire world.

GOLD OUTPUT

The Gold Fields Company he founded in 1887 spread out to Canada, the U.S.A. Australia and Britain. It has thirteen major gold mines in South Africa, including the most profitable in the world—West Driefontein whose earned net profit in the first five months of last year (i.e., after paying South African taxes) was £1,735,000.

The directors meet at 49 Moor-gate, in the City of London. Among them is H. C. Drayton, one of Britain's richest man. His protégés include Angus Ogilvy, son of the Earl of Airlie (who owns 40,000 Scottish acres), husband of Princess Alexandra who is the Queen's cousin. Ogilvy has fifty company directorships several with extensive interests in South and Central Africa.

DIAMONDS TOO

Two-thirds of the output of gold in the capitalist world comes from South Africa—25,506,000 ounces last two years worth £318,000,000. Most of it comes to London, to the Bank of England, who sell it for the mining companies to the City's bullion market.

The companies controlling gold mining are known as the "Big Seven": Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, Central Mining and Investment Corporation, Anglo American Corporation (Oppenheimer), Anglo Transvaal Consolidated Investment Co., Union Corporation (Hambros Bank), General Mining and Finance Co., and Johannesburg Consolidated Investment.

In all British capital is either dominant or operating jointly with South African capital.

Ever been to Luton Hoo, the Bedfordshire stately home? It was bought out of the gold and diamonds fortune, won through African labour, by the Wernher family. The first Wernher was an ally of Rhodes, and created the London diamond syndicate at the same time as he organised the Rand gold mines from London.

The world's principal diamond companies are: Angola Diamond, Anglo American Investment Trust, Consolidated African Selection Trust, Consolidated Bulfontein, Consolidated Diamond Mines of South West Africa, De Beers, New L. M. Van Moppes (merchants). As in gold, British capital dominates or shares control in all.

FARED BETTER

Altogether about £1,000 million of British money is invested in South Africa, mostly capital investment mines, mills, factories, shipping, hotels, publishing, transport, power, property—you name it, the City has it.

British investment is in two forms, through subsidiary companies owned by British-based firms, and through direct shareholdings in South African companies. These shares can be held by individuals or companies, and are known as portfolio investments.

In the ups and downs of South African politics British investors have fared better than others because their capital is mostly in direct investment and is not so sharply affected by stock exchange fluctuation.

In 1956, when the total foreign investment in South Africa was estimated at £1,396 million, the British share was £865,600,000. Other sterling countries had £69,800,000 between them, and the U.S.A. had £171,100,000.

Of the U.K. share, £536,100,000 was in direct investment, and £309,500,000 in portfolio investment.

Mining accounted for £164,000,000 of the direct investment, and for £121,900,000 of the portfolio investment, making a total of £285,900,000 of British money invested in mining alone.

It can be seen why this Eldorado of gold and diamonds, coal and copper, uranium and asbestos, manganese and iron, means so much to British investors who altogether got £18,900,000 in dividends from South Africa in 1961.

CHEAPER LABOUR

British investments in South Africa are more than the total British investment in the rest of the African Continent. This has been pointed out by Tory M.P., Sir Gerald Nabarro, in his capacity as chairman of the National Association of British Manufacturers in a pamphlet opposing economic sanctions against the Verwoerd regime.

In the four years from 1958 to 1961, the earnings of branches, subsidiaries and associates of British companies totalled £92,000,000 (excluding oil and insurance), a sum greater than the income from any other overseas country except Australia.

Whenever technical know-how is needed it is more often than not the British firm that gets the contract. Thus, Anglo American Corporation, needing to know how to produce special steels in the Transvaal using South African raw materials, commissioned Davy-Ashmore of Sheffield to make a survey.



British firms also open up in South Africa to recoup on losses in Britain.

Raleigh, losing on bicycles in the home market, set up in South Africa and sells its bicycles at the same price, thereby making a greater profit because of lower labour costs.

There is a textile slump in Britain. Thousands of mill workers are laid off. No matter. A Jo'burg textiles man has bought Cliff Mill in Preston, Lancs, from the Horrocks group, and will sell us textiles made in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

Guest, Keen and Nettlefold share control of South African Nuts and Bolts Ltd. with ISCOR. This is the South African Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation, set up with state capital.

A subsidiary of ISCOR is VECOR, the largest engineering works in Africa. Among its interests: a 51 per cent holding in Ruberowen Metal Pressings to make car wheels at Port Elizabeth, the other 49 per cent being held by Rubery, Owen of England.

TWO-WAY EXCHANGE

ISCOR has selling agents in Britain who in 1962 sold us 207,000 tons of duty-free iron and steel, and at lower prices than that produced here. In return, you might say, ISCOR bought two blast furnaces from Davy-Ashmore, worth £3,500,000.

This two-way exchange goes even further, for in 1961, a Cape Town firm built a rod and bar mill for Appleby Frodingham of Scunthorpe on the basis of lower price and quicker delivery than British firms, and they used ISCOR steel to build it.

Continued on page 32

Here is one of the 54,000 African miners employed by a British Company, Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa.

He goes down as far as 11,000 feet below ground, or to 5,000 feet below sea level.

Together with his fellow miners they produce more gold than is dug in all the gold mines in the United States of America.

What does he get in return?

Oppression and Degradation!

THE CHOICE FOR AFRICAN NATIONALISTS

THE struggle of African Nationalism against the Verwoerd regime is, to me, simply a continuation of the struggle I took part in against the Nazi regime in Europe. I see very little difference between Verwoerd and Hitler. Apartheid is a Nazi doctrine. What Verwoerd and his colleagues want to apply in Africa is what Hitler wanted to apply in Europe. That is why I am on the side of African Nationalists.

It was only after personal experience of the degrading effects of colonialism that I became a convinced anti-colonialist. Nazism was colonialism carried to its ultimate extent. Verwoerdism is the same thing. And just as Europe realised that Hitler must be opposed by force, African Nationalists have now come to the conclusion that well-meaning resolutions in the United Nations and elsewhere are not enough. This is the only conclusion possible given your circumstances.

Lessons of the Resistance

During our struggle against the Nazis, in the course of which I worked closely with the European Resistance movements, we learned many lessons. Some of them may be useful to African Nationalists.

Discipline

The first one is the value of discipline. The Resistance movements in Europe, particularly those in France and Yugoslavia, were organised on military lines. Each local leader functioned as a military commander, giving orders, guiding the preparation of plans and so on. He bore the responsibility for all operations, whether they were the sabotaging of German supplies or actual fighting against German military units. His orders were discussed, they did become military orders and were carried out without question.

It was difficult at first. Civilians do not like taking orders from someone who is their neighbor and whom they have known as a friend rather than a military commander. But it just had to be. The most effective weapon that the opponents of Nazism had, in the mountains of Yugoslavia or the villages of France, was their superior discipline. Very few of those who were captured gave away essential information though many were tortured to death by the Gestapo in an effort to get it.

Information, of course, is the one thing that the enemy requires in a guerrilla campaign. It is fairly easy for regular forces to defeat guerrilla forces if they know where they are concentrated and in what strength. When this information is withheld, when they do not know when or where they are going to be hit, then the chances of the guerrilla forces hitting effectively are increased by one hundred per cent. But this requires ruthless discipline. No guerrilla soldiers should be tempted by provocations, no matter how extreme, to start fighting before the time ordered. Against a

Major Nemo—formerly with the International Brigade—Spanish Civil War—sends a special message to the Resistance Movement in South Africa.

disciplined organised enemy only superior discipline and better organisation can prevail.
Secrecy

Second in importance to discipline, but closely related to it, is secrecy. The ideal guerrilla soldier is he who fights by night but becomes an innocuous civilian by day, working peacefully in the fields or factories and never giving a hint to his fellow-workers that he comes under military discipline, as soon as his work finishes, or whenever his local commander needs him. Never forget: the enemy has a good intelligence service. His agents can piece together little scraps of information into a complete picture of guerrilla intentions. We learned this lesson at the cost of many valuable lives in Europe. It must be learned in Africa.

Specifically, the golden rule must be to trust nobody. That applies as much to relatives as to close friends. One wrong word uttered in the wrong place can perhaps give the enemy the clue he needs to guard against a surprise attack and to render it valueless. The temptation to talk is always great. This friend or that relative may be complaining about the lack of activity in a particular area. But the temptation must be resisted.

Guerrilla activity depends for its success on the ability of the guerrilla soldiers to dissolve themselves into the civilian population. They will, naturally, know their fellow soldiers. But they must not talk about past or future operations even to these. Least of all must they talk about the presence of African leaders in their locality. All oppressors, whether Verwoerdists or Nazis, think that they can cripple resistance by beheading it—that is, arresting and killing its leaders. They must not be helped. That is why discipline and secrecy are of the utmost importance.

There is, as I realise, a close connection between political and military forms of struggle. The two are, in fact, inseparable. But, in action, there must be a clear distinction between them. In other words, the trained guerrilla soldier very rarely takes active part in such open forms of struggle as protest meetings and so on. He keeps quiet, and obeys the orders of his local commander. His part in the struggle is just as important, in fact, even more important, than open protests. To play it, he must model himself on the successful guerrilla fighters who have won freedom for so many millions of people since 1945. It will be difficult, especially in South Africa. I myself wish that there were no need for guerrilla activity at all, having had my fill of fighting.

BUT THERE IS NOW NO OTHER CHOICE FOR AFRICAN NATIONALISTS. THEY MUST EITHER FIGHT, IN A DISCIPLINED WAY, OR GO UNDER. IT IS THE SAME CHOICE THAT FACED EUROPEAN ANTI-NAZIS BETWEEN 1939 AND 1945.

LETTER TO U THANT:

We publish below a letter from the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa to U.N. Secretary-General U Thant together with an affidavit by Lindiso Richard Galela, a former political prisoner who was tortured on Robben Island by the South African Gestapo. The letter is dated November 19 1963.

THE Honourable U Thant,

The attached affidavit of Mr. Lindiso Richard Galela has compelled us to make yet another appeal urgently to the world organisation to intervene and save the political prisoners held on Robben Island prison five miles off the Capetown shore from the fascist persecution to which they are subjected.

The evidence of Galela brings fresh information of the vindictive cruelty of the holders of "Christian national" philosophy and the untold suffering of the men placed at Robben Island concentration camp which is reminiscent of Belson and others.

The inhuman conditions under which the political prisoners live at the Robben Island concentration camp reflect the stresses and strains of the South African political situation, which is now admitted by all civilised peoples to be a threat to world peace.

If the proclamations of all the nations of the world at the United Nations mean anything at all:

If their expressed abhorrence of the very principle and policy of apartheid which is blatantly practised by the Government of the Republic of South Africa is to be taken with any degree of seriousness:

If the wholesome and ruthless suppression of the expression of popular will by the teeming millions of the African indigenous population by such barbaric and Nazi legislative techniques as the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1914, the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, the Sabotage Act, The Unlawful Organisations Act of 1960 and the General Law Amendment Act of 1963, to mention just a few, is a pointer, if anything at all, to the fact that there can be no doubt whatsoever, that human dignity and elementary democratic freedom are things of the past in South Africa and that an explosive situation now exists here which is a real threat to world peace.

The ruthless jungle courts that send thousands of African freedom fighters to prison for long terms of incarceration and to the gallows irrespective of age;

The prodigious military build-up of the white Herrenfolk Army;

The speedy training of the white commandos and the entire mobilisation of the white Herrenfolk citizen force involving military training for men, women and children of the white minority settler group that rules South Africa, all against an unarmed and defenceless people; are today the chief features of the much-vaunted economic and political stability of which the spokesmen of the white minority settler government of South Africa daily boast.

Now apparently, places like the Robben Island concentration camp have been earmarked as centres of torture and persecution where the enemies of the South African white master race will be made to purge their souls of the cardinal sin of daring to oppose economic and political exploitation by the apostles and disciples of white christian civilization in South Africa, and where the freedom fighters may with impunity be maimed and led along a tortuous narrow road to their deaths.

The Affidavit also discloses that the conditions under which the President of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa, Mr. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, is detained for all time: "this side of eternity" at Robben Island are far from being as idyllic as Vorster, Minister of Justice in South Africa and the South African press would like the world to believe. On the contrary, the conditions under which he is detained are callously, studiously and maliciously designed to destroy irreparably his physical health and undermine his mind.

Vorster actually asked the South African Parliament to give him powers to do this when he moved the second reading of the General Law Amendment

Bill, 1963, when he said "... here we are dealing with a person who has a strong magnetic personality, a person who can organise, a person who feels that he has a vocation to perform this task... and I can tell members that there has been no change of heart during the time he has not been in our midst." The South African Parliament gave him the powers he sought, and now they are systematically trying to achieve on Robben Island what three years' imprisonment failed to do, and either they will succeed to effect the change of heart they want or they will pace the way for his early death.

In a thinly veiled attempt to conceal the barbarity of continuing to imprison a man who had served his term of imprisonment to the full, Vorster tried to assure the world that his government would provide for Mr. Sobukwe: spacious accommodation, hot and cold water running, beautiful views of Table Mountain and Lion's Head, bracing Atlantic breezes, plenty of fresh fish in the menu, and the world's news on the doorstep every morning. The Johannesburg "STAR" of May 2, 1963, even went to the extent of commenting that "he would have privileges denied him in gaol."

The real situation, ugly and venomous as any African who has lived under the blessings of South African christian trusteeship so well knows, which the idyllic picture described above was designed to conceal, has proved to be a fraud. The facts appear to be that Mr. Sobukwe:

- (1) lives in an unhealthy old school hall with a cement floor;
- (2) does not receive any world newspapers, nor has he any radio set;
- (3) is being given a poor diet;
- (4) is being subjected to exacting manual labour; and

THE AFFIDAVIT...

L LINDISO Richard Galela, of Room 818, Zone 26, Langa, Capetown, member of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa, do hereby make oath and say:—

1. That I was arrested in Capetown, Unlawful Organisations' Act of 1960, and on August 22, 1962, I was convicted and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment, against which I immediately lodged notice of appeal. However, I remained in custody and charged and tried under the

(5) is constantly under guard.

These sadistic actions of white arrogance, bestial vengeance and naked barbarism go in the name of christian civilization, which the trading partners of South Africa support with their money, missionaries and munitions, and white South Africans are determined to shed the last drop of their blood to protect.

What is this christian national philosophy of South Africa?

It is embodied in the whole apartheid legislation which permits political persecution, connives at sodomy, denial of medical treatment to sick prisoners, and such inhuman practices as burying a man alive up to the neck and urinating over his head and face.

The Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa is convinced that positive action by the United Nations Organisation is long overdue, and we once more make an urgent appeal to the world organisation to:—

- (a) stop and remove the ungodly and barbaric atrocities of torture and political victimisation and vindictiveness against political prisoners in the Republic of South Africa;
- (b) send an impartial medical mission and/or Red Cross World Organisation to conduct an immediate investigation on the life and health and living conditions of the political prisoners in South Africa, especially those on Robben Island;
- (c) to put into effect the United Nations resolution on the release of all political prisoners in South Africa, and
- (d) end forthwith white domination, apartheid and/or racial discrimination.

tence set aside on February 22, 1963. I had then served six months of that sentence. I was eventually released from gaol on October 22, 1963, exactly fourteen months after my first conviction.

started serving the sentence.

2. While serving the sentence as stated above, I was charged again under a different section of the aforesaid Act. On November 14, 1962, I was convicted on the second charge and sentenced to eight months' imprisonment, and on November 16, 1962, I was sent to Robben Island Prison to serve the sentences.
3. My appeal against the first conviction was upheld and the sen-

4. The success of my appeal was conveyed to me by one Lieut. Gedker (since promoted to Captain, and I am not sure I have spelled his name correctly). He told me that I would then start serving the eight-months' sentence which would end on July 13, 1963, but walked away when I asked him what compensation I could expect to get for part of

- the sentence I had already served.
5. On July 13, 1963, I approached Captain Gedker about my release. He told me he would have to ascertain that from records. I then drew his attention to the fact that he had himself told me the date of my release, but he went into a rage, and asked one Warden Els to lock me up because I did not want food which I was about to take. Warden Els hit me on the side of my face with his open hand, kicked me, and then used his baton to hit me indiscriminately all over the body. I bled through the nose and was visibly bruised all over the body. Then Warden Els locked me up in the cells. I did not eat that morning.
 6. On August 2, 1963, I asked Colonel Steyn who visited the prison once a month about my overdue release. He told me that I was due for release on October 22, 1963, as I had started serving the eighth months' sentence on February 23, 1963, when my appeal was upheld.
 7. On arrival on Robben Island, I found organised groups of hardened criminals respectively called "the Big Five", "26", "27" and "28" with members of the first-named group distributed in all the cells, and being used by the Warders to tell tales about other prisoners, cause friction among them and attempt to break their morale by employing all manner of subterfuge, provocation and humiliation. Members of the other three groups were then living in what we called "segregated" cells, where each prisoner had a small cell to himself. I lived in that part of the prison until April 20, 1963, when I was removed to the general cells among long-term hardened criminals, and later left to live with other Pan Africanist Congress prisoners.
 8. I now want to comment on the life of Pan Africanist Congress prisoners on Robben Island, and then conditions under which they lived while I was there:
 - (a) The attitude of the white Warders towards them is one of contempt, vengeance and persecution, and goes far beyond the purposes of imprisonment as understood the world over. There is no redress against the atrocities committed against them by the Warders or other prisoners at the instigation and with the connivance of the warders;
 - (b) The warders deliberately instigate friction between PAC prisoners on the one side, and all other prisoners on the other, in a deliberate move to find pretext for imposing drastic punishment on PAC prisoners or to find witnesses to give false evidence against them;
 - (c) Complaints or charges by PAC prisoners are contemptuously dismissed, ignored, or ridiculed often with acid and vulgar sarcasm, and instead of punishment meted out to them as a result of counter-charges made by those against whom they originally complained;
 - (d) They are denied medical attention during the first two months of their coming to Robben Island. At the expiry of that period, the attention, let alone the medical treatment they get leaves much to be desired. They are continually being told that there is nothing wrong with them except laziness to work, and the result is that every one of them who complains of illness is given heaviest manual work to do. At the so-called hospital, they are made to sleep on a light mat on a cement floor, when other patients sleep on beds;
 - (e) There are two working spots respectively called "The Quarry" and the "Langbou", which are reserved for inflicting severe punishment for so-called breach of prison regulations. Work at the Quarry involves breaking of rock into stones for use in the building of a stone prison on the island, and takes the form of boring into rock by machine without employing the use of the usual aids to do this. The Langbou, as the name indicates, is a high sandy structure that is continually being constructed. Sand is carried up to the top of the structure by wheelbarrow up a winding path lined with pieces of corrugated iron sheets.
 - (f) While all prisoners have to serve their punishment doing this work, only PAC prisoners actually do the heavy work. The others come to supervise them, and contrary to prison regulations, the supervising prisoners are given sticks with which to beat the PAC prisoners for all manner of pretences, needless to say that as a result of the pace they are beaten to maintain in doing the work, many accidents occur, but no medical treatment is provided. The mid-day meal is served by the supervising prisoners and three PAC prisoners are compelled to share among themselves the normal ration of one man.
 9. I now want to quote actual incidents to support the allegations I have made above:
 - (a) R. M. SOBUKWE: The President of the Pan Africanist Congress now detained on Robben Island lives in a school hall and not in a decent bungalow with a wooden floor as reported on May 2, 1963. The school hall has a cement floor, and is situated about sixty yards from the sea shore. He receives no newspapers and has no radio set. Reports reaching us indicated that he was being given a very poor diet. He looks physically strained as a result of the exacting manual labour he is doing. Every morning on our way to work we passed him already up and working in his garden under guard, and he would still be working when we returned in the evening. He is constantly under guard, the guard being within ten yards of him as he goes about his work, and yet, he is not a prisoner.
 - (b) M. MAKWETU: He is Re-

gional Leader of the Pan Africanist Congress in the Western Cape is seriously ill, and his life is in danger. He has made repeated requests for medical treatment but has instead been allocated to the most exacting physical labour. Unless there is an urgent inquiry into the conditions under which prisoners live on Robben Island, particularly the lack of proper medical treatment for the sick, I have much cause to fear for his life.

- (d) MAQUBELA was made to stand upright in a deep hole which was then filled with soil up to his neck, with only the head appearing above ground. Then a white Warden urinated above his head and face.
- (e) SHWENI, GIYANA, TANTSO: These were falsely accused of being ring leaders who organised a rising against prison authorities in their cell. This was a fabrication and they got one Timothy Nene, a member of the ANC, to testify against them. They were all viciously assaulted, and Shweni broke the fourth finger of his right hand. They were later charged and sentenced to receive six cuts each with a cane.
- (f) GOLOGOLO, DINDARA, NEKU, MKULA, NKU-KWANA, PHATHHENI, SONTSHAKA, MADALAMBANE and DAYILE all lived in the same cell with other prisoners and an accusation was made against them to the effect that they were politicising other prisoners. They were sentenced each to forty-one days in solitary confinement.
- (i) MANKAZANA is seriously ill, alleged to be suffering from tuberculosis. He is not receiving any medical treatment and has been told to wait for his death which is the only thing that can save him from the agony he is

suffering. He sleeps in hospital on a light mat on a cement floor.

- (j) DAVID FENI was shot prior to his commitment to Robben Island, and retains a bullet in his body. It is said that the surgeon who treated him in hospital maintained that removal of the bullet would be fatal. Despite this, Feni has been allocated to do the most heavy manual labour, breaking and lifting heavy stones and boring rock by machine.
- (k) MAKATISE is a physical wreck with eight recent bullet scars, but as Feni, he is doing the most difficult and heavy manual labour.
- (l) SONTSHAKA was assaulted by a white Warden and had his neck dislocated and his left arm and shoulder paralysed.
- (m) MSONGO was also assaulted by a warden. He sustained an eye injury. This eye was swollen for over two months. He received no medical treatment and was forced to work in that condition.
- (n) ZONDI YINGA was shot dead by Warders earlier this year, when criminal gangs fought against themselves in prison. We regarded this as a careless accident since he had not been involved in the

fight, but at the inquest his shooting was justified on the ground that he had been engaged in the fighting, which was false.

10. The diet that the 900 odd prisoners eat there is very poor. The food is always stale or rotten or heavily infested with vermin. Breakfast consists of a few ounces of very thin mealie porridge, and a lukewarm cup of water flavoured with coffee powder. Dinner is half-cooked mealies served with a fortified drink called "puza-mandla". Supper is the thin porridge served at breakfast, with an equally thin gruel called soup. No salt is allowed, and PAC prisoners are allowed half of the normal ration.

At suppertime the food is served at 3 p.m. and left in the yard uncovered until 6 p.m. when we have supper. When it rains the food is left there uncovered and we eat it in that condition.

11. It is my considered opinion that as a result of political victimisation and vindictiveness in high places, the situation on Robben Island is seething with the seeds of a violent explosion, and is deteriorating daily. Unless a change for the better takes place in regard to the conditions under which prisoners live there, tragic situation is likely to arise at any moment.

My own personal experiences on Robben Island are a cancerous growth which bleeds everytime I look upon a white person, and there is no knowing what effect this will have on my continued living among them in South Africa.

L. B. C. C. C.

This sworn to at Maseru this 19th day of November, 1963, the deponent having acknowledged that he knows and understands the contents of this affidavit.

BEFORE ME:

[Signature]
COMMISSIONER OF GAINS

SENIOR POSTMASTER

Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe

M. R. Sobukwe, the President of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa was born in 1924 in Graaf Reinet in the Cape Province. He graduated from the University College of Fort Hare and later took an honours degree at the University of Witwatersrand, in Johannesburg from 1955 to 1960.

On April 6, 1959 he formed the Pan Africanist Congress

In February, 1960, he toured South Africa, accompanied by P. K. Leballo the National Secretary, organising for the Positive Action Campaign, as advocated by Dr. Nkrumah, against the Pass Laws in South Africa.

On March 21, 1960, he called the country to action. He led the campaign and this resulted in the shootings at Sharpeville killing 69 Africans.

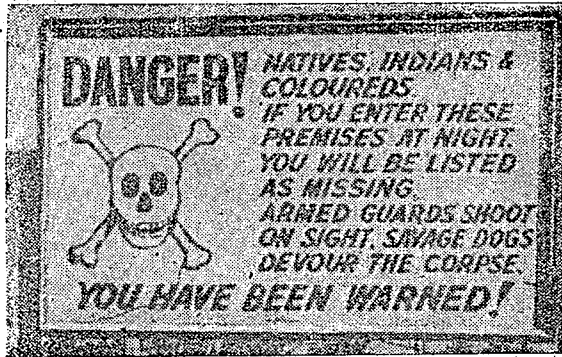
He was jailed for three years for his part in the campaign. In April 1963 the South African "Justice Minister" rushed a law which gave them the power to deprive Sobukwe of his freedom.

He was due to be released on May 3, 1963 but on April 19 was sent to Robben Island six miles off Cape Town and detained there indefinitely.

Next month will be his tenth month on the island.



WHAT APARTHEID MEANS FOR AFRICANS



IN South Africa there are 10,807,809 Africans, 3,067,638 Europeans, 1,488,267 Coloureds and 477,414 Asians. The apartheid policy of the Verwoerd Government means that the Africans are being reduced to a state of serfdom. The Coloureds and Asians are little better off.

What does apartheid mean in terms of human needs, human suffering, human dignity? The International Commission of Jurists has said of South Africa: "Liberty has gone. Justice is blinded and maimed."

The African as no vote, no political status, no right to work, no right to live where he wishes, no right to have his wife and family with him—and no right to protest. He has no right except the "right" to be humiliated.

AT EVERY TURN

Never for a moment can he escape the shame of segregation. He is excluded at every turn—from ambulances, buses, hotels, toilets, cafes, even roadside seats. A stray dog may walk in a park—an African cannot.

The African can be refused work or sacked at will. They can be thrown out of the towns in which they have lived for anything up to fifty years and herded into the old reserves or new "Bantustans".

Differential laws deny Africans the right to strike and reserve skilled jobs for whites. There is restrictive legislation concerning land and marriage. There are the population register and the pass laws.

The pass laws provide a pretext for mass arrests for alleged offences, and thus provide a steady flow of cheap farm labour for European farms. It has been estimated that about a fifth of the African people, and probably as much as a third of the adult males, are arrested annually, mainly for pass law offences.

If they cannot pay their fines—and most cannot—they are sent to one of the thirty-odd farm prisons set up by the farmers' associations with Government backing. Convicts are hired out at 2s. a day, short-term offenders at only 9d. a day.

It has been estimated that 70 per cent of Africans live below the bread line. In 1959 the South Afri-

can Institute of Race Relations stated that an African family in an industrial area required a monthly income of £24 3s. 2d. merely to subsist. The average monthly earning for an African family in that year was in fact £19 10s.

On the farms an African earns an average of £9 a month in cash and kind. An African miner earned £3 3s. a month in 1890—today he earns 5s. more.

'NOT HOUSED AT ALL'

His housing is quite inadequate. Of the Durban shack-dwellers who are unable to find normal accommodation, a UNESCO report said: "The majority of the shack-dwellers and all the casuals who are nightly admitted to hotels cannot be regarded as housed at all".

In some industrial towns the death rate from tuberculosis among Africans is ten per 1,000 per year, —thirty times higher than the rate among Europeans in South Africa.

African infant mortality rate range from 100 to 200 per 1,000 in the "better-off" cities to between 300 and 400 in some rural areas. In Port Elizabeth, one of the better urban areas, nearly half the African babies die before the age of one year.

But less than two per cent of this year's Government expenditure of £627,500,000 is allocated for the direct benefit of Africans.

IN BARRACKS

Children are dying in their thousands of starvation and malnutrition while millions of bags of maize are exported annually, bananas destroyed to keep prices up, and citrus fruits left to rot, while milk is poured into the sea.

Education is not compulsory for non-Europeans. According to a recent report 1,600,000 out of 2,200,000 non-Europeans children

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THE PASS

THE pass laws are designed to channel cheap labour to the European-owned mines, farms and industries. The pass is compulsory from the age of fifteen for all, men and women, town and country dwellers.

This is what the pass is, what it contains.

Section A

1. To be stated: the name and address of the pass holder, his place of birth, whence he comes (town, region, etc.) his tribal chief, the address of his employer and the date on which he began work.

2. The address of the local office of the Labour Bureau, Efflux and Influx Control, and the registration number of the pass-holder.

Every time the pass-holder loses his job he has to go to the office of the Labour Influx Control to register as "seeking work". This office can grant the pass-holder a period of fourteen to twenty-one days to seek a job, during which he has the right to stay in the locality under the same conditions for police purposes as if he were working.

This period is renewable, but the clerk may also state on the pass that the holder must leave the town if he does not find a job in the requisite time; and the time allowed may be less than fourteen days.

Section B

This must contain the signature and address of the employer and the date of starting work. The employer must sign the pass once a month so that a policeman or anyone examining the pass may see whether the holder is still working. The employer must also, if this is applicable, indicate the date of discharge.

From this date the sacked worker can be arrested (and this happens not infrequently) by any policeman or any person so authorised, ever

at the very moment that he is going to the Labour Bureau to register, and he can be sentenced to a fine of £10 or two months' imprisonment.

Section C

This concerns payment of poll tax by the Africans, the so-called "Union Tax". This tax must be paid every year: it is £1 15/- for unmarried men and £2 5/- for married men.

The aim of this tax is to drive Africans from the countryside, for it is only by finding a wage, and, therefore, an employer, that the African peasant can pay this tax.

Section D

Bantu Authorities Tax: The chiefs of African tribes called Bantus, whatever their origin, by the white rulers of the country—who reserve the title "African" for themselves have the right to demand taxes from the members of their tribe.

If this tax is demanded (and it is a form of corruption of the African chiefs which often succeeds) and is not paid, the chief takes proceedings against the "offender".

For non-payment of this tax, as for other "offences" of the same kind, the chiefs are authorised by the government to try members of their tribe.

Section E

In general, Africans are not allowed out after 8 p.m. This is to prevent Africans being in town at night, and also on the pretext of preserving African customs, to enable chiefs protected by the government to impose small fines on the community.

If the offender has not got the necessary money for the fine, the chief can make him pay in kind. Nevertheless, certain categories of

Africans such as tribal chiefs, teachers and civil servants—another piece of discrimination calculated to sow discord among Africans—have the right to be out after 8 p.m. In this case the authorisation must be stated in the pass or on a special permit.

Only in South Africa must Africans possess a pass. This is **apartheid** in practice: but Verwoerd claims it is not discrimination but a question of a "separate evolution".

Every year over a million Africans are brought before the courts for minor pass law offences; and are imprisoned or sent to work on farms.

APARTHEID

Continued from page 26

are attending school. Illiteracy stands at 43 per cent.

The average expenditure per African pupil is £6 13s. 8d. a year, compared with £25 for Coloureds and Asiatics and £81 for whites.

In the urban areas married men are housed in "bachelor" quarters—great slabs of barracks. Wives are allowed to visit their husbands without permit for only seventy-two hours at a time. After that they need a special permit. Most of them travel hundreds of miles from the reserves to enjoy this "privilege". One of the reasons accepted for granting a permit is if the wife wishes to conceive. The request must be agreed before a white bureaucrat.

The situation has been clearly summed up by Mr. Stallard, chairman of a commission on local government in South Africa:

"The native should only be allowed to enter urban areas, which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to minister to the needs of the white man, and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister."

TIT BITS FROM INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

* 27,500 women belong to pistol clubs in South Africa. Vorster, "Minister" of Justice says that they receive instruction from police officers. In April the Department of Extra-Mural Studies of the Government Education, Arts and Sciences Department, organised a 5-day pistol training programme for girls over 16.



* Some 5,000 victims of Apartheid are detained under the General Law Amendment (Sabotage) Act to terms of imprisonment totalling thousands of years.

* Between 300 and 400 people are now being kept in gaol "incommunicado" under the notorious 90-day without trial act.

* At least 10,000 dependants of the detainees are in dire distress. Hundreds of political refugees seek asylum outside South Africa.

* Countless thousands are imprisoned or banished to remote areas for offences under the suppression of Communism Act, General Laws Amendment Act, and various other fascist measures.

* Japan is leading importer of South Africa sugar. Likely to increase. Japan is a country which has known blood bath and death; and history will surely repeat itself!

NAZI SOLUTION

TO solve the "colour question" in South Africa, all native women with more than one child should be sterilised and all Indians should be sent back to India, says Peter Willers, chairman of the South African Nazi Party. He calls Verwoerd and Vorster "softies" in their fight against subversive elements.

Nazi Party indeed!

THE STORY OF DENNIS BRUTUS

LAST September, the South African police shot Dennis Brutus, the coloured South African teacher and writer who has led the campaign against racialism in South African sport.

Brutus, 38, appeared in Johannesburg court on October 19, handcuffed and guarded by three security men.

Brutus was dismissed from his post as a teacher in Port Elizabeth last year, and since he was unable to find another job in the state-run educational system, decided to move to Johannesburg. He became a student at the University of Witwatersrand. To keep himself, he wrote short stories and some poetry, and took a job as a "tea boy" in one of the University's departments.

BANNED

While at the University, Brutus was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. He was nonetheless elected to the Students' Representative Council of the University, although he was not allowed to attend meetings. Because he was no longer permitted to have anything published in South Africa—it is a crime under the "Sabotage" Act of 1962 to reproduce any statement made by a banned person—he submitted material to papers abroad, and won a prize in the Literary Competition organised for African Writers by the Mbari Club of Ibadan (Nigeria) and the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

ARRESTED

Early last year he decided that every effort must be made to deal a final blow to the South African sporting organisations which discriminated against non-whites. One of these was the South African Olympic Committee, whose policy of segregation conflicted with the rules of the International Olympic Committee. Brutus decided to bring this to the attention of the Olympic headquarters in Lausanne.

In March his committee, the African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, sent a representative to Europe. Later a visitor from Lausanne came to South Africa, saw Brutus and discussed the question of South Africa's position in the Olympic with him. After introducing the visitor to other people concerned with Olympic Sports in South Africa, Brutus left the meeting—which included representatives of the all-white body. But his presence had been reported. He was arrested, and later released on £200 bail.

ESCAPE

When the "No trial" Act came into effect, Brutus left Johannesburg and escaped to Swaziland, a British Protectorate, where he was granted political asylum, but refused a residence permit. He appealed to the Swaziland authorities and sent the *Bulletin* a copy of the appeal in which he declared:

"I had previously been banned from the following, among others: from holding a teaching position in a school, from working as a journalist, from attending any meeting, and any form of social gathering, from having anything I wrote or said being reproduced in any way whatever.

from belonging to any organisation which discussed government policy, or any body producing any form of publication, newsletter or leaflet,

from attending meetings of the Students Representative Council of the University of Witwatersrand, where I have been a Law student,

from communicating with any other person who had been banned,

from holding office as Secretary of the South African Sports Association and President of the

South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, from entering any factories or African township, from leaving the Magisterial District of Johannesburg.

Most of these bans are for a period of five years, but some of them are apparently indeterminate....

"I have never been a member of the Communist Party, nor have I been deemed by the Minister of Justice to be a statutory Communist."

"At the time I was forced to flee my country, I was not only liable to be jailed for having attended a social gathering, but faced the prospect, under the 'No-Trial Act' of being jailed for an indefinite period without being convicted on any crime."
The appeal was turned down by the Swaziland authorities.

SECOND ESCAPE

Brutus discovered that, since he had been born in Rhodesia, he was entitled to a Rhodesian passport, and this was duly granted him by the Central African Federation.

Then he left for the crucial Olympic Committee meeting in Baden-Baden, Germany.

With a friend from Swaziland, Dr. Msibi, he went to the Portuguese port of Louranco Marques in Mozambique. Dr. Msibi said:

"We reached the Swaziland border post of Mhlumeni just before 6 O'clock and passed through without difficulty to the Portuguese border post of Goba less than 100 yards away. The Portuguese passport official cleared me, then looked at Brutus' papers, stamped them, and said that Brutus could stay 20 days in Mozambique.

"At that moment the telephone rang. The official took a piece of

Continued on page 30

paper from pigeon-hole—I could see it had Brutus' name on it—and checked it against Brutus' passport. He told us that an inspector had been sent from Lourenco Marques to check Brutus' papers. I told the police that if they didn't want to allow Brutus into Mozambique he should be allowed to go back to Swaziland. He said no.

"We waited until shortly after 8 p.m., when not one, but four inspectors arrived. Brutus asked me who they were. One of them produced a P.I.D.E. (Portuguese Security Police) card. Another went to fetch a pair of handcuffs. Brutus protested that he wanted to return to Swaziland. They told him that he was under arrest."

THE SHOOTING

Brutus was handed over to the South African Police, taken to Johannesburg, and there, shot while "attempting to escape."

The police story conflicts with that of the Doctor who examined Brutus after he had been taken to hospital. According to the police, Brutus ran away while being taken to the Magistrates' Court. He eluded his pursuers by running into a crowd, the senior policeman fired one shot—and hit Brutus in the side. However, the Doctor claimed that Brutus had been shot twice, and that the bullets had passed right through his abdomen.

Mystery surrounds the following aspects of the incident:

—how the policeman could have shot Brutus while he was running into a crowd, without risk of hitting bystanders?

—why an alarm was not given to stop Brutus running away?

—how many bullets were fired and how they could have passed through his abdomen at the alleged distance?

The other unresolved question is why Brutus was refused permission to live in Swaziland. But the brutal fact remains: Dennis Brutus has been silenced, and is in gaol in Johannesburg. Under what conditions no one knows.

MILITARY BUILD-UP IN SOUTH AFRICA

THE Verwoerd regime's military budget increased by £24 million to £60 million in 1962, and by a further £20 million last year. The armed forces are being expanded to a target of 50,000 to 60,000 troops together with a police force of 26,000, total of 250,000.

In addition to arming the regular troops, South Africa is ready to put many auxiliaries into action at a few hours' notice, and could arm a total of 250,000 men.

Britain is supplying South Africa with £90 million of military equipment in the current three-year period. Weapons include Saracen armoured cars, standard police equipment (used at Sharpeville) made by Alvis of Coventry.

Aircraft include:

Buccaneer strike planes, made by Blackburns, a Hawker subsidiary. Engines by Rolls Royce. £20-30 million-worth ordered.

Canberra jet bombers, range 3,500 miles. Made by English Electric.

Victor bombers, made by Handley Page. An undisclosed number has been ordered.

Wasp helicopters, made by Westlands, can be flown from ships.

Also, Vampires, Shackletons, Doves, Herons, Viscounts and Austers.

Yarrow and Co. and Alexander Stephen and Son build the three frigates ordered by South Africa.

Britain has supplied tear gas since 1912 but in future this may be manufactured by African Explosives and Chemicals in South Africa (in which De Beers and I.C.I. have equal joint holdings).

South Africa plans to spend £700 million on foreign arms in the ten years from 1961, and may buy from Britain Provost jet training planes, De Havilland 125 transport planes, Green Archer mortar locating radar, Bedford Army trucks and Land

Rovers, and Bloodhound and Thunderbird missiles for anti-aircraft defence.

Her current military spending is greater than the combined military budgets of all the independent African states.

COLLABORATION WITH BRITAIN

If proof were needed that there is collaboration at a high level between South Africa and the British Administration in Basutoland these instances will be conclusive:

Following the recent arrests of PAC leaders, the South African Minister of Justice said: "It appears that the British action in Basutoland against the Pan Africanist Congress and South African action on the borders of Basutoland contributed to the South African police being in a position to descend on the PAC-POGG organisation throughout South Africa and paralyse it completely at this stage."

It is revealing to see that all the top posts in the Basutoland Police force are held by South Africans.

Commissioner of Police: Col P. Kitson.

Superintendents (Masure): Capt. K. Shortt-Smith, Capt. Bush

Deputy Commissioner: Major P. Williams.

King Moshoeshoe of the Basutos fearing white invasion against his tiny mountainous kingdom, asked Britain for protection. It is ironical now that Britain has delivered the Basutos into the hands of South Africans for "protection".

Sworn affidavits have been received from Maseru showing that the South African police sit in on interrogations of refugees, with the Basutoland police. Exchange of information on the movement of refugees seems to be common practice.

THE NAZIS IN SOUTH AFRICA

INAUGURATING South African Air Force war memorial in Pretoria two months ago, Nazi "President" Mr. C. R. Swart, alleged that African peoples for whose safety South African pilots had died in World II were now planning to attack the Republic. Newly-independent African countries, he said, "even deny our own peaceful commercial air service passage over those very places which our pilots helped them to make safe from the invader".

To appreciate to the full, the cynicism of this remark it is worthwhile recalling that the South African Nationalists took Hitler's side in the last war and prayed for a Hitler victory. More than that, many Nationalist leaders openly espoused the Nazi philosophy, which they absorbed so thoroughly that it remains the basis of their apartheid policy to the present day.

When Hitler's star was in the ascendant during the thirties, a rash of fascist organisations, like the Grey-skirts, the Boerenasie and the New Order broke out in South Africa and anti-Semitism flourished.

While still a professor at Stellenbosch University, Dr. Verwoerd, the present Prime Minister, went on a deputation with other Nationalist leaders to the Government demanding a halt to the immigration of Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany.

At a public meeting in 1936, Dr. T. E. Donges, the present Minister of Finance, declared: "The Jew is insoluble element in every national life."

Biggest Jew-baiter of the lot was the present Foreign Minister Eric Louw, who introduced in Parliament a Bill to stop Jewish immigration, alleging on the one hand that they were dominating the world of business, and on the other that they

predominated in the ranks of the Communists.

When he became editor of *Die Transvaler* in 1937, Dr. Verwoerd wrote a long article on "the Jewish problem" proposing the introduction of a quota system for Jews in all occupations and professions. In 1940 the Transvaal Nationalist Party formally excluded Jews from membership.

Many of the smaller fascist organisations were later merged in the Nationalist Party and their leaders, like Von Molke and Weichart, given seats in the South African Parliament, where they still sit today.

Interned During War

During the early days of the war the Nationalists thought their great moment had arrived, and they prepared for the seizure of power. The Afrikaans' organisation Ossewabrandwag in which the present Minister of Justice B. J. Vorster was a general, went in for a massive campaign of sabotage.

"We stand for Christian Nationalism which is on ally of National Socialism," said Vorster in 1942. "You can call this anti-democratic dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany National Socialism and in South Africa Christian Nationalism."

For his pains Vorster was interned by the Smuts Government during the war, and later placed under house arrest. Today he is getting his own back as the author of the Sabotage Act and the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 providing for detention without trial.

Verwoerd himself, as editor of *Die Transvaler*, poured out a steady stream of propaganda supporting the Nazi cause. Provoked by his efforts, the newspaper *Star* accused

Die Transvaler of falsifying news in support of Nazi propaganda and generally acting as a tool of the enemy.

Verwoerd brought a libel action, but lost his case, the judge remarking: "He did support Nazi propaganda, he did make his paper a tool of the Nazis in South Africa, and he, knew it."

The Nationalist pinned all their hopes on a Nazi victory. "The whole future of Afrikanerdom is dependent on a German victory," said Mr. B. J. Schoeman, the present Minister of Railways, at a Nationalist Party congress in 1940.

Eric Louw declared at Fraserburg in 1942: "If Germany wins, Dr. Malan will have the majority and Hitler will then have to negotiate with the one who has the majority, and the heaviest burden will be laid on those pushed on the war."

Police State:

Hitler lost the war, and the Nationalists changed their tune, but not the real nature of their policies. They toned down on anti-Semitism and pretended a new-found respect for democracy, but from the moment they came to power in 1948 they went systematically to work to build the Nazified state of which they had dreamed.

Today South Africa bears all the hall marks of the police state—massive segregation of the races backed by a complete denial of civil rights, increasingly heavy penalties for political prisoners coupled with indefinite detention without trial.

More and more one hears of detainees being subjected to assaults and electric shock treatment, of prisoners being "shot while trying to escape". The leaders of the liberation movement are at this moment on trial for their lives under the Sabotage Act.

These are not the accidents of history but the fruits of deliberate planning by people steeped in the Nazi ideology. With such people there can be no compromise. They must be defeated and their handwork destroyed before South Africa can be made safe for all.

(Courtesy, Comment)

Britain Apartheid and Economics

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Of sinister importance is the 600-acre site called Sasolburg, where I.C.I. contributed £10,000,000 to set up a plant bearing the name of African Explosives and Chemicals Industries. It provides plastics, nylon and cyanide with materials from SASOL, another state financed corporation, which runs the world's largest oil-from-coal plant.

Shipbuilders, John Brown, have three subsidiaries in South Africa and a substantial holding in the British aircraft company Westlands, which is supplying helicopters for military use to Verwoerd.

One of the world's largest makers of internal combustion engines, Britain's Associated Engineering, is spending £1 million in South Africa on expanding a car component factory near Johannesburg. This is an industry enjoying a protective tariff against outside competition, an incentive given by the Verwoerd Government to encourage foreign investment. Another is low taxes.

The South African subsidiaries of Fisons use SASOL materials for their fertilizer products.

There are many others, too numerous to name, ranging from Associated Rediffusion's South African associate, Rediffusion, which works closely with the South African Broadcasting Service to Imperial Typewriters.

They all have a stake in apartheid.

(Courtesy: COMMENT)

FEBRUARY ISSUE:

A. K. BARDEN produces an analysis on the **EVOLUTION OF GHANAIAN SOCIETY: a summary of traditional, colonial and self-rule in Ghana.**

THE AFRICAN PRESS

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fight against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. It must explain the necessity for, and the meaning and purpose of, a Union Government of Africa.

Our press must be foremost in inspiring and educating the masses of our continent so that they can withstand the onslaught of decadent ideals and influence that permeate the ranks of the opportunists and neo-colonialist agents among us.

If we are to banish colonialism completely from our continent, every African must be made aware of his part in the struggle. This is the kind of education which the African press can and must help to spread.

You have a noble cause—I would say a holy cause: to work unstintingly, unhesitatingly and fearlessly for the equality of all our people on this continent for the universality of man's rights everywhere on this globe.

Yours is the responsibility to be ever on the alert for truth and to use it without fear or favour in the noble task of forwarding total independence in Africa.

You, by your calling, have the responsibility to work unceasingly for the unity of Africa, the single means by which we can promote the prosperity of this continent and defend it against the machinations of our enemies. By reason of your chosen work, you men and women of the press are in that most vital positions where you can persuade man's minds; inform their opinions and point the way to go. Unless you use it for good, you betray your calling, you mislead those who look to you for truth, who expect from you an interpretation of that truth in their cause.

The conclusions that you reach at this conference must sustain this position. They should assist in the speedy realisation of a union government of Africa. They should keep you in that place which no journalist should ever vacate—the vanguard of the march to freedom.

I therefore charge you to lead the final triumphant march of a continent towards our unity which no imperialist or neo-colonialist will ever again be able to assail.

EDITOR'S NOTE :

The situation in South Africa is a problem which needs urgent solution.

We have attempted in this issue to portray the situation as it really is, and which forces are at work, in that unhappy and gloomy country.

What is this solution? In our editorial we have advocated an insurrection—and nothing less.

For we are of the opinion that the principle of insurrection as a political art has become a necessity.

We also believe that the racist South African "Government", as at present constituted, is a heartless and senseless regime blinded by fantastic, fanatic fascism. And there must be no compromise with it.

Our opinion and these collected features, contributed mainly by South Africans themselves, will no doubt stimulate discussion.

We are happy if they do, for we believe that something must be done about South Africa—and it must be now; something must happen IN-SIDE South Africa—and it must be now.

The views of our readers will be welcome and we shall be happy to publish them in our subsequent editions.

THE BROEDERBOND

Afrikaner Secret Society

THE Broederbond is a secret society of the Afrikaners in South Africa. It is to South Africa what the Ku-Klux Klan was to the Southern States of America.

Its aim: To get control of South Africa, to put the extremist Afrikaner—and mainly its own members—in every vital post in the country. Members of this weird society call themselves "Brothers" and today all Afrikaan members on the South African settler "Cabinet" are "Brothers."

In his **South African Tragedy**, Alan Haigh says "Brothers" have been installed in top state broadcasting jobs, edit the more important Afrikaans newspapers, run State-controlled industries and preach from Dutch Reformed Church pulpits: "Brothers" in the Army and Police Force always have the top posts.

Dr. Malan was a "Brother." Johannes Strydom was a "Brother." And of course, bullet man Verwoerd is a "Brother."

As chief Editor of the "Nationalist" newspaper **Die Transvaler** Verwoerd paved the way for many of the changes made in South Africa since the "Nationalists" came to power in 1948.

A "Brother" dare not betray a Broeder bond secret and this is the warning given to him on his initiation by the Bond's chaplain: "He who betrays the Bond will be destroyed by the Bond. The Bond never forgives and never forgets, its vengeance is swift and sure. Never yet has a traitor escaped his just punishment."

General Smuts, after ordering an investigation of the movement discovered enough and described it as

"DANGEROUS, CUNNING POLITICAL AND FASCIST."

Known "Brothers" include Benjamin Vorster, "Minister" of Justice, an Afrikaner who was interned as a Nazi-supporter during world war II; Francois Erasmus who was a Broederbond organizer as long ago as 1930; Theophilus Donges, "Minister" of Economic Affairs, and a host of Nazis including lean and hungry Eric Louw.

The health of Mr Sobukwe, the gallant freedom fighter of South Africa, is reported to have deteriorated in recent weeks and we have every reason to believe that the Broederbond is wholly responsible, for its activities cover a wide field. The Bond has made it its aim to break Sobukwe morally and physically.

In "**The Friend**" of November 1963, Mr. Japie Bassou says "As a result of Broederbond pressures the Special Branch Police are becoming the Gestapo of South Africa I am deeply concerned over the governments' abuse of the Special Branch Police. The Government has made use of it for political purposes . . . the Special Branch is being used as an instrument of intimidation".

We know the swiftness with which the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 was passed and meant to curb Mr. Sobukwe's freedom. The Act was passed at record time, a unique record in South Africa's White settler minority parliament. The Bond had exerted pressure.

How long will Mother Africa wait to see her sons and daughters oppressed and suppressed?

Surely, the days of racialists on our continent are counted!

*Our Special Correspondent on South Africa
this Month asks:*

WHITHER FREEDOM FIGHTERS?

AS the wind of change blows more tempestuously throughout the remaining dependent countries of Africa, the threadbare cloak of liberalism, multi-racialism, paternalism and civilising mission with which the remaining stubborn and arrogant ruling Colonial Powers attempt to cover the putrid sores of apartheid and colonialism, infecting the body politic of South Africa and Angola, becomes more useless in its nakedness. The most recent eruption has culminated in the hanging of four innocent and peace-loving patriots and nationalists whose only crime, if it could be called a crime, was their unflinching belief in freedom, democracy and human dignity. These gallant comrades who never flinched an inch and never deserted their people, faced the fake and ludicrous judicial court of the apartheid regime of Verwoerd, with undaunted spirit, fortitude and forbearance.

THE VISION

They had seen the vision. They knew that sooner or later, and certainly it would be soon, the Government of Verwoerd would fall like a pack of cards. What was their crime? Their only crime was using every constitutional and democratic means in demanding freedom and independence from their usurpers in their own motherland—an inherent doctrine which they had been taught from the cradle by the Christian missions. That these patriots have been hanged must be a serious pointer to all the indigenous citizens of South Africa both within and without. If history is any guide, then our brothers from South Africa must take a leaf from the noble history of the Kenya, Algeria, Angola and the Portuguese Guinea Revolution. Never in the struggle for freedom in these countries did the

Freedom Fighters ever establish People's Shops or rode in big chauffeur driven limousines; they were with their people, mobilising, educating and training them and with their superior training and determination, gave the stubborn imperialists the "works".

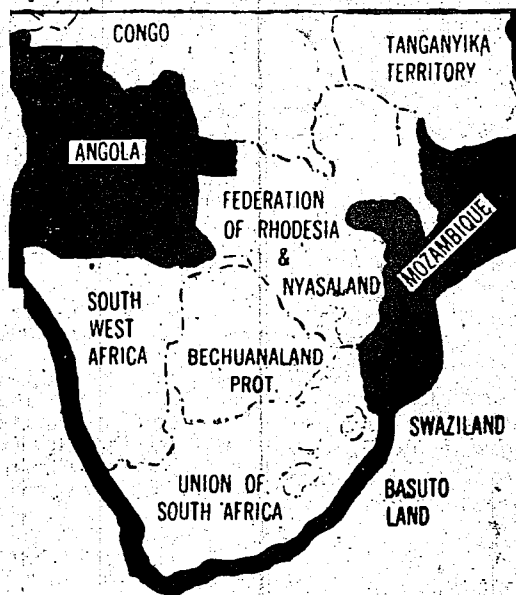
TRUTH

Even women in Angola, Portuguese Guinea, like their forbears, are today fighting side by side with their brave menfolk, against overwhelming odds. To South African Freedom Fighters outside South Africa now gallivanting and garnering riches from every independent African State for the upkeep of their concubines and to the hypocrites amongst them who talk "big" about their past "Hidouni" exploits but do little, I would like to pose a per-

tinent and bitter question: "Why don't you go back to the Union to fight it out"?

I do not want to be critical but facts are sacred and comment is free. Truth, that is naked, fears nothing but commands commendation from the sincere and the brave. At this juncture, I would also like to pose another bitter question to those quislings who call themselves Freedom Fighters, who open shops, run taxis and deceive philanthropic organisations and well-meaning States, with their high-faluting theories of liberation tactics.

"How many Algerians sought refuge in the Independent African States?" "How many Kenyans sought refuge?" "How many Portuguese Guinea nationalists, even of the girls, have sought political asy-



lum elsewhere or ride-cars and open shops? The Angolans are in Leopoldville not to flirt with imperialists or to dance to the exhilarating and enchanting music of O.K. Jazz. Neither are they fascinated by the dancing agility of Congolese women. Leopoldville is considered as a base for the training and launching of a decisive and complete onslaught on the ramparts of the Portuguese fortress.

MASS EXODUS

What is the need for the mass exodus of nationalists from the Union to other friendly African countries and later desert the noble course. If these States had not struggled and fought, they would not have achieved independence. We are comforted by the fact that dedicated and fearless fighters like Sobukwe, Nelson Mandela, Potlako Leballo, real sons of Africa, have refused to leave the Union even when the opportunity offered itself, but to fight and die from within. What a noble sacrifice. But what are the cowards and the braggarts doing in Tanganyika?

The stiff bodies of our gallant warriors from the hangman's noose have been laid to rest in unknown graves and without ceremony befitting their sacrifice. This is their most dangerous turning point as well as the most solemn and desperate hour in the history of liberation struggle in Africa. Shall we at this stage allow these cowards, domiciled in Dar-es-Salaam and elsewhere dictate the tempo of events while patriots are being dragged from their huts in broad day light and hanged?

The huts in the kraals in the African townships are being inundated by the wails of mothers for the brutal death of their sons. Children unaware of the feelings and the wailings of their mothers gather in a sense of childish bewilderment anticipating evil. Alas, the news is broken to them and solemnness reaches its apogee and human endurance stretched to the last limit.

Oh, ever dear and venerated shade of our great grand-father warriors Chaka and Moshoshoe, look down with scrutiny upon the con-

duct of your suffering sons and see if they have done justice to your valour and what you fought and stood for.

Unfortunately when these executions took place the pseudo nationalists from South Africa now in voluntary exile hovered around the Liberation Committee, appealing



Dr. Nkrumah calls on African leaders to unite ... or perish!

for funds to spend lavishly on their concubines. Some went rushing to the United Nations General Assembly with ointments of "negotiation", "commissions", "reconciliation" and nonsensical balderdash—never contemplating that the cure requires deep surgery from within—that is from nationalists inside the Union of South Africa.

The struggle has now been brought to the very doors of the South African nationalists. The panic-stricken Verwoerd Government has now decided to take the bull by the horn aided and abetted by the blood-thirsty and power drunk descendants of certain powers whose only cares and concerns, whose moral and philosophical convictions are so degenerated that they rely on the use of brutal force

in the subjugation of millions of Africans.

History is repeating itself in a subtle and most clandestine way in the Union of South Africa. The unprecedented barbaric annihilation of the Jews by the NAZI which is revived by the Verwoerd Government in respect of Africans in South Africa must portend to the nationalists what the future would have in store for them and how bestial the apartheid Government could be if a decisive but a cowardly attack is made on them. Ever the Jews had to fight a desperate and a heroic resistance against their extinction. The future of the Union is bleak. The witch-doctor's predictions are red on the wall—he sees nothing but crimson blood overflowing the kraals and inundating the putrid rivers of the Transvaal.

GERMAN MERCENARIES

No wonder that certain German mercenaries who roasted millions of Jews in gas chambers have now arrived in Pretoria and been received by the Government with relish and red carpet treatment. Some of these infidels, we are told, escaped the Nuremberg trials either by a decree of luck or a planned subterfuge and connivance of the Powers that be with the vain hope that these devils incarnate can exterminate the African race in the Union and establish in their place the Dutch and the Aryan race who fanatically believe that they are over and above every human being either green or red, white or yellow, brown or black who walks on two legs on God's own earth.

To lend substance to the devilish manoeuvres of these apostles of the engoddy, it is worthwhile quoting the 7th November issue of Reuters.

"South African foreign mercenary groups are studying recent developments in Airborne weapons, including deadly gases known to be capable of massive devastation comparable with the nuclear bomb, it was stated here.

"Professor L. J. Le Roux, Vice President of the Council for Scien-

tific and Industrial Research said gas was coming back as a low cost military weapon of frightening destructive power. He was speaking at a meeting of the association for the advancement of science. South Africa was sharpening her defence against surprise attack from the air, where she was the most vulnerable, Professor Le Roux said. He added that one working group directed by the recently established defence research council was concentrating on defensive missiles. Work was being done on ground to air missiles. The Professor gave details of an anti-tank guided missile being developed for use in South Africa. He described this as an infantry weapon, which could penetrate 12 inch armoured plate at 5,000 yds. Professor Le Roux said the defence Research Council realised chemical and bacteriological warfare was no longer impracticable as it had been during the early stages of the Second World War. He said a special group of scientists was learning everything there was to know about virulent poisons like Tabun and Soman developed in NAZI Germany."

The cat is now out of the bag and the challenge has now been thrown to Freedom Fighters of South Africa.

NO OPTION

The will to dominate and exterminate which gods these days, and scum of Hitler's reincarnation in the pursuit of their quarry give you no option; it indicates the path which you must all follow—to die a gallant death by hunting the enemy like the legendary Umslopogas, in the novels of Alan Quarterman, of the royal blood of Chaka who wielded the axe, "Inkosi Kas the wood pecker" belonging to the royal blood of the Zulu chieftain. You must continue the struggle with fury of desperation and without a glance over your shoulders.

While you keep fighting, there is always hope, and that surely should be enough to forbid you to think that all is already lost. No game is lost until the final whistle.

And if in spite of everything the fates have decreed that you should once in the course of your history be crushed by forces superior to your own, then for the sake of Mother Africa go down with your heads high and secure in the knowledge that the honour of South African nationalists remains without blemish. A desperate fight remains for all times a shining example. Pause here and remember Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans! In any case, you are not of the stuff or the sires who go tamely to the slaughter house like sheep. They may well exterminate most of you. But alas! Let them never lead you to the slaughter house.

The South African Government is in a bad state of mind. She is so bad that to remedy itself she feels justified in and takes pride and steps towards promoting the murder of men of outstanding integrity, honesty and unselfish dealing. Arbitrary arrests, and imprisonment are the order of the day. She is in more than a bad state of temper. It is a state of mind which is too psychopathic to be disregarded, and one no to be remedied by treatment for tantrum or tummy ache.

Apartheid excesses must be lanced once and for all. A bad state of mind is a name for what takes place in a man's mind when he experiences a strong emotional urge for an end he believes legitimate and cannot find legitimate means of achieving it. That is the state of mind of bullet-proof skull Verwoerd. And to such a state, there are three possible answers, one, to exterminate the minds in which the desire exists; two, to eliminate the desire from the minds; three, to concede to the desire if that might ever happen.

Meanwhile, matters do not stand still. Out of a bad state of mind comes soon disregard of methods, morals, ethics and then follows quickly the end, justifying every means. And then comes the long line of martyrs, the crepe or blanket adorned, hanged or shot nationalists, flower strewn death pale faces of patriots who followed their duty and the doctrine of liberty and

freedom for all regardless of colour, creed and position, only to be slain in cold blood by Afrikaners and white mercenaries, fanatic hearted bloody handed men driven by a mad force madly—but to accomplish not-mad end—the aspirations of a people—freedom and independence in the land of their birth.

Is this to be the white man's swan-song and his thanks to the African he has exploited and oppressed for centuries? Is the guilted and glorified martyrs crown to be on the Afrikaaners head and the murderers blood guilt on the brow of the black man? When all that divides black and white races, the fine layer of pigmented skin, while we are all born to love and hate and die in the same incredibly beautiful terrible way—what is there that stands between us?

Read

VOICE of AFRICA

Next Issue:

● Kenya at the United Nations

● The Socio-Economic Situation in South Africa

● Neo-colonialism is No Phanasty

Southern Rhodesia's Labour Leader :

WE often read about Mr. Josiah Terry Maluleke. Who is this indomitable, undaunted Malu, the 'Ben Bella' of African trade unionism? Who is this man whom Mr. Reuben Jamela, ex-president of the decaying SRTUC, claims has broken trade unionism in Zimbabwe? Who is this trade unionist who was detained from 1959 to 1961, this 'unrelenting man who in 1962 broke away from the imperialist, puppet-led' SRTUC to form the African Trades Union Congress that organised the successful Salisbury strike in May last year? Who is this Zimbabwean who was restricted when ZAPU was banned and who now brings Mr. Clifford Dupont, of 'Law and Order' fame, before our courts? Lastly, who is this Maluleke, now the president of the Zimbabwe African Labour Organisation, which he claims is the new name for the ATUC to stop 'self-styled trade unionists from misleading the workers under the name of the ATUC'?

A NATIONALIST

Malu was born in 1928 in the Fort Victoria district, the second-born and the eldest son in a family of four boys and two girls. He married a nurse last year and has a two-month-old son. He obtained early education under Swiss missionaries at Valdeza Mission in South Africa, then upper primary at Munene Mission, Belingwe, after his father's death.

On completing Std. six, he taught, but later went to Johannesburg where he became an active member of the African National Congress. His desire, however, was to see the introduction of African politics in SR. In 1956, he, George Nyandoro and others founded the Youth League which in 1957 became the ANC. He must appear in court at least thrice a year on political or trade union offences, and is at present in prison pending an appeal.

THE GREAT MALU

He has travelled to Europe and other parts of Africa.

In 1953 Malu became the founder and secretary-general of the Commercial and Allied Workers' Union; at the same time he was instrumental in forming many unions in other industries. When the ANC was banned in 1959, Malu was kept in detention, as one of the 'hardcore' nationalists, for nearly three years. While in detention he took correspondence courses in trade unionism with Ruskin College, Oxford, and studied book-keeping and passed six subjects at O level (G.C.E.). He is now taking two subjects at A level with the intention of studying for a university diploma in social science. His problem is how to get money to enable him to go to get money to enable him to further serve trade unionism.

Malu's philosophy is that the labour movement must play an effective role, and be consulted by Government, in planning the country's economic and social development. He states 'A labour organisation, like any other movement in Africa, must toe the Pan-Africanist line. It has a dual role; to fight for bread and butter on the one hand and to ensure African political advancement on the other'.

ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS

He fanatically opposes the affiliation of African trade unions with international labour organisations dominated by either the East or West. He declares: 'Our trade union movements, like our political ones, must remain non-aligned in the world power struggle between NATO and Warsaw Pact members'.

The ZALO president complains bitterly of the Security laws and obstructionist policies adopted by municipal authorities in Southern Rhodesia in restricting trade union operations. He cites many examples



Josiah T. Maluleke

of these authorities demanding large deposits before allowing trade unions to hold meetings. He asserts 'It is nearly impossible to hold any meeting. The Government and municipalities work in glove to deprive African labour movements of their right to organise. It is a constitutional right of the workers to be informed about trade unionism'.

He claims ZALO has a big following in the Midlands, Mashonaland and Manicaland, although it is hampered by lack of funds and transport, and by the security laws. Despite these bitter complaints, Malu is confident that ZALO's insistence on intensive organisation will secure the workers better wages and working conditions, better houses and better training facilities. ZALO is preparing a memorandum to the International Labour Organisation asking them to intervene to stop the SR Government from interfering in trade union rights as enshrined in the ILO convention.

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How East Africa Sees

DR. KWAME NKRUMAH

DR. Kwame Nkrumah has headed independent Ghana for more than six years now. During that time his image as the symbol of freedom has hardened—and split into three basic camps. To most Africans he is still an idol, still the champion of independence, still the spokesman for Africa. To others he has become a dictator with ambitions to rule the whole of the African continent. In between these two camps are those who, although they want to throw in their lot behind him, have been disturbed and confused by reports from Ghana.

scheme that Dr. Nkrumah has been planning for years and which the whole of Ghana is waiting eagerly for—the Volta River Project.

This scheme, which is costing millions, will make an immense difference to the country. It will provide plenty of electricity for every corner of Ghana. It will speed up the country's policy of rapid industrialisation, based on the cheap power from the project. And it will give jobs to all. Side by side with this is the country's socialist education programme which year by year is

That prices of goods must not overlap wages.

That house rentals must be within the means of all groups.

That educational and cultural amenities must be available to all the people.

If ability to pay is the passport to the good life, then at this time, most of the people of this country are precluded from it.

And unless we, the leaders of the party of the people, make good our economic and social programme, then they are doom-

...Africa's Symbol of Freedom...

What is the truth? Anyone trying to find it must start off by acknowledging one basic fact: that Dr. Nkrumah took over a tremendously difficult task when he became Prime Minister of Ghana. The country and many of its people were backward, unemployment and crime was rife—and all the scoffers were eager to pounce on the slightest mistake and hurl it in his face.

No one knew this better than Dr. Nkrumah. No-one was more willing to face up to the realities. And there is also no doubt that Dr. Nkrumah has taken immense strides in the past few years to remedy Ghana's problems.

They are by no means solved yet. Dr. Nkrumah is the first to admit this. But at the same time he is determined to end them in as short a time as possible and to give all the people of Ghana the good things of life.

A PLAN TO DWARF THE PAST

Mighty as past strides have been, they are likely to be dwarfed by one

providing wider and better education for more and more Ghanaians.

Dr. Nkrumah himself clearly set out his aims and hopes two years ago in a speech to a study group.

He said:

"The paramount task before us and the nation is the raising of an equitable and progressive social order which will provide food, clothing, and shelter to meet the needs of the people in accordance with their means; a social order that will reflect a higher standard of living in the happiness of our people.

Economically, this means full employment, good housing and equal opportunity for educational and cultural advancement up to the highest level possible for all the people.

In concrete facts, it means:

That the real income of all types of workers, farmers and peasants must rise.

ed to perpetual exclusion from the good life and the purpose of our effort is defeated."

IS THIS A DICTATOR'S SPEECH?

Hardly the sort of speech you'd expect from a man who has been called a dictator. Here is a leader who is prepared to face up to the truth—and admit it publicly. For any head of state to make this type of speech—saying that most of his people are barred from the good things of life—is courageous. For Nkrumah to do so in the circumstances, it was doubly so.

In the same speech, he asks the question: 'How are we to achieve our goal in the shortest possible time?' Then he goes on to answer it.

"As our party has proclaimed, and as I have asserted time and again, socialism is the only pattern that can within the shortest possible time, bring the good things of life to the people. For socialism assumes the public ownership of the means of production—the land and its re-

sources—and the use of those means for production that will bring benefit to the people.

One point, however, that we have to get clear. At this juncture, Ghana is not a socialist state. Not only do the people as yet not own all the major means of production and distribution, but we have still to lay the actual foundations upon which socialism can be built, namely the complete industrialisation of our country.

All talk of socialism, of economic and social reconstruction, are just empty words if we do not seriously address ourselves to the question of basic industrialisation and agricultural revolution in our country, just as we must concentrate on socialist education."

Dr. Nkrumah then went on to discuss the importance of secondary industries and stressed the importance of the Volta River Project. Without schemes like these, he said, industrialisation was impossible.

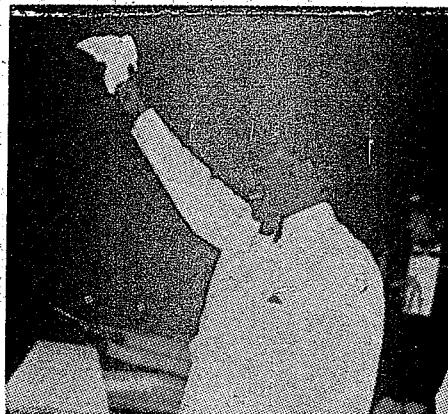
He then attacked past planning. Too much of it remained on paper—too little was put into action. "What we need are not reports, but plans of action."

In future he said, two main aims of the overall plan should be to ensure that progress spread out to all corners of the country and not just the towns and cities, and that it should eliminate the sorry plight of students roaming about the country, who gravitate towards Accra in search of work and when they cannot get work, fall into bad ways...

Surely not the words of a dictator? Surely here is a man who realises the problems facing his country, puts his finger on them and then brings forth a bold and vigorous policy to end them?

Dr. Nkrumah ended this particular speech with these words and perhaps, in them, lies the key to his thinking:

"Africa needs a new type of man: a dedicated, modest, honest



Dr. Nkrumah, a leader treated in his country with immense popular esteem—a sort inconceivable in Western countries. To Ghana and Africa he is a phenomenon

man. A man who merges self in service to his nation and mankind. A man who abhors greed and detests vanity. A new type of man whose meanness is his strength and whose integrity his greatness. Africa's new man must be man indeed."

No-one, not even Nkrumah's worst enemies can deny one thing that shines through this speech: the honesty in which he approaches his task. There is no shirking of issues, no attempt to gloss over difficulties.

MERE TALK BECOMES REALITY

But, of course, these are mere words. What about his deeds? It is worthy to note that most of his plans are becoming reality. When he spoke of educational reforms, he meant them to be carried out urgently. Today, books are free in all schools. Only secondary school children have to pay fees, but this will soon stop. Meanwhile, more and more schools are springing up all over the country.

The figures speak for themselves. At the beginning of 1951, there were only 125,000 children in primary schools. Today there are 789,428.

In middle schools, there were only 66,175, in 1951. Today there are 204,054.

So much for the country's economy, educational and social needs.

Now to the point that has caused most controversy in Africa: Nkrumah's plans for the continent.

Dr. Nkrumah summed up his view in his independence speech on March 6, 1957. He said: "The independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked with the total liberation of the African continent."

But years before, during his days in Britain and America, he was already thinking of pan-Africanism. One of the main points he made in those days was:

"Cultural and linguistic diversities are by no means inconsistent with political unity. The West African countries, for example, must first unite and become a national entity, absolutely free from the encumbrances of foreign rule before they can assume the aspect of international co-operation on a grand scale."

A DEVICE TO DIVIDE AFRICA

The charge is levelled against Nkrumah that when he speaks of

The Great Malu

Continued from page 37

In the Nationalist split Malu, a long-standing opponent of confused Nkomoism, supports ZANU. As a result his house has been stoned. Men of his determination and organising ability are indispensable to the advent of African rule in Southern Rhodesia. He perhaps sees SR's political and economic problems more intimately than any one else.

He had scorned poverty, conquered hardship, worked hard and defied injustice, especially the exploitation of African workers by European employers. He is a darling of the workers because he leads a life similar to theirs. He is happier organising in the field than sitting in the office. He walks on foot in order to organise. Our Nationalist leaders would be better advised to emulate the MALU tactics and simple existence.

Let us hope that a militant ZANU with the aid of a radical ZALO will usher in formidably well-disciplined African organisations. Many people have accused Malu of being power-hungry. His simple existence disproves this—if anything he wants to lead because he is convinced he knows what the African people want and how to get it. He is such an orator that he is capable of rabble-rousing even a single man.

Whether or not we like Malu or disagree with him, he is a force to reckon with in Zimbabwe's economic and political struggle.

East Africa and Dr. Nkrumah

Continued from page 39

one Africa, he is only seeking personal glory. That his desire is to set up one Africa with himself as its head.

Dr. Nkrumah's answer to this is that it is a device which Africa's enemies use to divide the continent. And the main point to their campaign is that they make suggestions to the effect that one state or other is bidding for leadership.

With Nkrumah, African unity is a reality, not a dream. In his book, 'Africa Must Unite,' he states that unless Africa does unite, it must perish.

And there is another thing that even his enemies must acknowledge: Nkrumah knows his Africa. He works 18 to 20 hours a day and part of this time is filled with delving into reports about every aspect of life in the rest of the continent.

Let Dr. Nkrumah speak for himself.

"I have often been accused of pursuing a policy of the impossible. But I cannot believe in the impossibility of achieving African unity any more than I could ever have thought of the impossibility of attaining African freedom.

When I came back to Ghana in 1947 to take a leading part in the anti-colonial struggle, I was dubbed an 'irresponsible agitator'. Independence at that time looked a long way off.

None of us imagined at that time that by 1962 most of the African countries would have thrown off political domination and embarked upon their own national existence as sovereign states.

But that did not stop us going forward with our efforts, buoyed by the certainty of ultimate victory. And it has come, as I said, much sooner than anticipated.

This is how I feel about African unity. Just as I was convinced that political freedom was the forerunner of our economic growth and that it must come, so I am equally convinced that African union will come and provide that united, integrated base upon which our fullest development can be secured."

Here it is quite obvious that Dr. Nkrumah has remained unchanged through the years.

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South Africa - A Summing Up

by

E. L. Ntloedibe

A historical background will show what conditions were in the early occupation of South Africa by the Colonisers and how struggles were then waged—still continued today to bring about a change in South Africa and avoid a possible third World War.

Before 1912 parties in South Africa were organised more on provincial and regional basis and even on tribal basis. There was no country-wide organisation. This was due to the prevailing political situation because there were then separate colonies. There was no central administration at the time, because there were the so-called four colonies namely Natal, Cape Province, Transvaal and Orange Free State.

Of the Transvaal and Orange Free State which were former Dutch Boer Republics little or no political parties existed because the policies of these Dutch Boer republics did not allow any political movements among the indigenous people; but of the Cape there were political parties because of the liberal attitude of that colony. The most important amongst these was Imbumba ya Manyama (The Bond of Blood) co-founded by Tengo Jabavu the father of the well known late Professor D. D. Jabavu, and Dr. Rubusana, near the close of the nineteenth century.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

It was at the Cape where a series of battles were fought between the indigenous people and the white invaders. The so-called "Kaffir Wars" which were fought in defence of their motherland. These wars of dispossession were fought by the people using assegais and the foreign invader using the gun.

In Natal Dr. John Dube founded the Natal Native Congress in 1906. This was founded on the same basis

THE situation in South Africa is crystalised by the gripped tormenting fear which reigns among the racist whites.

The situation in South Africa is clouded with repeated and exotic scenes of violence.

The situation in South Africa is fast bringing that beleaguered land to a disaster.

The situation in South Africa is on the brink of a fierce, revolutionary struggle.

The situation in South Africa is without doubt a threat to World Peace.

as the South African Native Congress which followed six years later in 1912.

After the Union of South Africa was formed in 1910 the South African Native Congress was founded in 1912 by Dr. Isaac Ka P. Seme, Mr. Makgatho, Mr. Sol Plaatjie and with Dr. Dube being its first President, Plaatjie the Secretary-General and Dr. Isaac K. P. Seme, the Treasurer.

In 1919 followed the I.C.U. (Industrial Commercial Union). This Union started both as a workers' union and political party at the same time. At its height it completely eclipsed the South African Native Congress. The I.C.U. was founded by an African from Nyasaland Mr. Clements Kadalie.

In 1920 the South African Communist Party was formed which was predominantly white at the beginning and later had Africans as members and it had as its Secretary-General Mr. Moses Kotane now a leader of the African National Congress of South Africa. The Communist Party was proscribed in 1950 by the Malan Government. It passed a law, the Suppression of Communism Act. Under this law whether one is a Communist or no Communist, as long as he is opposed to the Government of the white minority settlers—he is labelled a communist.

In 1935 the A.N.C. was impotent, the I.C.U. became defunct, the Communist Party was suspect—as national call was issued to all organisations, societies, clubs to assemble in Bloemfontein and the All African Convention was held. In the South African White Parliament

the most notorious Hertzog Bill was passed—this was the Land Act. This act whittled away whatever remnants of human liberties were there. Among others were the Urban Areas Act and Voters' Act. This assembly held at Bloemfontein which was to review and reappraise the entire political situation and devise means and ways of averting the threat that hanged over the head of the African people was called All African Convention.

THE PARTIES

It was a campaign of the African people irrespective of political affiliation. But in 1943 certain opportunist individuals refused to disband it after Dr. A. B. Xuma had revived the A.N.C. and re-organised it. In 1935 the A.A.C. then came into open as a political party headed by Professor D. D. Jabavu with Mr. I. B. Tabata as its chief theoretician.

In 1949 the A.N.C. held a conference in Bloemfontein where the Youth League which was formed in 1943 as a wing of the A.N.C. put pressure and Programme of Action was adopted.

In 1952 a country-wide defiance campaign was organised. This was designed by its organisers to defy all the unjust discriminatory laws. It was a very successful campaign and nearly paralysed the economy of South Africa. It affected the capitalists and it was called off by the organisers after being influenced by certain interested individuals. The Youth were not satisfied.

Last but not the least the Pan Africanist Congress was formed in

Continued on next page

Continued from previous page
April 1959 by former leaders of the A.N.C. Youth League and Africanists within the A.N.C. The P.A.C. postulated Pan-Africanism as its philosophy and African Nationalism as its liberatory outlook. In international relations it advanced a policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment.

Within eleven months of its existence the P.A.C. organised a campaign against the pass laws in March 1960. This campaign was headed by Mr. Mangaliso Sobukwe, the President of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa. This campaign marked a new era in the political arena of South Africa.

With this skeleton historical background given on South Africa and the struggle waged during the arrival of the first invader; let us now come face to face with what has made that beleaguered land hell on earth for the indigenous people.

SUPPRESSION

In South Africa who dare voice their opposition to the racist regime may be interpreted as a real threat to the status quo.

From 1948, when the racists took over Government in South Africa, they immediately applied to the extreme all the laws based on the 1910 Act of the Union. They introduced most oppressive legislation aimed at permanently keeping the African people in the perpetual stage of servitude. But the Africans have reacted to the entire oppressive laws and to the entire oppressive laws and they are completely on the offensive. Ninety-nine per cent of the White South Africans are completely anti-Black and they are on the defensive of what is the last bastion of white supremacy in the South of the Continent.

The White South African Legislative Programme shows clearly that South Africa is not only on a warpath but has reached a point of no return. The suppression of Communism Act gives the racist Verwoerd regime blanket powers to ban anybody who opposes the Government. African political organisations Act, which is a further amendment to the suppression of Communism Act. Freedom Fighters

movements, are restricted to certain areas alleged to be their places of birth and domicile. Chief Albert Luthuli is for instance confined to his farm and cannot communicate with any banned person.

A number of people were put under house arrest, their homes being turned into prisons and reporting to the police twice a day. This is most humiliating. Ever since 1948 no less than twenty-five oppressive bills have been included in the White Statute book, including the most vicious Bantu Authorities Act, Bantu Education Act, Group Areas Act and the most notorious of them all the General Laws Amendment Act with very wide far reaching powers.

White Parliament as an instrument of the protection of the Whites engages itself in nothing but the passing of oppressive laws only and solely aimed at the Africans. When one speaks of these oppressive laws, one should not lose sight of the fact that their application has been characterised by the brutalities and atrocities meted out to the African people all over South Africa. To mention just a few—we cannot forget Zeerust where legal chiefs were banished and deported from their people. The people revolted, many were killed and thousands were jailed.

The same thing happened in Sekhuniiland, Tembuland, Matlala's Location, near Pietersburg, Pondoland and the Transkei. These outburst of revolt was caused not only by the deportation and banishment of the chiefs and men and women who were opposed to the Government but the extension of the passes to the womenfolk has brought in its wake an untold misery and hardships among the African Communities. Farm prisons are full and farm labour—cheap labour, which is the pillar on which the economy of South Africa rests benefits from this trade in human beings.

However, Verwoerd with all his White racist thugs and blood-lums who are his puppets and included in his pay roll should know the challenge from the Africans is that nothing will stop them gaining their freedom.

At this stage while a warning is issued to Verwoerd, we wish to express our bitter resentment at the action of the United States, Britain and other NATO powers who are interested in their bloodstained profits than in human values. They should know that there will be no security for their investment when an uprising erupts.

White supremacy is crystallised in apartheid with its hideous application in South Africa. Despite the fact that apartheid has proved to be a colossal failure, the white racists are prepared to hang on to it and the existence of hostile attitude in World politics does not worry them at all.

DETAINEES

Now returning again to the draconic legislation which occupies all the time of the white racists in their white Parliament, one shatters to think and imagine what goes on in application of the General Law Amendment Act—which has made racist Justice Minister Vorster such a "strong" man; who clamps down any kind of opposition with the most ruthlessness unheard of before in the South African politics.

The General Law Amendment Act of 1963 has transformed the whole country into a prison seeing all Africans as suspects. The number of Africans detained is unknown. Only the police know how many people are held under the 90-day detention Act of the General Law Amendment Act.

Detainees are kept in solitary confinement and conditions under which they are kept are depressing in the extreme.

Among those suffering under this 90-day detention are Mr. Nelson Mandela and those accused with him under the so-called Sabotage Act and they face charges which carry the death penalty.

We cannot forget that most young Pan Africanists have been sentenced to life imprisonment and others to death under this Act. Then we have the No-Trial Act, where certain prisoners after completion of their prison sentences are detained further.

The first victim to suffer under this is Mr. Mangaliso Robert So-

bukwe, the President of the Pan Africanist Congress. He is detained and jailed indefinitely on Robben Island. He completed three years imprisonment in May 1963 but is still further punished for no offence at all—just because he symbolises the end of White supremacy and he is a real threat to the South Africa status quo. He is subjected to the most humiliating conditions ever. We are aware, that never in the history of South Africa had so brutal an act against one man been so unanimous amongst whites.

When one discusses the brutalities meted to, and the sufferings now endured by Mangaliso Sobukwe, one is in effect discussing the actual conditions of the African people in their strife for human recognition.

The struggle of the African people for the recognition of their human worth and human dignity has become personified in Sobukwe. He is the dominant factor in the African nationalist liberatory struggle in Southern Africa. No matter how one views the position of Sobukwe, whether one agrees with him or not, one is struck by his courage and his selfless devotion to and sacrifice for the toiling, dispossessed African masses. Recognising this factor that Sobukwe has become the rallying point in South African politics, the white ruling clique has reacted with characteristic savagery. Resorting to methods which even they do not apply to their worst criminals, they have sought to demoralise Sobukwe by subjecting him to such indignities and brutalities that a lesser man would have cracked up under this fascist onslaught.

As long as the racist regime of Verwoerd continues at this rate the Sharpevilles will always be there. It is too soon to forget what happened in Sharpeville and Langa when defenceless African masses were massacred. It is clear the country is heading straight for a disaster.

BOOKS

by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah

- Towards Colonial Freedom
- GHANA - Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah
- I Speak of Freedom
- Africa Must Unite

OUR OPINION

Revolt In South Africa

(Continued from page 2)

Before we attempt to answer these we must know the strength—if any—of the regime itself. Left to itself the Verwoerd regime is no force to reckon with; but in collaboration with Western intelligence services and business concerns it is the biggest threat to African liberty.

As a result the regime is able to carry out a ruthless programme to liquidate all opposition to its racist rule. All political organisations which provided disciplined political direction to their members have been suppressed. The leaders are all in jail or hunted from one underground cell to another. Jails are full of detainees who have never appeared before a court of law. About 900 prisoners are on Robben Island.

Families are being uprooted, stock and produce maliciously destroyed. Whole families have moved into the forests to seek refuge. Torture in the form of electric shock is now common practice.

Unemployment among Africans in South Africa has now shot the 100 per cent mark due to intensified racist policy of the Verwoerd "Government". To secure support for apartheid among the white population the "Government" has reserved jobs for whites at the expense of Africans.

At this moment of close assessment, however, we have to admit the military strength and the efficiency of South Africa's espionage system. Her military strength is second to none on

Turn to the next page

the Continent of Africa and her espionage system is widespread. The system is operating—alleged with foreign intelligence agencies—within the territory of Independent African States.

The reaction of Verwoerd's men against the South African refugees is only a case in point. Within days the fascist regime had abducted refugees, burnt down a refugee plane and forced-landed another plane.

We, however, maintain that the role of forces outside South Africa, outside Africa, could be decisive in determining the course of events in that country and bringing sanity to the regime.

We uphold further that without British money, British arms and British diplomatic chicanery Verwoerd would be hard put to maintain his Nazi-type police state regime. The British Government and British investment provide a major supporting force behind the South African regime.

What are the facts?

British investments in South Africa are more than the total British investments in the rest of the African Continent.

The British Government and British investors have over £1,000 million invested in South Africa and Britain imports as much as 35 per cent of South Africa's total exports.

The bulk of the arms for South Africa's military build-up and wherewithal to maintain its grip on the non-white people has been supplied to Verwoerd by Britain and she is also supplying South Africa with £90 million of military equipment in the current three-year period.

British dividends from South Africa in gold, diamonds, coal and copper in 1961 was £18,900,000.

South Africa's trade—in arms and otherwise—with the U.S.A., West Germany and Japan has also been rising accordingly. American investment in 1956 totalled £171,100,000.

One of the main features of imperialism is that after accelerating the development of capitalism it widens and intensifies the struggle against national oppression.

It inevitably follows from this that imperialism must often give rise to national wars. And this has been the case in Algeria, Kenya, Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea—and South Africa.

All these countries followed, or are following, one of two principles laid down by Dr. Nkrumah in achieving freedom from oppression and tyranny: armed revolution and violent overthrow of the existing regime or by constitutional and legitimate non-violent methods.

In other words: either by armed might or by moral pressure.

In the case of South Africa which principle is to be adopted: force or a moral equivalent?

We are of the opinion that the Verwoerd regime knows no morals. South Africa is timed for explosion.

The question then rises: what type of force: and where should it come from? Initially, the force should be the 12 million Africans of South Africa: and it should come from the 12 million Africans.

We completely ally ourselves to the opinion that the white supremacy governments in Africa will not be overthrown without force, a show of force in the Portuguese territories, actual massive force in South Africa.

Whose force? THE PEOPLE'S FORCE.

There has been sporadic outbreaks of violence during the past year. These will increase in size and number this year, and more "holiday disasters" will hit Durban. River Umzinduzi will receive more bodies of holiday makers.

What African leaders of South Africa must appreciate is that the Afrikaner fought to establish his position in South Africa. The Afrikaner understood right from the beginning with his encounter with Dingane, Moshoeshoe and the British that he had only the rifle as his protector. And he was prepared to die for his cause.

This is the time for the leaders to demonstrate to the people the value of their leadership: to organise the majority of the revolutionary people, the poor and embittered peasantry to know the leadership, for a strong and fearless leadership alone can, by a victorious insurrection, save the people.

The task, indeed, requires art and triple audacity: but what others have done South Africa can do.

This is the time for not only is it right, but it is the duty of South Africans to revolt against the tyranny of Verwoerd.

There is no middle course. Delay is impossible.