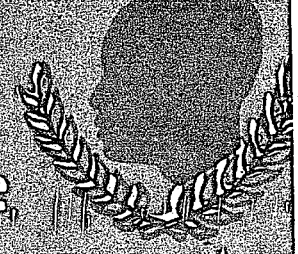
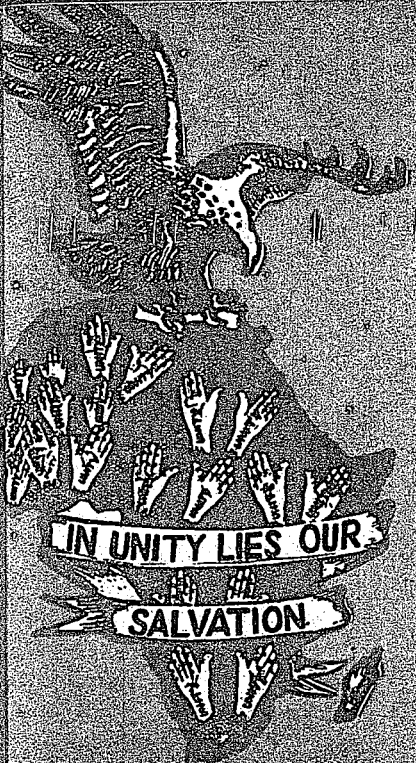


# Voice of AFRICA



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Copy 1965

**Neo-Colonialism has created a situation in Africa in which the only way to fight and eradicate it is by armed revolution and guerilla struggle.**

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**EDITOR : BOAKYE KWAKWA**

## OUR OPINION

### **Kwame, Apithy and the Communique**

**THE** communique which was issued by Osagyefo the President and President Apithy of Dahomey in Accra is destined to become one of the most historic documents yet produced on the urgent necessity for a Union Government of Africa.

The precision of the communique showed the approach of two leaders who are aware of the problems of the continent and how best to solve them. It was a victory of realism over idealism.

The communique made two points which summarize the aspirations of the mass of people of Africa:

In view of what is happening in Africa today the two leaders are convinced that only a United Africa under a Union Government can cure us of our political and economic ills and lift Africa out of the present despair and frustration.

As a practical move, therefore the two leaders are convinced that a bold start can be made with a nucleus of African States.

Secondly, President Nkrumah and President Apithy re-affirmed their support for a socialist system of society.

This Accra communique between Ghana and Dahomey is an echo of the 'Nkrumah Plan' which was sincerely and seriously put forward by Dr. Nkrumah in Cairo.

Osagyefo charged those African States who are ready and sufficiently convinced of the necessity of Union Government for Africa's common progress, security and future well-being to come forward and unite.

In Accra, President Apithy is genuinely convinced of this necessity to declare: "Let those who have already seen the light move forward now and merge their defence establishments, diplomatic missions and development plans in order to fulfil the aspirations of the people."

Surely, the great powers of today did not spring up in a day. The great socialist states of the Soviet Union began their Union with only **THREE STATES**. The United States of America started with thirteen economically weak colonies.

Africa today faces the danger of re-colonisation. Imperialism which raised its ugly head on the continent in 1885, and held at bay with the independence of Ghana in 1957,

*(Continued on next page)*

## EDITORIAL *Continued from page 1*

has entered a new phase in 1964 : a phase of naked aggression against Africa (recent events in the Congo bear testimony to this.)

Against this background President Apithy asks: "In view of the enormous difficulties facing Africa today, the threat of neo-colonisation, under-development and the return of colonialism who on earth doubts that the solution to all these problems can only be found in the creation of such a continental Government?"

This is the new spirit of the African Revolution. There is a sense of urgency to save the Continent else we are bound to sink under the heels of neo-colonialism.

President Apithy has emerged on the Africa scene at a time when men of this calibre are needed to give a militant hand to the wheels of the African Revolution.

And other African leaders must take a warning not to thwart the will of the African people—or else there is no doubt that they will eventually go down before popular movements.

It is becoming clearer each day that only a united Africa under a central Government can bring the freedom struggle on the continent to a successful end. In fact, the freedom of our brothers still in foreign chains and under colonial rule awaits the redeeming force of an African Continental Government.

There is no doubt that a Union Government, by organizing and centralizing its economic, military and political forces Africa will be able to wage a real struggle against apartheid, Portuguese fascism in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea, Spanish imperialism in Rio Muni and all those who support these evils with trade, investments and arms.

All talk of "prematurity" and "step-by-step" will meet with the resistance of the people for they are a shameful escape from the weaknesses of our own reality. It is significant that President Nkrumah and President Apithy reaffirmed their support for a socialist system of society in their joint communique.

The people of Africa want to see progress and socialism is the only means that will bring it speedily. Under any other system the progress of the continent can only be slow.

In Ghana we have chosen the path of socialism because we are convinced that only under socialism will a rapid genuine, really mass forward movement commence in all spheres of public and personal life.

The Dahomey President during his visit praised Dr. Nkrumah for his foresight and ingenuity.

He described Dr. Nkrumah's political conceptions as "a magnifying glass which reflects the truth, the errors, the progress and weaknesses of our own reality."

He also expressed appreciation for the foresight of "a man who obstinately and fervently lives not only to set for his country the pace towards a new destiny, but more especially to inspire our continent with the essence of our common taste."

It was in this same capital in 1958 at the conference of Independent African States that Dr. Sadok Mokodden of Tunisia said of Dr. Nkrumah:

"I wish to say to him how well he has succeeded in being the authentic expression of the new African conscience."

These good words of two African leaders about our Leader are not brought here by mere coincidence. The significance is that they mark the beginnings of two epochs in the African Revolution.

It was in 1958 that Kwame Nkrumah, singlehandedly laid the foundation for African Unity.

The Conference of Independent African States among other declarations resolved to maintain "Unity of purpose and action in international affairs".

Next year in Accra, the down-trodden people of Africa will demand from our leaders the climax of this resolution: the foundation for a Union Government of Africa must be laid.

It has been a long and tedious road (1958-65) fraught with naked imperialist obstacles and neo-colonialist manoeuvres; but it will be a victory well fought for.

# GHANA'S CHANGING ECONOMY

**THOUGH** 'Seven Years Old', Ghana is one of the first of the new independent states that have arisen in Africa since the end of the Second World War. It is therefore opportune to examine her economic progress, to assess how far she has gone in liquidating the former colonialist economy and in creating a new basis for raising the people's living standards.

Ghana has been an outspoken opponent of imperialism, both in its open and direct forms as well as in its more indirect methods of neo-colonialism. She has championed the cause of those African peoples still languishing under European rule, and from the very moment of her birth as an independent state has lived by the rallying slogan of her President, Kwame Nkrumah, that Ghana's independence is meaningless unless all Africa is free.

She has been a leading fighter for African unity, at the same time emphasising that this unity must be based on African independence and anti-imperialism if it is to have any meaning. She has been a consistent advocate of the cause of peace, playing a leading role in denouncing the French nuclear weapon tests in the Sahara, calling for Africa to be a nuclear-free zone, and assembling at Accra the first major African peace conference. She has campaigned for all-African trade union unity and for the building up of strong African trade unions severed from all dependence on the imperialist-oriented I.C.F.T.U.

She has established firm economic relations with the socialist countries, especially with the Soviet Union. She has proudly nailed the banner of socialism to her national mast, at the same time making clear that she is basing herself on scientific socialism, and that she recognizes, in the words of President Nkrumah: "We have still to lay the

actual foundations upon which socialism can be built."

The totality of these policies makes Ghana one of the leading progressive states in Africa. It equally makes her a major target of imperialist hostility and intrigue. The western press consistently attacks the Ghana Government, falsely depicting it as tyrannical because it does not hesitate to act sternly against those reactionary, self-seeking elements in Ghana society who have shown their readiness to act as imperialism's cat's paws.

Such attacks from the West, however, far from turning the people of Ghana away from supporting their government in its courageous efforts to reconstruct the nation's economy and uphold national sovereignty have only served to stiffen the people's resolve to press onwards more energetically to fulfilling their historic tasks.

## UNITED PEOPLE

Since gaining independence, Ghana's national leaders and the Convention People's Party have striven to enhance the authority of the central government, to strengthen national unity in the face of repeated imperialist attempts to foster tribal division, and to staff the Ghana state institutions with patriotic Ghanaian citizens in place of the former cadres of British imperialism. It had been the experience of President Kwame Nkrumah, even in the period before full political independence when he was acting as First Minister under conditions of internal selfgovernment, that the British colonial officials and civil servants working within the state machine could not be relied upon to implement the anti-colonial measures which he desired to introduce.

On the contrary, they did everything they possibly could do delay, and utterly thwart such proposals. Writing in his autobiography, *Ghana*, in 1956, President Nkrumah pointed out: "... it did not escape my notice that where the administrative service was concerned, if a policy was laid down for the officials by the Government with which they disagreed, means were adopted, by subterfuge or otherwise, to wreck that policy. At other times I would find that matters I wanted to be dealt with urgency, would be delayed indefinitely (because they were not approved of by some of the officials) until I had to intervene and get the job done."

President Nkrumah stressed that British civil servants in the Ghana administration did not limit their efforts to holding up the Government's plans. They actively worked to weaken the Government and to assist the reactionary opposition. "I could at one time", writes the President, "almost guarantee that if there was any movement afoot against the Government, every attempt was made on the part of the civil service to enhance the opposition against the Government."

From these experiences Kwame Nkrumah drew the correct and valuable lesson that "after any political revolution, non-violent or violent, the new government should, immediately on coming to power, clear out from the civil service all its old leaders." "My own experience taught me that by failing to do so, a revolutionary government risks its own destruction."

Acting on the basis of this understanding, the Ghana Government under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party, has set about clearing out from the key positions in the State the old imperialist cadres and placing all the departments under the control of Ghanaian citizens:

This process has included the removal of British military officers

“ Ghana has been an outspoken opponent of imperialism,  
both in its open and direct forms as well as in its more  
indirect methods of neo-colonialism ”

from their command posts in 1961 and bringing the armed forces firmly under Ghanaian hands.

According to a statement by the Ghana Minister of Defence, Kofi Baako, there are not only 0.6 per cent non-Ghanaians in the top grades in the civil, judicial and police services. Further, every single Ministry, Secretariat and Department in the Civil Service is now headed by an African. In the police service there are now 148 African superior officers out of a total of 151.

In the statutory boards and corporations and in other State-sponsored organisations, the same trend is apparent; over forty-five of these, out of a total of sixty are headed by Africans. In the judicial system, all the fifteen Supreme Court and High Court Judges, eight Circuit Judges and twenty-four District Magistrates are Africans.

The placing of the State and administration firmly in Ghanaian hands has facilitated social and economic progress and has enabled the Ghana people to commence tackling their immense task of reconstructing their economy and so strengthening their national sovereignty. In pursuing these aims, the Ghana people and their national leaders have had to narrow departmental view of economics but have wisely related their social and educational programme to the major economic aim.

In the field of health an important beginning has been made, with stepping up of the provision of hospitals, clinics, and health facilities and the training of doctors, midwives, nurses, and dispensers. The number of hospital beds in Ghana is now 6,500—still very limited for a population of 6½ million, but already double the figure for 1960 and increasing all the time. There are now

thirty-two hospitals subsidized by the Government.

By the end of 1963 there will be nearly fifty rural health centres. A number of Ghanaian women have been sent overseas for medical training and for training as nurses. Between 1951 and 1961 the number of doctors trebled. Maternity and child welfare clinics are now to be established in more towns and cities; and a National Accident Insurance Scheme is to be inaugurated. By 1970 it is intended that there should be one doctor to every 10,000 people.

### MAJOR OBSTACLES

The money and resources allocated to the health services in no sense regarded as a diversion away from the much needed economic effort. On the contrary, it is regarded as very much linked to that effort. Ghana, like all African countries emerging from colonialism, has found that widespread ill-health and malnutrition are major obstacles to increased productivity by the workers. Dr. József Bogнар, the well-known Hungarian economist, who was invited by President Nkrumah to participate in drawing up Ghana's new Seven Year Plan, pointed out after his visit to Ghana that 'improvements in health conditions and in nutrition are part of the preconditions for raising the productivity of labour'.

The question of education, too, is seen very much in terms of the needs of developing the national economy. On this question, too, Dr. Bogнар has stressed that 'training in skills, raising the level of the training of the labour force...' are essential if there is to be an increase in labour productivity. At the moment, he stresses, much of the

labour force is 'incapable of concentration because of the low level of skill'.

The expansion of educational facilities, and the changing of the whole pattern of education, have been amongst the most outstanding independent Ghana's many achievements. In 1957 when Ghana became independent, she had eighteen secondary schools attended by only 3,000 students. Today, she has seventy-four secondary schools attended by 23,000 students, a nearly eight-fold increase.

By the end of the new Seven-Year Plan, the enrolment is intended to be 78,000. Between 1951 (when Ghana first had a measure of internal self-government and some possibilities for improving education) and 1961, the number of children in primary schools more than trebled. During the period 1962-63 a further 1,412 primary and 239 middle schools were opened. By the beginning of 1964 Ghana had over 7,000 primary schools attended by 1,200,000 children. By 1970 it is planned to have 2,200,000 at primary schools. Text books are now supplied free to all approved primary, middle and secondary schools.

Ghana now has three university institutions with a combined student body of over 3,000, and a number of teacher training colleges, as well as research institutes attached to the Ghana Academy of Sciences.

In contribution of the old colonial pattern in which among the limited number of Ghanaians able to obtain university education, the emphasis was placed on law and the humanities, the emphasis is now very much on science and technology in order that the educational bodies can turn out an increasing number

of qualified people able to participate more directly in production and the development of the national economy.

Both industry and agriculture will be equipped with a growing body of cadres. Science has already been made a basic subject in all secondary schools and is now being introduced into middle schools as well. One of the three universities; the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, is placing special emphasis on scientific and industrial training in order to promote technological progress in Ghana. A National Science Museum will be opened in 1965.

In the new Seven Year Plan Ghana will spend no less than £61 million on education—which is twice as much as is allocated for health, and three times as much as to be spent on housing. The Ghana Government takes the view that the rapid training of skilled cadres is a priority question without which Ghana's economic—and thus, in the long run social—progress will be severely handicapped.

When one considers that in 1960 three-quarters of the adult population had never been to school it is obvious how necessary is this emphasis which the Ghana Government is placing on education.

In the decisive field of the national economy, too, Ghana has made impressive progress. How significant this can best be judged if we take into account Ghana's economy at the time of winning political independence.

When Ghana became a sovereign state in 1957 she bore all the hallmarks of a colony in the sphere of her economy. She was mainly a producer of raw materials—especially cocoa along with timber, palm oil, diamonds, bauxite and manganese.

These commodities were produced not in accordance with Ghana's internal needs but for export in their raw state, to be processed and enter industry and commerce in the West. Ghana's mineral wealth was dominated by big British and other western monopolies. Her agricultural wealth, largely produced by individual peasant producers, was purchased cheaply by the big British trading monopolies, much as the



**DR. KWAME NKRUMAH**

*ardent advocate of Africa's liberation and unity.*

United Africa Company, a subsidiary of a giant firm, Unilever.

Thus Ghana produced raw materials in order to enrich foreign monopoly firms to make exceptionally high profits. The low purchasing price which the peasant producers had to accept from the big trading firms which had a monopoly over trade enabled these firms, too, to make huge profits.

Furthermore, Ghana's one-sided concentration on raw materials' production for export also meant a complete neglect of the domestic production of foodstuffs. Traditional subsistence agriculture was neglected in favour of cash crops such as cocoa, and Ghana was compelled to

spend millions of pounds a year in importing necessary food-stuffs.

In his recent book, *Africa Must Unite*, President Nkrumah describes how, before the Second World War, the Ghanaian people were told by the British colonial authorities that the Ghana climate and soil were unsuitable for cultivating potatoes. During the war, however, large numbers of British troops were stationed there. British troops without the proverbial potatoes could not be thought of. To import large quantities, however, was out of the question; in view of the desperate needs of war and the Nazi submarine campaign, valuable shipping space could not be devoted to importing potatoes. Consequently the British

authorities obtained a supply of seed potatoes and throughout the war grew potatoes in Ghana.

As soon as the war was over the British authorities turned back the clock, and once again discouraged potato growing in Ghana on the specious plea that the soil and climate were not really suitable! The deliberate discouragement of Ghana's food industry has meant that, to this day, Ghana has to spend about 20 per cent of all her imports on importing foodstuffs, much of which she should be able to produce in Ghana.

### PAST PLANNING

A further, and in some ways much more serious, consequence of Ghana's concentration on a few minerals and crops for export was the complete dependence on imports for her manufactured goods and machinery. Even elementary processing was not carried out domestically. Ghana was virtually without industry.

She exported palm oil—and imported soap, exported bauxite—and imported aluminium pots and pans; exported timber—and imported furniture and paper; exported hides and leather—and imported boots and shoes. She was (and still is) the world's largest exporter of cocoa beans, but every bar of chocolate or tin of cocoa had to be imported. Ghana even had to spend hundreds of thousands of pounds every year importing jute sacks into which to load her raw cocoa for export!

In *Africa Must Unite* Kwame Nkrumah points out that Ghana expressed her limes but had to export the lime juice overseas where it was bottled; Ghana then was obliged to import back the bottled juice made from her own expressed limes!

Ghana was no exception in Africa. All the new states, as they embark on their independent path, find themselves almost completely without industry. Often even nails have to be imported.

The distortion of Ghana's economy in this fashion—concentration on raw materials for export to the

detriment of domestic industry has had another serious consequence, one that is a familiar problem for all newly developing countries.

Statistics over the past fifty years show that prices of industrial and manufactured goods tend to rise more rapidly than prices of raw materials, especially of agricultural items. On top of that, prices of raw materials are much more unstable, so that even where they may show a significant rise in one year they may, just as suddenly—owing to the position of the world market or the deliberate moves of the big capitalist trading monopolies dominating capitalist trade—show an alarming drop and throw into utter confusion the estimates and plans of the developing countries.

Where a country's economy is based on exporting raw materials and importing practically all its manufactured goods and machinery requirements, it faces a losing battle. The price relationships of imports and exports become ever more unequal, and the country's increased efforts to expand production of raw materials and increase the volume of exports only meet with ever-decreasing monetary returns. Thus the gap between itself and the more advanced, industrialised countries becomes wider and wider. In the case of countries whose economy is largely dependent on one crop or minerals, the hazards are even greater.

Ghana, whose economy has been mainly based on cocoa, a crop whose worldly price has shown considerable fluctuations in the past two decades, is particularly vulnerable. By 1962, Ghana found that a volume of her exports which sold for £100 in 1954 were fetching, eight years later, only £70; imports, formerly valued at £100, were costing £107. This means that by 1962 Ghana was having to export 50 per cent more in volume in order to receive in return the same quantity of imported manufactures.

In his sessional address to the Ghana National Assembly on October 15, 1963, President Nkrumah pointed out that during the past

main cocoa season earnings from the export of cocoa beans was £67 million, which was £2 million less than receipts in 1961 although the volume of crops exported was 4 per cent higher than in the previous year.

### DISTORTED STRUCTURE

Such a situation plays havoc with the balance of payments, and is an additional reason why Ghana is making strenuous efforts to do away with the distorted economic structure bequeathed to her by colonialism.

Independent Ghana has begun to transform her economy, to end her dependence on raw materials production, to develop imports substitution, to diversify her agriculture and grow more foodstuffs, and to lay the basis for industrialisation.

In carrying through these radical changes, the Ghana Government and people have found it necessary to take over a number of foreign enterprises, to initiate a state sector of the economy, to draw up economic plans to strengthen state control over trade, to encourage both producer and marketing co-operatives and to diversify external trading relations, in particular in the direction of the socialist countries.

In the field of import substitution Ghana has already registered important successes. She is manufacturing a number of goods from her own raw materials which were formerly produced only for export, and is thus developing a whole range of light industries.

Ghana now manufactures furniture, timber products and tissue paper from her own ample supplies of timber; she even exports some lines of furniture and tissues paper. Soap is now being produced from Ghana raw materials by the new £2 million soap factory recently established at Tema by the big firm, Lever Brothers.

Ghana now grows her own jute, and has established a factory at Kumasi, which is now turning out sacks. Eventually it will provide half



of Ghana's annual requirements of cocoa sacks. Ghana is also building two factories for processing cocoa (one at Takoradi and the other at Tema), and aims, by the end of her Seven Year Plan, which goes into operation this year, to be exporting half her cocoa in processed form instead of raw. With help from Czechoslovakia, a £1,700,000 state-owned shoe factory is being constructed at Kumasi. Its annual output by 1965 will be two million pairs of shoes.

Among other light industries already in operation are matches, nails, cigars, bricks, boats and biscuits. Further plans include a fish cannery, four fruit and vegetable canneries, and a £1,600,000 factory for bleaching, dyeing and printing grey baft. Glass is to be produced, and Ghana will thus be able to bottle her own lime juice.

Two other projects expected to go into operation in 1964 are a meat processing factory and packing plant. A new rubber factory, to produce 300,000 canvas shoes and 200,000 beach sandals a month, is under construction in Accra and is expected to go into production this November. In this connection, Ghana is developing her own rubber production.

With the aid of the State Farms Corporation which plans to have 30,000 acres given over to rubber cultivation the next few years, and the United Ghana Farmers' Council Co-operatives whose seventy-eight rubber co-operatives aim to have a rubber acreage of 100,000 acres by the end of 1964, Ghana will soon have adequate supplies of home-grown rubber to feed into the new £600,000 rubber processing factory to be built at Abura. This will pave the way for a number of other industries making tyres, footwear, belts, and so on. Two sugar refineries are also being built.

A foundation has recently been laid on the outskirts of Accra of a factory for producing prefabricated houses. With Soviet technical assistance, it should be completed in about a year's time and will provide about 1,000 room units per day.

Initially it will provide houses for 22,000 workers in Accra and self-contained community dwellings for about 11,000 people in the new port of Tema. The Soviet Union is also assisting Ghana to establish a gold refinery.

The Ghana Government and the Soviet Union have signed a contract for the construction of complex of fishing industries at Tema. The contract provides for a fish-canning factory, to produce 20,000 cans a day, a fish-smoking factory with an output of six tons of various fish products a day, and a fishmeal and grease plant which will produce up to 30 tons of raw fish products a day.

### AIM OF PLAN

The combination of these projects will provide Ghana with an integrated fishing industry which will, in the near future, save the importation of £5 million worth of fish products a year.

The policy of the Ghana Government and the proposals of the Seven Year Plan are intended to carry Ghana beyond the phase of merely producing consumer goods from her present raw materials. The aim is, according to the Plan, to make Ghana ultimately 'a predominantly industrial trading country'. Primary products, such as cocoa and minerals, 'which have formed the core of our fortunes for the past sixty years must gradually be replaced by the products of medium and heavy manufacturing industry'.

The purpose behind this goal of industrialisation is the creation of 'a Socialist society in which the individual Ghanaian will be able to enjoy a modern standard of living in his home supplemented by an advanced level of public services outside'. And it is the expectation that 'significant progress' in this direction will be achieved during the next twenty years.

In the first stage, which is covered by the present Seven Year Plan—staple consumer goods and basic building materials will be supplied from domestic resources. During this period, too, the main exports—cocoa, minerals, timber—will in-

creasingly be processed before export, so that eventually Ghana ends her dependence on the export of raw materials, which will gradually take second place in the export pattern.

In the second stage of industrialisation, which will follow the completion of the present Seven Year Plan, concentration will be on basic industry, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, chemicals, fertilizers and synthetics. After that, Ghana will move over to machine and other heavy industries and commence her massive industrialization stage.

That these are not just idle dreams can be gauged from the achievements already marked up by Ghana and the provisions being made in the Seven Year Plan. Central to Ghana's industrial growth is the Volta River Project, which is not to be considered simply as a means of providing hydro-electric power, but as an all-purpose scheme affecting the economy as a whole. Electric power is, of course, of key importance. In a recent message to the National Assembly President Nkrumah pointed out:

### ELECTRICITY

'The abundant supply of electrical power will bring light to thousands of homes in the country-side where darkness now prevails. It will make available power practically at the doorstep of businessmen and entrepreneurs in urban areas, and offer them a powerful stimulus for the modernization of existing industries and the development of new ones. The increased use of electricity will help to reduce the foreign exchange expenditure on imported fuel oil. The production of aluminium ingots will add to the range of Ghana's exports and stimulate a greater development of our rich bauxite resources.'

In addition, through the creation of a vast artificial lake, the Project will also help to develop a system of inland transport and navigation, and will make possible the creation of a fish industry and irrigated agri-

(Continued on page 10)

# Racialism in Britain

by A Correspondent

**RACIALISM** has become a more serious menace than ever in Britain.

This is the result of the Tory Government's Commonwealth immigration policy. It has encouraged the fascists to intensify their racialist propaganda. This situation is a direct challenge to equality among all peoples, to working class unity and to the basic principles of democracy.

The excuse for the Commonwealth Immigrants' Act of July 1962, was that Commonwealth coloured immigrants threatened the homes and jobs of British workers.

Its real aim is to make coloured immigrants the scapegoats for the failure of the Tory Government to provide sufficient houses, schools, jobs and adequate social services. It is Tory Government policy which has sharpened the housing shortage, pushed up rents and raised the cost of living.

## Tory Impression

Most Tory leaders give the impression that Britain is being flooded out with coloured immigrants. This is a complete distortion. Far from immigrants flooding Britain, it is British emigrants who are pouring into other Commonwealth countries.

Official reports on immigration are restricted to "Long Sea Voyages" between countries of the Commonwealth, the most recent annual report (December 1963) reveals that the total number of Commonwealth immigrants to Britain by sea voyages, for the years 1955-62 was 494,192, while the total number of British emigrants to the Commonwealth was 768,815. For every two people coming in three were going out.

Since July 1962 the Commonwealth Immigrants' Act has reduced the inflow from Commonwealth countries to an annual average of

*When Kenya's Jomo Kenyatta was attacked by two racist hooligans in London last July, we were being dragged to believe that the incident was an isolated one.*

*It was not. It was another example of glaring racialism which is haunting Britain today.*

*There have been intermittent attacks on innocent African Commonwealth students and even on African members of the diplomatic corps.*

*What are the root causes of these sudden outbursts of racialism in Britain—of all places? The article below attempts an answer.*

45,000. But British emigration to the Commonwealth went up from 121,900 in 1962 to an estimated 146,500 in 1963, more than three times as many as those coming in. British emigrants to Australia alone, between January 1947 and June 1962, numbered 427,000.

This makes clear that the main aim of the Act is to cut down the number of coloured immigrants to Britain.

Of all applicants from India and Pakistan in the first year after July, 1962, only 14 per cent were granted admission, and of West Indians only 44 per cent.

This is in contrast to 70 per cent of Australian and Canadian applicants.

Results confirm the judgement given in the *Times* five months before the Act was adopted.

"The Bill strikes at the roots of Britain's traditional attitude towards immigration. . . . It is on the coloured people of the Commonwealth, particularly West Indians and Asians that its effects will principally fall" (27.2.62).

White immigrants are far greater in number than are coloured immigrants. In December 1960 there were 406,000 registered aliens in Britain, not counting those under 16 years of age.

Most of these were emigres from Europe. They were welcomed with

lavish receptions, and given generous allowances and well-paid jobs.

The estimated total of Commonwealth immigrants living in Britain in 1960, including those under 16 years of age was 430,000. If one adds children under 16 to the December figure of 406,000 registered aliens in Britain, then the total of registered aliens is more than the total Commonwealth immigrants.

In the past decade Britain's own population has risen by 2½ million—more than five times the total of coloured immigrants, and is likely to increase by another three million before 1967. Coloured immigrants are less than one in 100 of the British population, and the proportion is actually declining.

Immigrants with black and brown skins are more visible than those with white skins. Their colour makes them appear more numerous. This is exploited by the Tory Government whose Commonwealth Immigrants' Act is directed solely against coloured immigrants.

It is a denial of equal status to the peoples of 50 new states which have won their political independence since 1945, comprising one-third of the world's population.

It is an attack upon the 700 million people of the 14 newly independent states within the Commonwealth, all of them being non-white peoples.

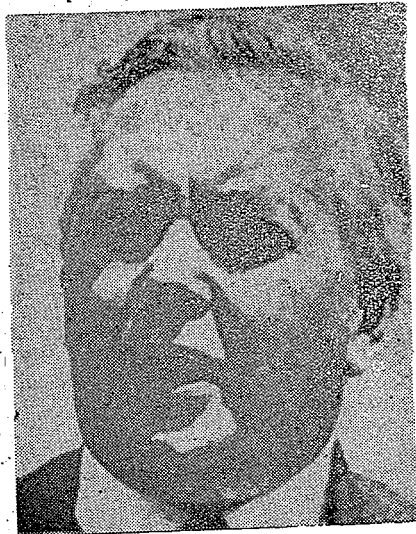
*Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya Premier who became a victim of British racialism.*

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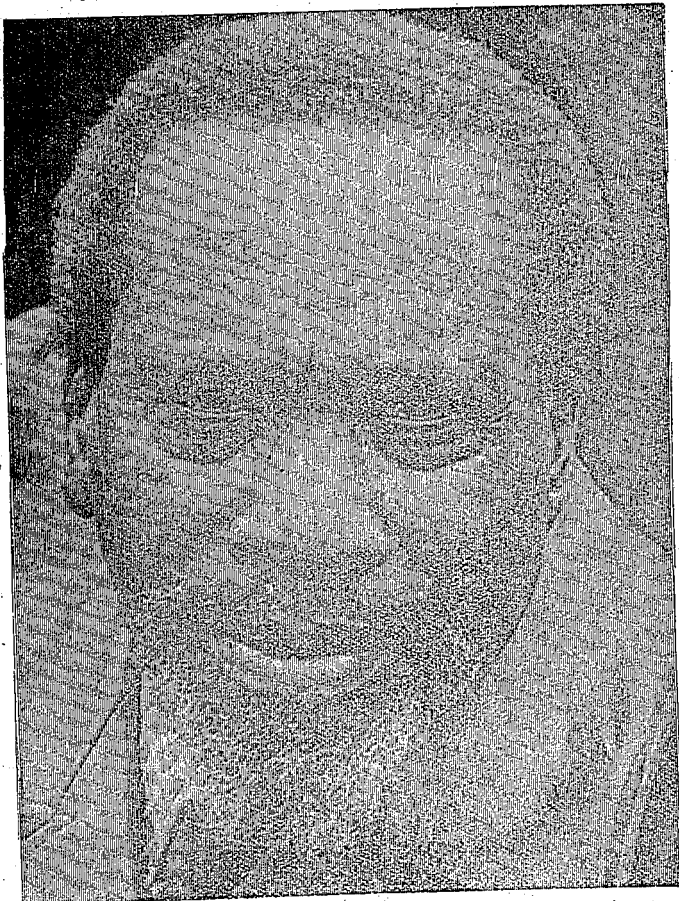
It is a blatant act of racial discrimination which jeopardises friendly relations within the Commonwealth, and is a serious challenge to the British people. It runs counter to the growing trend of world opinion, which favours equality among all peoples.

Coloured immigrants come from those countries which have been ruled and exploited by British imperialism, some for hundreds of years.

Their economy was distorted and retarded in order to grab cheap raw materials and primary goods. British overseas monopoly firms made huge profits, while the peoples of these countries lived in mass poverty.



*Mr. Harold Wilson, British Premier: we do not expect much from him, but at least he can blow over some of the scum left by the Tories.*



When they won political independence these countries were left with a backward and one-sided economy—the heritage of British colonial rule.

They still remain under the stranglehold of British and other overseas monopoly firms, and their wealth is still being drained away in the interest of imperialism.

The newly independent states have not yet been able to make basic economic changes. Mass unemployment and poverty still remain.

Many thousands of their peoples seek a temporary solution through emigration. It is imperialist rule and exploitation which drive them to seek work in Britain.

Imperialism is the root cause of racialism. It preaches the "superiority" of the white race, whose "destiny" it is to rule over those with coloured skins. It is the ideology which breeds fascism, rightly condemned by the great majority of people throughout the world.

This racist ideology has also made serious inroads among many British people, even in the ranks of the working class, and in many trade unions.

Faced with unemployment, low wages, and acute housing shortage, it is an easy temptation for the workers affected to fall into the trap

*(Continued on next page)*

# Ghana's Economy

(Continued from page 7)

culture, comprising heavy water-using crops such as sugarcane, rice and irrigated cotton. The whole scheme will also encourage the construction of new urban areas: the Tema harbour and Tema township, constructed from Ghana's own resources at a cost of £30 million, is seen as a key part of the whole Project.

Work is now proceeding on the Akosombo Dam, and 40 per cent of the dam has already been constructed. The original estimated cost of over £70 million has now been cut to £56 million. Preparations are also being considered, search is being made for oil, and a nuclear research institute being established.

Ghana's chemical industry—essential for comprehensive industrialization—is favoured by the substantial resources of salt; and the £8½ million Tema refinery (one of the six largest in Africa) is expected to make available raw materials for a petro-chemical industry. This refinery is expected to process up to one million metric tone of crude oil during its first year of operation.

By next-year Ghana hopes to be producing 30,000 tons of steel from scrap at her small steel plant—and this is thought to be sufficient to make in Ghana most of the simpler steel plant (which will cost about £1,700,000), Ghana hopes to exploit the ores in the Shiene area; With this achievement, Ghana by 1970, should have laid the basis for a modern iron and steel industry.

Thus, in three fields essential for industrialization—power (oil refinery and electricity), chemicals, and iron and steel—Ghana's Seven Year Plan will carry her a decisive step forward.

What is of special importance in Ghana's plans for economic development is the key role being played by the government and State. It is state initiative, State control, State planning and State finance which is decisive. Ghana's national leaders fully understand the indigenous capitalism left to itself, will never bring about the necessary economic and social revolution which Ghana's

development requires. And neither is the Ghana Government prepared to leave things entirely to foreign capitalists.

On the contrary, it has taken steps to bring a number of foreign enterprises in Ghana under the ownership and control of the State. These include shipping, cable and wireless, civil aviation, five of the seven British-owned mines (though the richest, Ashanti Goldfields, is still in private hands), a Dutch diamond firm, and the big Leventis Store.

Apart from nationalizing these undertakings, which form an essential part of the State sector of the economy, the Ghana Government has also broken foreign monopoly control over the buying of cocoa in Ghana. Until three years ago, the United Africa Company (a subsidiary of the giant Unilever Trust), and other big foreign firms bought their cocoa direct from the farmers and delivered it to the Cocoa Marketing Board. From this they made millions of pounds profit a year. The cocoa then went to London where again British firms made huge profits from the sale of the cocoa on the world market. Now the cocoa farmers, through their Ghana Cocoa Co-operative Society, sell directly to the Cocoa Marketing Board in Ghana; and the sale of cocoa for the world market is now centred on Ghana instead of London.

Thus the policy of the Ghana Government and the Convention People's Party is to push forward the State sector of the economy, to launch special state projects in those fields which are decisive for the development of the national economy, and to ensure, by economic planning, that resources, including foreign capital, are mainly directed to those enterprises which are in Ghana's interests and not just those of the foreign investor. Of the total investment planned under the Seven Year Plan—£1,016.5 million—the Ghana state will undertake £476 million.

The remaining £540 million will come from private investment, £440 million of this from internal sources, the remainder from abroad. The

(Continued on next page)

# Racialism

(Continued from previous page)

of blaming coloured immigrants for this situation.

This antagonism is a gift to Tory leaders and the interests of big monopoly. They welcome friction and divisions between British workers and coloured immigrants, for it makes it easier to exploit all workers, no matter what their colour.

Far from increasing the shortage of homes, schools and jobs, the coloured immigrants are of great value to the British economy and social services.

Without them the London tubes and the railway and bus services all over the country would be with even bigger problems, and the postal services would face a much worse shortage of staff. Coloured immigrants also work in foundries and engineering factories.

On building sites they provide many more houses than they can possibly occupy themselves. Without coloured doctors and nurses, British hospitals would be faced with a far more serious crisis.

Coloured immigrants are making an indispensable contribution to the British economy and social services. They are also active in their trade unions, and in strikes and demonstrations have stood shoulder to shoulder with British workers.

Yet they are confronted in their daily lives all forms of racial discrimination.

They are generally excluded from skilled jobs and forced into the lower paid jobs.

Because of their colour they are rejected as tenants of advertised flats and lodgings, and are often obliged to pay higher rents even than white tenants.

So they are forced to club together to purchase dilapidated short-lease houses, and are often crowded together because there is nowhere else for them to live.

This is Britain.

£476 million, to be invested by the Government will include £240 million of foreign loans and grants. Thus of the planned total of £1,016 million, £340 million, in the form of investment, loans and grants will come from abroad; £676 million will be raised internally.

### A Warning

Draft agreements with socialist countries already provide for loans totalling about £100 million. But loans and investments from the West will also be required—and sought—if the total planned investment is to be reached.

The dangers of too much reliance on western capital are obvious, and President Nkrumah is well aware of them. He has rightly warned:

Private foreign investment from abroad is open to a number of objections. First, the private investor naturally wishes to make as large a profit as possible and the types of industry and trade in which the largest profits can be made are not necessarily the ones which would serve the interests of Ghana. . . . Secondly, the foreign investor naturally wishes to export as much of his profit as possible to his own home country.

Our interest is that profit from industry should be ploughed back into Ghana so as to develop further industry. Finally, if we rely exclusively or even largely upon private foreign investment for our industrialisation, we would in fact become politically and economically dependent upon expatriate interests. Indeed, all we should be doing would be to reintroduce colonialism in another guise. (Broadcast to the nation, December 22, 1961.)

Ghana has suffered too much in the past from imperialist investment not to be aware of its character. In a speech in September 1963, on the occasion of opening the soap factory at Tema, President Nkrumah reminded his audience: . . . "When external capital is merely applied for the purpose of obtaining a quick profit it more often impoverishes rather than enriches the country in which it is invested.

For example, the extraction and exportation of mineral ores through the use of imported machinery and by the employment of low paid labour is of no material benefit to the people of the country concerned.

Ultimately the mineral resources of the colonial country are exhausted and the imported machinery is removed elsewhere, or scrapped.

The labour that was employed, having been paid only a subsistence wage, will have accumulated no savings. Thus nothing remains upon which future developments can be based.

This was one of the commonest types of capital investment in colonial Africa and it is still to be found, unfortunately, in some independent African States.

It is a type of investment we are not prepared to tolerate.

### New Attitude

Foreign investors must today fit their investment to suit the overall plan for the development of our economy.

They must maintain a high level of employment and impart technical skill to the Ghanaians whom they employ."

Ghana is therefore doing her best to ensure first that foreign investments are directed to those projects in which Ghana herself is interested. Secondly, by financial and taxation policies, to compel foreign investors to plough back a reasonable proportion into Ghana's industry, instead of exporting nearly all their profits. Thirdly, to reject those offers which are accompanied by conditions or strings which impinge on Ghana's sovereignty or lay her open to later economic difficulties.

The case of the Tema oil refinery is of special interest here. This £8½ million refinery was built for Ghana by the Ghana-Italian Petroleum Company, or Ghaip for short. To develop her industry Ghana must have oil. 'It is as important for industry as water is for human existence', Nkrumah has pointed out.

Yet, if Ghana was not to endanger her independence, it was essential to obtain a refinery which would come under Ghanaian control. The authorized capital of Ghaip is £3,400,000, which is provided by two Italian firms A.G.I.P. and A.N.I.C.

However, 50 per cent of all profits of Ghaip will go to the Ghana Government. Further, after ten years' operations, Ghaip will automatically transfer 50 per cent of its share capital to the Ghana Government, which is to appoint the Chairman and half the members of the Board of Directors. If and when the Ghana Government finds it necessary to strengthen its control still further over Ghaip, it will have every possibility of doing so.

Meanwhile the Tema refinery will be producing valuable solids liquids and gases for Ghana. Solids will include waxes, carbon and asphalt, coke and briquette; gases will include both natural gas and organic chemicals; and liquids will be petrol, diesel fuel, kerosene, lubricants, motor oil, etc. By-products will make possible the manufacture of synthetics (plastics and textile fibres) as well as the production of fertilizers which, on President Nkrumah's instructions, are to be given top priority.

The £2 million soap factory at Tema will be owned by Lever Brothers, but this, after all, is not as oil is, a key to Ghana's economy. No one owning a soap factory can seriously endanger Ghana's economy, and the question of direct Government control is not so important here.

At the same time, Ghana will benefit greatly. The Government is expected to save about £2 million a year which she has to spend at present on importing soap. Last year, in fact, Ghana imported 24,000 tons of soap at a cost of £2.7 million.

Thus, even where foreign capital is allowed in, whether in joint projects with the Ghana Government, or in purely private ventures, the Ghana Government tries to ensure that the benefits accruing to the Ghana eco-

onomy outweigh any dangers or negative aspects. Foreign capital will continue for a time to make profits by exploiting Ghanaian labour but Ghana's economy will benefit too.

The development of economic relations with socialist countries is undoubtedly of assistance to Ghana. The Soviet Union will help establish the Bui dam, the nuclear reactor, the gold refinery, the factory for prefabricated housing parts and the fish canning industry. It has sent a large team of surveyors to carry through a thorough geological survey which, it is expected, will uncover further mineral wealth in Ghana.

#### Assistance

The Soviet Union has agreed to examine the expediency of constructing a metallurgical and/or ferromanganese plant, and of building a tractor assembly plant in Ghana itself. Soviet help is being given to set up two state farms growing rice and another cultivating maize. Experimental cotton growing is being undertaken with a view to the possibilities of State farms in this field also. In addition to the fish canning industry mentioned above, Soviet technical assistance and trawlers are being provided to help expand fishing in Ghana waters and beyond. Soviet assistance is also given to help build a paper factory and a cotton mill.

Other socialist countries are also expanding their relations with Ghana. Poland will supply equipment for an iron-smelting plant and a shipyard. An agreement with China grants a loan of £7 million which enable Ghana to receive machine tools, forging and pressing machinery, agricultural implements, instruments and electrical appliances and machinery for building and road construction.

A £2,500,000 credit from Hungary will go towards establishing hydro-electric and steampower plants, canning factories, flour mills, irrigation plants, an incandescent lamp factory, an aluminium cable factory, and a pharmaceutical factory. Ghana will also obtain from Hungary diesel locomotives and

railway coaches. Czechoslovakia is granting credits for £5 million which in addition to the boot and shoe factory previously mentioned, will provide hydro-electric power plants, motor and cycle plants, a leather tannery and a number of hospitals. An economic agreement has been signed recently with Rumania.

In connection with a number of projects being built with assistance from the socialist countries provision is being made for the training of Ghanaian technicians who will eventually be able to take over the technical management and running of the enterprises.

For example, ninety-two Ghanaians are at present in the Soviet Union, studying marine engineering, refrigeration, electronics engineering and radio engineering in order to help run Ghana's new fishing trawlers.

It has been reported that the Soviet Union will give Ghana special help to train skilled workers and technicians for industry, agriculture and building. Special schools to be set up for this purpose will eventually have a combined student body of 5,000 to 6,000.

#### Major Progress

All this will contribute considerably towards the fulfilment of Ghana's Seven-Year Plan.

As a result of its efforts in the past period, of the work of its people, the initiative, drive and planning of its State, combined with the building of closer economic relations with the socialist countries and the judicious use of loans and investments from the major capitalist countries, Ghana has made significant industrial progress. In his speech to the Ghana National Assembly on October 15, 1963, the President was able to declare:

Already we have established forty-five industrial projects, thirty-three of which are completely state owned; the rest are owned jointly by the State and private enterprises. Thirty-six more industrial projects are under examination or in construction.

#### Agriculture Making Progress too

The natural emphasis on industry does not mean that Ghana is neglecting her agriculture. This, too, is to receive special attention under the Seven-Year Plan. The main lines of change already under way are first, to expand food production in order to cut down the heavy expenditure on food imports which, at £26 million last year, were three times above the level of ten years ago.

Secondly, to feed the rapidly growing population, especially as more of it will be urbanized and engaged in the expanding industry, and to increase and improve the people's diet. Thirdly, to provide more industrial crops for Ghana's industry. And fourthly, to diversify agriculture and expand the production of those items which, in raw or processed state, can find export markets and so add to Ghana's overseas earnings.

There is no intention of abandoning the valuable cocoa production, for this still a major earner. But dependence on cocoa will be ended, and a more all-round agriculture created alongside a thriving industry. The fact that a Ghanaian farmer produces only enough food for one and a half people compared with twelve in the United States indicates the key importance of increasing the production of food-stuffs.

Development of livestock, fish, rice, maize and sugar is to be encouraged, and fruit and vegetables to feed the new canneries will be grown.

There are now 105 State farms, many of them being experimental stations taken over from the former Department of Agriculture and the defunct Agricultural Development Corporation. These are rather in the nature, at this stage, of pioneering efforts. They will enable experience to be gained in large-scale cultivation; assist the training of agricultural technicians, and, with the help of the Youth Work Brigade, help to clear new land.

The main responsibility for expanding Ghana's agriculture however, will fall on the peasant producers. They will be assisted by the Government with scientific advice, machine and tractor stations, better seed and livesock, and larger credit facilities.

Co-operatives are being encouraged amongst farmers not only for marketing purposes but also for actual production. In mixed food production—food crops, poultry and pigs—there are now over 100 co-operative farms. There are a further seventy-eight co-operative rubber plantations and a large co-operative coconut farm. In cocoa there are still many large and medium-size farmers employing wage labour, but co-operative farming is very marked here, too. In a recent speech, opening a three-day conference of the United Ghana Farmers' Council Co-operatives, President Nkrumah stated that there were now about 1,000 co-operative farms in Ghana.

The distribution of food and the regulation of prices are also receiving attention, and a Food Marketing Board has been set up for these purposes. In the field of trading the Government set up a Ghana National Trading Corporation in 1961. In 1962, the Government bought up the big trading firm of A. G. Leventis, and added this to the National Trading Corporation. This Corporation now handles import trade with the socialist countries. In addition, Ghana has a State Bank and a State Insurance Corporation.

Thus Ghana's economic progress is being organised in a planned and comprehensive way. The planning cannot yet be all-embracing, owing to the fact that a considerable sector of the economy is still in private hands, both domestic and foreign. Statistics, too, are not yet full enough to enable completely scientific planning techniques to be utilized. But the foundations for Ghana's economic growth are being well laid.

The present pattern of Ghana's economy is based on five sectors—State, co-operative, mixed State and foreign, foreign enterprise (or large undertakings), and domestic

private capital for smaller enterprises. But this pattern is not regarded as something which will be permanent. The Seven-Year Plan emphasises that Ghana has chosen the socialist form of society as the objective of her social and economic development, and in pursuance of this aim every encouragement will be given, in both industry and agriculture, to the expansion of the State and co-operative sectors.

The fact, that, for a time, much of Ghana's economy will remain in private capitalist hands is not in itself necessarily a danger. Even the existence of foreign capital need not become a serious threat. As long as the Government and the national leadership are clear and determined to avoid the path of normal capitalist development, as long as they mobilize the workers and peasants to assist them in taking this path, then, step by step, they can circumscribe the limits of foreign capitalist sector and eventually take it over or buy it out at a time and under conditions which are most appropriate. Similarly, domestic capitalist growth as well can be kept in check so that from this quarter, too, any threat can be countered. Ghana's aim, in fact, is that a 'dominant share' of the economy will be in the hands of the State within about twenty years.

The Seven-Year Plan itself warns: "We must be careful to ensure that the operation of the mixed economy leads to the socialist transformation and not to the defeat of our socialist aims."

In line with this objective, the plan lays down a three-fold strategy: (1) to speed up the rate of growth of the national economy; (2) to embark on the socialist transformation of the economy through the development of the state and co-operative sector; and (3) to liquidate the colonial structure of the economy by the development of modern industry. A significant basic principle of the plan is that the growth rate of the public sector must always exceed the growth rate of the private sector in agriculture and industry.

Indicative of the whole character of the plan is the fact that whereas

in the period 1951-59 no less than 90 per cent of Government investment was in the non-productive sector, this will be reduced under the plan to 62.7 per cent, while the productive sector will be allocated 37.3 per cent of the Government investments, almost four times that of the previous period.

It must be appreciated that for a small country such as Ghana, with under seven million people, and an economy left in a most backward state by colonialism, the task of building a modern, industrialised economy is enormous.

For this reason alone, apart from the most pressing political needs, Ghana would much prefer to be carrying through her economic changes as part of a united Africa which would enable all the resources of manpower and materials in this vast continent to be pooled, for communications to be co-ordinated, for hydro-electric stations to be created on a planned continental basis making a regional grid system possible, economically strategic regions—in short for the economy of the whole continent to be co-ordinated and planned.

While pressing for African unity, however, Ghana is not standing still. She is pressing ahead and, in many respects, making herself an inspiration for other developing States in Africa.

Much remains to be done, there are many obstacles to be overcome and weaknesses to be eliminated. But Ghana is making—and will continue to make—important economic progress. In six and a half years of independence she has begun to break up the former colonial pattern of the economy, and take her first careful but firm steps towards becoming a modern, industrialized country. She is diversifying her economy, extending her agriculture from its one-crop pattern, building her light industries, and laying the basis for heavy industry.

Expressive of her economic growth is the present level of her average per capita income. United Nations sources now estimate it at \$245 a year compared with \$110 for West Africa as a whole, \$65

## Imperialist Hold on Gabon Economy

GABON, a former French colony in West Africa, gained its independence in August, 1960. Imperialist interests however were jealously guarded by their puppet President Leon M'ba allowed the French monopolies to continue plundering the natural wealth of his country.

The entire economy of this small state is virtually controlled by big financial concerns like the Banque de Paris et de Pays-Bas, Union Parisienne, the banking houses of Rothschild, Schneider and Morgan.

Moreover, the neo-colonialists are destroying one of the chief sources of Gabon's wealth—the *okume* tree which, in great demand on the world market, is being exported at the rate of a million tons a year. The Moanda manganese deposits, one of the world's largest, are exploited by the Compagnie Minière de l'Ogooue with the participation of U.S. and Britain capital.

Gabon's iron ore is mined by the Societe de Mine de fer de Mekambo which is controlled by France and the United States. Various monopoly corporations are also extracting oil (890,000 tons in 1963) and gold 1,118 kg in 1963).

Gabon's uranium deposits are of particular interest to the French neo-colonialists. The entire output goes to the French atomic energy commission. Gabon uranium went into the making of the French Atom bomb.

The French imperialists, who are extracting fabulous profits from Gabon, have always endeavoured to depict that country as a model of political and economic stability. They invariably held it up as an example of co-operation within the European/African framework which it is alleged ensures the people a high standard of living.

True, according to official statistics average income per capita in Gabon is 37,000 African francs a year, which is more than in many African countries.

However, if one deducts from this figure the inordinately high incomes

of the Europeans who hold all the skilled jobs, the average income for the Gabonian will drop to 20,000 African francs a year.

But this figure too does not tell the whole story. It should be remembered that Gabon, with its population of 450,000, pays its President 800,000 African francs a month, its 12 Ministers get 350,000 a month each and 150,000 goes to each of its 165 Deputies in Parliament. The majority of the population subsists on an average of 500-600 African francs a month, a sum equivalent to what a European in Libreville pays for a single meal.

This state of affairs has aroused deep dissatisfaction among all sections of the population.

The action taken by a group of young officers on February 18 which, backed by a section of the Gabon army, forced the President to resign and turned over the power temporarily to a government headed by Jean-Iler Aubame, leader of the opposition, was a reflection of the popular sentiment.

It is noteworthy that the uprising was carried out without the loss of a single life and perfect order was preserved throughout the country.

But the French imperialists, who have suffered some painful setbacks of late in the Congo (Brazzaville) and Dahomey realised that this time the interests of the big monopolies in Gabon were in jeopardy.

On orders from de Gaulle personally, French paratroopers were rushed to the spot from Brazzaville and Dakar. After quickly overcoming the resistance of the Gabon army, numbering a grand total of 400 men, the paratroopers re-installed the deposed dictator Leon M'ba

## Ghana's Economy

Continued from previous page

for East and Central Africa, and \$130 for North Africa. Some estimates place Ghana now on a level with Portugal—admittedly one of the worst-off European countries, but when one starts to compare an African country with a European on it is clear that something new is happening.

These important economic ad-

and proceeded to "restore order" in the country.

This armed intervention aroused indignation in Africa and throughout the world. No excuses (President M'ba's request for help, fulfilment of treaty obligations, etc.) can justify this act of imperialist aggression.

There is no excuse for the presence of French troops with whose help the puppet President is now taking reprisals against all who participated in the peaceful action of February 18. Meetings and demonstrations are being held all over Gabon demanding the resignation of the president and the withdrawal of foreign troops. The situation remains tense.

Of late certain admirers of General de Gaulle have begun to talk about the 'wise' policy France is pursuing in the colonies. It is claimed that France has already completed decolonisation, that the policy of the French imperialists differs from that of international gendarme—US imperialism.

The events in Gabon have blasted that myth. They have shown the whole world that French imperialism has no intention of giving up its positions, that it remains a bitter enemy of the peoples of its former colonies.

vances being carried forward in Ghana by the Government and the Convention People's Party are not at all to the liking of imperialism any more than are Ghana's consistent fight for peace and against colonialism, and her avowed intention to build socialism in Ghana. This explains why Ghana meets with such a hostile press in Britain and America, and why there have been plots to overthrow the Government headed by President Nkrumah.

But Ghana is fighting off these attacks and calmly continues her advance away from colonialism, and in the direction of a new independent economy, thus laying the basis, in President Nkrumah's words, of "a society in which the maxim: from each according to his ability and to each according to his work, shall apply, and in which the condition for the development of each shall be the condition for the development of all".



By

Dr. Mburumbi Kerina

THE spectacle of South West African politics, particularly as it is represented abroad, is chaotic at best, and its worst, it alternatively confounds and disgusts even the most dedicated supporters of our people's struggle elsewhere in Africa and overseas. To arrive at a clear understanding of our purposes and the forces at work in our developing revolution, and the correct assess prospects to the future, one must accede to the fact that:

1. The meaning and truth of the South West African freedom struggle are to be found within South West Africa itself.
2. The solution of our problem will be generated from within South West Africa in accordance with the political and economic realities of our circumstances and the social conditions of our people.

### Misrepresentation

The real issues in our struggle have been obscured and confused by those who want to maintain two political status quo in our country. Conflicts among South West Africans are widely misrepresented abroad. Substantial differences of principle are reduced to personality conflicts and pro and anti-United Nations factional fights and are interpreted as threats of tribal domination, and inter-and intra-party power struggles.

In actual fact, the conflicts among South West Africans spring from different approaches to our overall situation and different definitions of political struggle.

In imperialist dominated Africa today, every politician and would-be politician calls himself a nationalist.

This label becomes his passport to the generosity and support of

African, Asian and other sympathetic states and organisations.

Every 'nationalist' must speak the language of anti-imperialism and Pan-Africanist nationalism whether or not he comprehends its true meaning or applies it in his own national situation. Unfortunately, for South West Africa the world abroad has had no way by which to perceive the dynamics of our politics at first hand in the country.

### Political Issues

The international community has been largely dependent on 'refugees' account. Disastrously also for South West Africa and the world abroad, few refugees have really studied our own national situation to its entirety or analysed our problems correctly.

Consequently the world has been deceived, our people at home have been betrayed, and the integrity of our struggle is seriously undermined. Obviously, the facile 'personality', 'tribal domination' and 'power struggle' analyses and explanations will not stand up alone under careful scrutiny where real political issues as critical and far-reaching as those we face in South West Africa are present.

These things are not the bases of our crisis, but unfortunate out-growth of conflicts generating from different conceptions of the nature of our struggle and how it is to be waged.

Our situation contains many ingredients for popular political revolution. However, there has been no real nationalist struggle in the sense of an organised offensive against South Africa and South West Africa remains an outright colony of South Africa.

The settler government's intention has always been and continue to be annexation and complete absorption of South West Africa into South Africa. At the present time South Africa has the physical means to bulldoze its calculated schemes to completion in South West Africa.

South Africa's determination to intensify the imposition of its abhorrent policies upon the African masses by military force rules out any possibility of constitutional or revolutionary change. Simply stated the immediate political objective of our struggle is the complete and unconditional removal of South African presence and influence from our country and affairs using any and all means available to us.

The greatest single factor in South Africa's favour at this stage is time. Time to further confuse the international community in order to forestall concerted African States, Afro-Asian or United Nations actions!

### Verwoerd Schemes

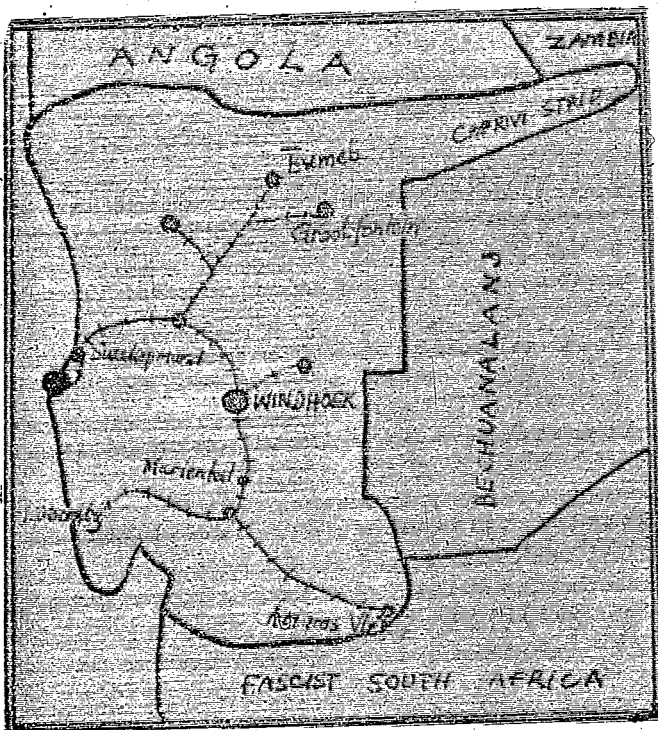
Time in which to consolidate its capacity to suppress internal revolt and to strengthen its combat potential to deter and crush possible international intervention; and time to destroy African opposition once and for all by implementing bantustanisation and consuming the fragmentation of the African people.

The Verwoerd government can thereby present the outside world with a physical "fait accompli" that it could take decades to reverse.

There is not yet an effective African opposition organised within the country to deter South Africa from its course, leave alone one organised to challenge Verwoerd to showdown.

With the valuable time gained from the past two years of political stagnation in our struggle, Verwoerd has been able to neutralise the positive opposition that South Africa once felt from the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and frightened off possible Afro-Asian and United Nations intervention.

He is now prepared to push bantustanization at all costs whether or not he officially proclaims that policy. South Africa's intentions in regard to South West Africa are explicitly enunciated in the Odenaal Report.



Neither of the two political organisations known abroad as SWAPO and SWANU, no combination of these and similarly tribally constituted political groups or factions within these groups such as SWANLIF nor any single African tribe is sufficient to the task of facing Verwoerd alone.

The decisive question before our people today is how to overcome the present political struggle.

### Non-Tribal Unity

All attempts to solve this problem converge upon the issue of non-tribal unity—the necessity for unity, the extent and depth of unity required to prepare and execute a successful confrontation with the South African government within the country, the organisational form, the movement should take, and the immediate and long range objectives it must pursue.

In the absence of non-tribal unity, the struggle cannot commence in earnest with any prospect of a

successful conclusion against the powerful enemy forces.

Since this article attempts an analysis of African politics in our country we must honestly admit that we have several grave handicaps to overcome. First, there is no well-developed sense of national patriotism or self-reliance among our peoples.

In the early stages of our political reawakening our masses and some of our traditional leaders succumbed to the nearly fatal delusion that the struggle could be waged on their behalf by others abroad by absentee leadership or even by elite politicians at home.

An articulate minority of individuals with a deep-rooted sense of self-confidence in their African tradition and essentially Pan-African orientation has insisted over the years that action originally undertaken on our behalf by foreigners because our own people were prevented from representing themselves and later work abroad by South West Africans themselves,

is helpful only in so far as it reflects the purpose and content of a popular force at home and only as long as it remained under the guidance and control of the people.

They were overruled for many years by traditionalists possessed of the dependency mentality.

A corollary of the delusion of struggle by substitution has been the mistaken notion that some how South West Africa is unique in international politics, that it enjoys an 'international status' that sets it a part from or puts it into a special relationship with the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial current and that our people are 'international wards' dependent upon the mercy and benevolence of international public opinion expressed through international organisations particularly the United Nations.

### Political Inertia

International 'interest' in our country has confused many of our countrymen, particularly on the issue of what should be the principal arena of action in the struggle. We have found from experience that the very 'international status' that has been held up as a means to our salvation has proved to be formidable barrier between the masses and action.

Many of the problems we face in uniting ourselves and moving ahead as a revolutionary nationalist force today arise out of the persistence of these delusions and our long-standing failure as a people to take sufficient notice of the serious contradictions within political policies based upon them.

Furthermore, the vacuum created by our political inertia and aimlessness has been an irresistible attraction to confusionist and parasitic elements who aggravate our political paralysis and further obscure our basic tasks. And obviously our greatest handicap by far has been the absence of a revolutionary political ideology evolving out of and serving as a basis for the struggle.

African politics at home have been largely in the hands of the tribal, the educated and certain

political elites, few of whom have realised the necessity for working to establish the foundation of a mass revolutionary movement. The politics of competition have dominated over the politics of co-operation. The various political groups heretofore in existence and known abroad appear to follow progressive principles in print, but in practice they have served more as vehicles for the promotion of individual and tribalist interests than they have to advance the cause of the masses as a whole.

### Absence of Ideology

They have failed miserably to advance and execute successful programmes of defiance and offensive against South Africa by the masses within the country.

Consequently, these groups have played into the hands of Verwoerd and his agents have encouraged the tribal identity of political groups to better use them as instruments to demoralize and suppress any organised mass political force.

Our country today is experiencing the emergence of a potential revolutionary force established upon the only secure revolutionary foundation—the will and direct participation of the masses awakening to the awareness that South West Africa's salvation will be the result of its own initiative and struggle. The masses of the people as a whole, however, are still only in the dawn of that realisation.

We have a long and difficult task ahead in counteracting the inroads upon organised struggle made by the tribalist, divisionist and confusionists whose work it is to distract the people from organised collective effort.

The ideal of mass participation from conception to execution coming to fruition in our country gives a new dimension to our politics. It has stark implications for the forces of oppression and the numerous conflicting and anti-popular elements that have heretofore monopolized the political stage and manipulated the masses for their own selfish purposes.

These reactionary elements know that the new developments within

South West Africa are a direct outgrowth of a revitalised political consciousness that is disillusioned by betrayal and the failure of their elite, protest and tribal politics.

The various 'elites' see the people becoming directly involved in a united non-tribal political movement; and they see the struggle beginning to assume a revolutionary orientation that the masses demand and that they the 'elites' with their limited vision and understanding could never fulfil.

If our people at home can succeed in firmly establishing the emerging national liberation movement, our people's political affairs will no longer be under the direction of a manoeuvrable few who are indented for their power on sources alien to the people as a whole.

The extensive foreign economic interests in South West Africa require an independent analysis of their own, and an examination of their role in South West African affairs through political machinations within the governments of South Africa's closest trading partners would reveal many reasons for South West Africa's retarded pace in the African freedom march.

For the present purpose it is sufficient to note that the strength of the South African government and its ability to produce cheap African labour to maintain minimal rates of taxation and to provide inexpensive land expropriated from the African people, guarantees the security and profits of these external operators in South West Africa, and they in turn, compensate the South African government handsomely for services rendered.

South West Africa is advertised abroad as the last major tax-payer's paradise. Without international capitalist economic lubrication and political support Verwoerd's machinery of oppression could be turned into reverse motion immediately.

The foreign interests, particularly the mining and petroleum cartels are tremendous power to be reckoned with, and they will undoubtedly intensify their subversive political activities among Africans in South West Africa, like they did in

the Congo, as our struggle gains momentum.

### Imperialist Subversion

A brief look at diamond industry profits will give the reader an idea of the magnitude of foreign interests in South West Africa and their complicity in our oppression. Beside the diamond industry there are numerous other mining interests operating on the same principle of extractive economics and plunder, and causing the same Verwoerd-controlled cheap African labour supply.

Mostly as a result of expansion in the mining industry the South West African administration's tax income has trebled over the past ten years. The bulk of this tax revenue comes from foreign expropriation of South West African natural resources.

Nearly all of it has been poured into schemes for underwriting Europe economic expansion in the country and subsidizing European agricultural developments, for general improving European standards of living in the 'Police Zone', and for attracting mass European migration into the country as a part of Verwoerd's overall geopolitical strategy.

For the past five years (1959-1963) South West Africa has produced well over fifteen per cent of the world's diamonds, including both high-grade gem and industrial stones.

During that time one company, Consolidated Diamond Mines Ltd. (C.D.M.) which is an affiliate of the Oppenheimer-De-Beers empire, produced about 98 per cent of South West Africa's total.

In 1962 C.D.M.'s income of approximately £1,690,000 was the highest in South West Africa. Total net sales and exports of South West African diamonds from 1959-1963 after taxation ranged from over £16,000,000 in 1959 to nearly £21,000,000 in 1963.

The richest known diamond fields unearthed so far have been discovered beneath the waters

of the South West African coastline. With the full-scale mining of these "alluvial" or "marine" diamonds that commenced in 1964, South West Africa will soon become the undisputed leader in world diamond production.

This fact of our country's economic potential and the extent to which our country is being stripped of its resources is buried along with similar facts in South African government-compiled statistical tables where South West Africa's production is represented as a part of South Africa's and where they help to promote the distorted picture of South African prosperity that Verwoerd is trying to foist upon the world.

The three-year-old Marine Diamond Corporation (M.D.C.) production will exceed C.D.M. the former major producer, by five times within the next few months. In a single 50-square-mile portion of the 4,000 square-mile concession given to M.D.C. the company counts positively on extracting for its profits, at least 30 million carats of irreplaceable diamonds.

### Labour Force

M.D.C. uses a minimum of human labour on two mechanised dredging barges whose combined full production capacity will make it possible for this company to extract 5,000 carats of diamonds a day.

This will place a single company's haul at approximately £62,500 a day. Contrast this with African income in the reserves from where the bulk of the cheap contract labour to work the mines is recruited. The reserve-bound African has an average per capita income that stands less than R20 a year.

Marine Diamond Corporation also serves as a demonstration of foreign capitalist support for the consolidation of Verwoerd's political power in South West Africa. The chairman of M.D.C., oil and diamond monopolist Sam Collins, boasts leadership of some 90 companies around the world from Kuwait to Texas.

In addition to the right to extract unlimited quantities of diamonds from South West Africa that he has already secured from the South African government Verwoerd's administration has recently awarded Collins extensive inland and offshore oil prospecting rights in South West Africa.

Unexplored and untapped oil resources in our country are believed to be considerable. This fact acquires ominous significance in the light of South Africa's capacity to produce only about 7 per cent of its domestic petroleum requirements and has suddenly intensified its drive for increased domestic oil production under the threat of Afro-Asian efforts to impose sanctions against South African apartheid through an international oil embargo.

An interview under the caption COLLINS (I'M A NAT) GIVES £500 TO PARTY was reported as follows in the Johannesburg SUN-DAY TIMES of April 19th 1946.

"I am a Nationalist. "Mr. Sam Collins, the 51-year-old millionaire told me today. He confirmed he had made a donation of £500. to the Garden Branch of the Nationalist Party on its 50th anniversary. Mr. Collins said he admired the work and vision of the Prime Minister, Dr. Verwoerd, and he believed that the Nationalist approach to South African problems was right. Mr. Collins, as an American citizen, cannot join any South African political party, although he is a permanent resident. "But if I were a South African I would join the Nats," Mr. Collins told me.

Mr. Collins' words speak for themselves. It would be difficult to find more lucid testimony to capitalist ideological and financial support of South Africa.

More recently, Mr. Collins has called upon Verwoerd to assign the South African Navy to protect his seabed diamond dredging operations from Russian fishing trawlers operating off the South West African coast that Collins suspects are "stealing" his diamonds.

South Africa has pursued the classical colonialist objectives of ex-

ploitation and oppression in South West Africa, and its strategy for maintaining a stranglehold upon our country's valuable manpower and vast materials resources rests upon naked force, isolation and division.

And it has the strength of a massive machinery of government to abort an African freedom movement as it has already demonstrated by its role in the perversion and destruction of SWAPO.

The magnitude of physical and ideological tasks facing any revolutionary nationalist movement in the whole of Southern Africa are enormous in the face of South African opposition.

### Military Might

Force dominates the picture. South Africa unquestionably possess the largest and best equipped military machine on the African continent. Military alliances with Britain and Portugal ostensibly designed to deter external aggression have the practical effect of enhancing South Africa's capacity for internal suppression within its own borders and in its colony, South West Africa.

South Africa's military arsenal includes an abundance of the conventional paraphernalia of modern warfare. In recent months they have added rockets-propelled ground-to-air guided missiles supported by radar capable of striking targets far beyond the borders of South Africa and South West Africa, mirage and sabre-jet fighter planes, anti-submarine warships, and the latest in anti-guerrilla arms for the infantry and mobile police forces.

This year South Africa plans to purchase £8,960,250 worth of bombs and ammunition and to spend £16,500,000 (thrice the 1963 allotment) for the manufacture of munitions within South Africa. These expenses will come from the 1964 government defence budget of £105,000,000.

### Defence Budgets

South Africa's defence budgets have increased by three times since it was forced out of the Commonwealth and by five times since 1959.

The police, whose functions in suppressing the African population are interchangeable with the military, are allotted an additional R49,000,000 from the 1964 national budget.

Within that, police vote the provision for secret service is multiplied by four times over the 1963 budget, and within the police organisation the security branch has become elevated to the level of an autonomous unit under Brigadier Hendrik van den Berg, responsible directly to the Minister of Justice, Balthazer Vorster.

An internal secret police force replacing the criminal investigation division (C.I.D.) in the handling of political cases and patterned organisationally after the Nazi Gestapo is a present concrete reality in South Africa and its colony South West Africa today.

### Evil Intentions

It is an obvious fact that South Africa is a military state mobilised for internal and international war. Its existence as such is a serious threat to the entire African continent. All of its military power is concentrated in the hands of European racists for use against the black man.

South West Africa is nominally separated from this military-colonialist colossus by only 460 miles of river and 215 miles of desert frontier. The border is a meaningless designation for all practical purposes. South West Africa is governed and occupied by the military-police organisation an internal part of South Africa.

South Africa's intentions for South West Africa have always been absorption into South Africa, by one means or another, as a fifth province. Legally South Africa's ambitions have been frustrated, but de facto absorption is a long accomplished reality and will be fulfilled completely under the government's Odendaal scheme discussed below.

South Africa has several fully-staffed operational military bases and training camps in South West

Africa. The garrisons at Walvis Bay, our country's major seaport and in the Caprivi Strip, bordering on Angola, Bechuanaland and Northern Rhodesia, are maintained under the false claim that these sections of South West Africa are part of South Africa.

### Secret Camps

The terms of the Mandate under which South Africa has colonised South-West Africa forbids the establishment of military installations anywhere in South West Africa.

In defiance of the Mandate, South Africa has established numerous secret military camps throughout the country and is constructing 'emergency' military airfields equipped to accommodate jet fighters. Well armed stationary and mobile military units (in some stations disguised as veterinary officers) are posted at one-mile intervals along the South West Africa-Bechuanaland border. South Africa troops and large shipments of arms and ammunitions arrive regularly at night by air and rail in South West Africa and are cached strategically in sealed-off areas throughout the country.

The problem facing South West Africa is complicated by the presence in the territory of white South African mercenaries and other European settled 'permanently' among us in roughly the same proportion to the African population as the colons of pre-independence Algeria. As regards the position of the European settler element in our country, the African struggle has a double consciousness. First it is a class struggle against the forces of economic exploitation.

Furthermore, it is a struggle against racism. The man who opposes Africans economically and who blocks every avenue to economic and political development, and the man who hates and kicks the African because he is black, is the same European settler in South West Africa.

Apartheid is the very foundation of life for those settlers. It is formu-

lated and directed by them against Africans. All Europeans to a greater or lesser extent recognise its value to them, live by it, preach it, apply it and work for its consolidation in our country.

Such minor differences as do exist in European party politics within South Africa are based upon differences in subtlety and approach to the application of apartheid, and not up on its existence as the basis of the social and political organisation of the country.

Verwoerd's Boer nationalism is firmly entrenched in the country through the governing nationalist party which is reinforced by strong neo-Nazi elements from the large, economically dominant German community, and with wholehearted support from the English-speaking settlers as well.

In reference to the Odendaal Report discussed below, the leader of the European opposition stated, "We would be prepared to accept any plan if we saw it had any chance whatsoever of removing the great fear of the whites here, foreign intervention".

We in South West Africa have never known the middle way of racial purgatory in the struggle where Africans fight together with Liberal, progressive and Marxist Europeans against apartheid within our country.

The elements, if they do exist, have never shown their faces in South West-Africa. Therefore our struggle is presently more clearly defined, than others in settler-dominated Africa, as one of black against white and vice-versa. It has been made so by the unmitigated application of European racism and economic exploitation.

The settlers are well armed and organised into civilian militia units similar in many ways to their defunct northern counterpart, the O.A.S. of Algeria, and the strength of their resistance to African freedom is equally as intense.

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# Swaziland's Si

## British conspiracy unmasked

by Dr. Ambrose Zwane

President, Ngwane National Liberatory Congress

IN July this year, we confronted the British Conservative Government with demands for the annulment of the present diabolic constitution for Swaziland, convening of a fully representative constitutional conference, independence guarantee and unequivocal protection of Trade Union organisations and refugees in Swaziland.

But up to now, Britain remains silent on each of these demands. We had naturally expected that prompt attention and consideration would be given to all these urgent and pressing questions, particularly the one involving abolition of the imposed constitution. But the unexpected has happened.

About the 9th September, the British troops now based in Swaziland were reinforced by a contingent from Kenya. Obviously, the aim is to threaten, intimidate and suppress the opposing nationalists in the country.

On the 9th September, contrary to our expectations and world opinion, the Swaziland Queen's Commissioner opened the Traditionalist—Verwoerd Legislative Council. This happened notwithstanding our honest, incessant warnings and demands. Britain is continually defying us. She seems prepared to solve our problems by force.

In all this dishonest British move, my Party did not sit back to see the dignity of the African masses further raped and insulted. We on

the 9th September, organised and staged a successful mammoth demonstration to express most unquestionably our unqualified rejection of

the dummy legislature.

One disturbing feature of British manoeuvre in our case is that our peaceful representations seem unfortunately to be attracting the British imperialist's multiplied wrath and display of military strength. The naive intention is to scare us so that we should dance to their colonialist music. And under such an atmosphere, whatever hopes for constitutional independence cannot, but be blurred.

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Dr. Ambrose Zwane

# Ant Revolution

## Crucial Hour Nears

by Arthur Khoza

N.N.L.C. Representative in Accra



Arthur Khoza

ON the throes of self-determination, Swaziland has been thrown into an extremely anxious situation, a situation wherein constitutional means towards the goal may become irrelevant.

The crucial hour has come when African nationalism must either categorically triumph or succumb to imperialism.

In a word now is the moment when Britain must unequivocally stop her irresponsible, hide and seek politics and accede to the demands made by nationalist forces in that part of the continent of Africa. Otherwise, the whole continent lives to acknowledge an historical show down by imperialism over the Swaziland question.

Although the past cannot independently provide a solution to our present embarrassing predicament, it is essential to refer to it for a complete indictment to the colonial British Government.

We hold it as incontestable that numerous memoranda, petitions and personal representations on the genuine wishes of the subject people of Swaziland have been made in a conscious effort to peacefully and constitutionally persuade the British Government to sincerely meet our demands.

We specifically refer to:

1. The constitutional proposals advocating a non-racial Swaziland on the basis of one-man one vote—universal adult

suffrage which were presented to the Secretary of State in 1961.

2. The delegation headed by Dr. Zwane which, in 1962 emphatically stated before the Secretary of State that the real and only solution to Swaziland's problem could be found in one-man, one vote—universal adult suffrage.
3. The January-February 1963 London Constitutional Conference where Britain was in no uncertain terms told that the nationalist forces would, on behalf of the masses of Swaziland, not accept anything short of an African majority, universal adult suffrage.
4. The June, 1963 non-violent demonstration against Britain's imposed constitution, a demonstration which culminated in the arrest and detention of practically the entire National Executive Committee of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress and the flying in of British troops.
5. The June 1964 memorandum presented by all the orthodox political parties to the Swaziland Queen's Commissioner and to the Colonial Secretary, in which it was stated that the atmosphere under which election campaigns were undertaken was so uncondusive to democratic operations that

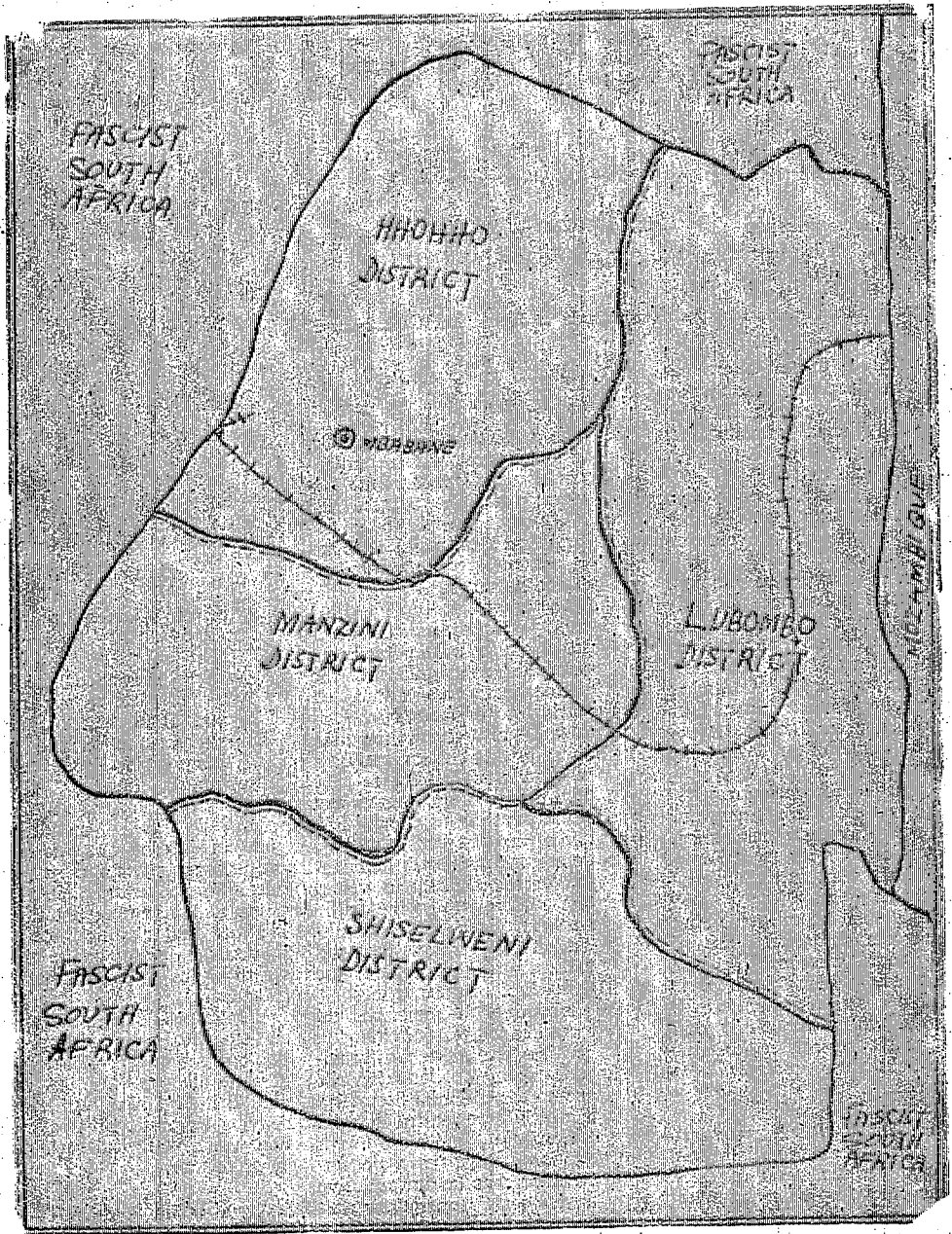
British intervention was imperative.

6. The July 1964 delegation which petitioned the Secretary of State calling for, inter alia, annulment of the present constitution and guaranteeing of independence.

Apparently, however, all these sincere efforts have been made in vain. For Britain is not merely guilty of delaying acceptance of the people's proposals and aspirations but of belligerently disregarding them, and accepting and imposing illiterate and chaotic race federation scheme proposed by the Verwoerd-inspired Traditionalists of Swaziland.

We are now being used as pawns on the economic chessboard of Britain and South Africa. In order to ascertain a steady flow of revenue, Britain finds justification in denying the nationalists a constitution which will yield real, peaceful independence.

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# Conspiracy From Westminster

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Just so that the human values which are cruelly sold for next to nothing in Swaziland and in the ruthlessly adopted. On this, they are agreed with Britain and South Africa.

Our stand remains unchanged; that is, to fight uncompromisingly all imperialist oppression and dehumanising tendencies.

Recently, the assistant Secretary General of the Nkwane National Liberatory Congress and several other N.N.L.C. members were charged.

Our stand is simple and straightforward. We will accept nothing short of national independence on the basis of universal adult suffrage. This we shall unflinchingly strive for and achieve whether suppression and intimidation are by law or by guns.

There may be many doubts and ambiguities about the Swaziland question but one thing is unmistakably clear: the British Colonial Government, the "feudalist" chiefs headed by Ngwenyama and Apartheid South Africa are all lined up against the nationalist forces in Swaziland.

At this very moment Dr. Verwoerd is training six boys in Pretoria—all taken from Swaziland—to assist the King's Imbokodvo in its fight against the nationalists.

Stating its policy recently, the Imbokodvo Party has made it clear that its paramount task is to fight the anti-colonialist—imperialist nationalists in the country and that stringent measures are going to be with alleged "Public Violence".

The truth about the matter is that all the charged peacefully expressed their objections to the importation Portuguese artisans and criticised the

Department of Agriculture for maladministration. But all this shows Britain's attitude towards the African. We will ceaselessly fight for our rights until we win the battle.

It should be clear to everyone, therefore, that the sole intention of the so-called Legislative Council under the supreme direction of South Africa is to annihilate all sanity in the country.

The whole idea is to declare a perpetual state of emergency. And Britain is actively conniving against the true interest of the African people of Swaziland. What kind of protection is this?

## Indigenous People

If nothing else, Britain has an obligation to respect and meet the demands of the indigenous people made on behalf of all by the N.N.L.C., for we cannot understand why we should be used as a means towards the aggrandisement of Britain and safeguarding of her interests. Why must the minority settler's voice carry more weight than ours.

We intend shortly to confront UNO with all the British Government's failures, wicked schemes, and our warnings on likely consequences if Britain cannot be forced or prevailed upon to respect and implement the United Nations Organisation's 1962 recommendations on the independence of Swaziland.

We in Swaziland are convinced that our real salvation, the salvation of the whole continent lies in our African Union Government and for this reason believe that our tribulations are sufferings and humiliations of the whole continent.

## Crucial Hour

Continued from page 21

their wishes, the date on which Republic of South Africa may remain a perpetual imperialist blessing, and for maintenance of friendly relations with apartheid South Africa, Britain denies Swaziland genuine constitutional instruments.

And this move is, of course, in unison with Dr. Verwoerd's offer of guardianship to Swaziland, Basutoland, and Bechuanaland. The British colonial Government—must forthwith exploit other avenues for partnership with South Africa and unconditionally stop gambling with our future.

And if it cares for the truth at all it must squarely face the fact that human nature knows one method which defies peaceful attempts. Time has run out, and endless talking and persuasion when our life is at stake will yield no positive result.

As a matter of urgency, we demand immediate implementation of the United Nation's Special Committee on colonialism second and third recommendations adopted at its 70th meeting of the 7th June, 1962 which run as follows:—

1. "To invite the administering Power immediately to suspend the present constitutional provisions and proceed without further delay to hold elections in the three Territories on the basis of direct universal adult suffrage."
2. "To invite further, the United Kingdom Government to abrogate the present constitutional provisions and to convene immediately a constitutional conference with the participation of the democratically elected political leaders of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, with a view to setting in accordance with

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# 'CONFUSED POLITICAL SITUATION'

## Elections and After

By C. D. DHLAMINI  
General-Secretary, NNLC.

THE present highly explosive Swaziland political situation can be best viewed from the background of political events from the beginning of the protracted Constitutional talks by the close of 1960 up to and including the Constitutional Conference which ended in a deadlock in London in early 1963, the imposition of an unwholesome Constitution by the Conservative British Government on 3rd January, 1964 and immediate results thereon, the election campaign and finally the election results and the consequences therefrom.

So that if one asks oneself the question why all the dilly-dallying from 1960-63, why the Constitutional Conference deadlock, the imposition of the Constitution, the confused and undemocratic elections etc. one would automatically receive one answer and one answer only-vested interests by the conservative British Government and of course the fascist Verwoerd regime in a bid to make Swaziland a Bantustan and thus bring her under the jurisdiction of the so-called Republic of South Africa.

### Imperialist Competition To Exploit Swaziland

It is common knowledge that colonial rulers never easily give away to the legitimate demands by indigenous progressive and democratic organisations on behalf of the great masses of the peoples in the so-called colonies it is worse still when, like in the case of Swaziland, two or more imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist powers make unrestrained competitive attempts and moves to gain absolute political and socio-economic control at the expense of a ruthlessly exploited masses of the African people.

This double pronged direct attack on the individual fundamental

rights and freedom of the Nguni African masses by facially warring powers but fundamentally committed to each other and the amount of resistance displayed by the African masses is directly responsible for the confusing present political situation in Swaziland which I shall hereinafter summarise as follows:

### Joint Action by Traditional and Reactionary and Conservative Groups before, during and After Elections

1. Prior to the election the Imkhokodo and the United Swaziland Association reached agreement as to police-along the lines indicated above in describing the policy of the United Swaziland Association. The bases of unity between the traditionalist Mbokodo and the United Swaziland Association was as follows:

- (1) To fight modern and genuine African liberatory organisations by arresting all the African political leaders in the country.
- (2) To fight modern and genuine African Workers' organisations or trade unions by arresting anybody who organises African workers to demand higher wages.
- (3) To fight against one man one vote and advocate "traditional" methods of voting by a show of hands under the trees.
- (4) Advocate Bantustan and Bantu Education and the end of the present border between Swaziland and the so-called Republic of South Africa; arrest all Freedom Fighters in transit or so-called refugees and stop any who may try to escape from South Africa in future.

The result of the election therefore has been to provide Swaziland with a Legislative Council whose membership is overwhelmingly pro-South African and which seeks to achieve its objective of creating closer alliance with South Africa by requesting that independence be granted to Swaziland at an early date.

The possible consequences of such a demand are to be seen for instance in a statement by Mr. C. F. Todd, unofficial leader of the United Swaziland Association and an Imbhokodo member of the Legislative Council, which appeared in the Johannesburg Star immediately after the election results were announced.

### Todd, a Verwoerd Agent Penetrates into Swaziland

Mr. Todd, a South African citizen, is a Johannesburg lawyer and a Director of numerous South African Companies, who after being disallowed registration as a voter by two Principal Registration Officers was enrolled on appeal to a Magistrate whose decision was final.

The elections for the National Roll Seats were contested by four political parties in addition to the Imbhokodo. These political parties vary in strength, but it is impossible yet to assess their full support in view of the various malpractices which took place during the election campaign.

The types of corrupt, improper and prejudicial practice employed

Continued on next page

by the candidates of the Imbhokodo and the United Swaziland Association, Chiefs, and other persons have given rise to legal proceedings in the following ways:

- (a) a temporary interdict granted against several of the candidates sponsored by the Imbhokodo, which restrained them from distributing leaflets and posters contravening the provisions of the electoral laws by:
  - (i) employing the symbol of a lion on each poster, thus implying the support of the Ngwenyama (the term means "lion" in Swazi)
  - (ii) failing to have the name of the printer and publisher of the pamphlets and posters displayed on each or any of them.
- (b) a criminal prosecution which is being preferred against a number—possible all—of the Candidates who were elected on the common roll. This prosecution is in terms of Section 93 of the Legislative Council (Election) Proclamation 1964 and is based on (a) (ii) above.

If the accused are found guilty and sentenced to anything more than a discharge, they will automatically be disqualified from taking their seats in the Legislative Council or being elected to it, for a period of seven years (refer to a *Gazette* Extraordinary dated 7th of July, 1964).

Whether or not the criminal action referred to above succeeds, the malpractice referred to in paragraphs (a) and (b) above, and those in the statement attached will form the basis of Electoral Petitions which have been presented on behalf of voters and some of the defeated candidates for the Legislative Council.

The allegations contained in the attached documents will be supported by 80-100 affidavits obtained from persons who will testify to the threats, extortionate practices

and interference with voters, etc. and other contraventions of the Electoral Proclamation.

The political parties and their legal advisers are confident—on the basis, inter alia of the decision of the Attorney General to prosecute some of the offenders referred to—of the success of the Electoral Petitions.

The effect of successful electoral petitions will be either to render void the Election of all members on the Common Roll (and possibly one of those elected on the White

Roll). Thereafter their seats may either be filled by those candidates in each constituency who receive the second largest number of votes, or by holding a by-election for all 12 seats.

If the result of the violence of the election of the 12 members is to bring about the election of those candidates who claim the second highest number of votes it is the decision of the political parties that their candidates will only take their seats for the purpose of moving an adjournment of the Legislative



C. D. DHLAMINI, General Secretary, NNLC

*"The type of independence envisaged by the traditionalists is completely different from the genuine independence demanded by us."*

## Crucial Hour

(Continued from page 23)

which each of the three territories concerned will attain independence."

It is our contention that in prompt implementation of these recommendations which were subsequently accepted by the United Nations' General Assembly in December 1962 alone lies the solution to our problem and consequent avoidance of many political typhoons which could very well ensue if the *status quo* prevails.

That nothing in the direction of implementing the above UNO recommendation has been done is a hard fact unchallengeable by Britain. Britain can, we are persuaded, avoid a great deal of embarrassment by doing the right thing now, that is, follow the UNO recommendations to the letter. For outside them, no reason can any longer prevail.

Our fate is maliciously thrust into the unfortunate hands of British expatriates, the reactionary chiefs and conservative South African farmers and businessmen.

There is no gainsaying the fact that British obstinacy in dealing with Swaziland nationalists makes a caricature of justice, a mockery of law and a deplorable travesty of democracy.

We are, therefore, enjoined to declare our lack of confidence in all of them—severally or collectively. Our maturity to govern ourselves cannot be determined by external powers for, as Dr. Kwame Nkrumah argues, "... If there is to be a criterion of a people's preparedness of self-government then I say it is their readiness to assume the responsibility of governing themselves. For who but a people themselves can say when they are prepared?"

Britain must stop double-dealing now because if she spends more time than she already has in the game until our national struggle attains other heights, she might find herself irrevocably betrayed by her own actions and allies. But she and the world will have been sufficiently cautioned.

## Confused Political Situation

(Continued from p. 25)

Council and demanding a revision of the Constitution; if the result is to create by-elections, it is clear that it will be some time before this can be held and the effect will be to render the Legislative Council inoperative.

At the same time as the political parties are demanding a revision of the Constitution, Her Majesty's Government is likely to be faced with demands by the Ngwenyama and the United Swaziland Association for independence for Swaziland. This will be a source of some embarrassment for H.M.G. and to the Afro-Asian State.

Fortunately the type of independence envisaged by the traditionalists is completely different from the genuine independence demanded by the national liberatory movement in that the former envisage a Bantustan type of independence while the latter demand genuine independence based on basic democratic individual rights and freedoms.

### 2. Joint Action by Swaziland Political Organisation before, during, and after Elections.

It must be noted that the election results were no surprise to the leaders of political parties in Swaziland.

This is clearly indicated by the joint action by the political parties before the general elections because we were all aware that the basic democratic principles and individual freedoms were being grossly violated by the traditionalists in the name of the Ngwenyama.

Hence, the political parties, after their leaders had been frequently denied the right to speak at the traditional national forum at Lobamba, launched a protest march to the Royal Kraal for the first time in the history of Swaziland on 24th May, 1964, and presented the King with two memoranda drawn by the respective major political organisa-

tions i.e. the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress and the Swaziland Democratic Party on behalf of the Progressive elements in the territory.

### Ngwenyama And His Satellites

Realising that no reply was forthcoming from the Ngwenyama and/or his satellites, the political parties requested to see Her Majesty's Commissioner, Mr. F. A. Loyd and present their united stand and views to him at a round table conference.

This was granted and on the 1st June, 1964, a fully representative delegation of all political parties met the Commissioner in the conference room—Government House, Mbabane, and presented him with a memorandum and requested him to forward same to the Secretary for the Commonwealth and Colonies.

After a long silence the reply came and this was after the announcement of the elections. This alone smelt of a sinister and calculated move. Worst of all the reply itself gave the political leaders a sense of shock as was conveyed to the Colonial Secretary through the Queen's Commissioner.

It should be further noted that the political parties have not worried themselves with the Government's appointment of MBOKODO inclined cattle guards teachers, Land Utilisation Officers etc. as electoral Officers but had only sought their basic democratic rights to be heard in the rural areas or so-called tribal land. But when the Government took no action to stop the complete rape of the electoral laws during the elections up to the last day of the elections it became clear to us where the wind was blowing and that the Conservative British Government and their Swaziland Administration were committed to the letter in the malicious collusion between Dr. Verwoerd and the traditionalists.

(Continued on next page)

# SWAZILAND

(Continued from previous page)

In fact, instead of taking action, the Government postponed or allowed to be postponed criminal legal proceedings against three senior MBOKODO candidates to a date after the elections. When that date (7th July, 1964) after the case was postponed by the Crown to (4th August 1964) after definitely telling the Court that the Crown had received specific instructions to postpone the case in order to seek an amendment of the Constitutions and Electoral Laws.

## A Treacherous Act

And indeed a few days after the *Gazette* Extraordinary date 7th July, 1964 (the same date of the case) came to the notice of the general public. What a treacherous act! The Joint Council of Swaziland Political Parties then formed and functioning had no alternative but to pass a vote of no confidence on the Conservative British Government at their public meeting held at Manzinin on 11th July, 1964 and this resolution is being read and unanimously passed at every republic political meeting in the country.

The present stand of the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress and the Joint Council of Swaziland Political parties stand as follows:

1. National independence based not on a Bantustan but on the legitimate aspirations of the Ngwane masses and on genuine democratic fundamental rights and freedoms and that a date be fixed for the declaration of Ngwane's Independence after the present political mess has been cleared.

2. That a constitutional conference be called in London where all the political parties and/or the Joint Council of Swaziland Political Parties, the Ngwenyama and his traditionalist Councillors together with any other interested parties shall be fully represented.

This conference shall, of course, be presided over by the Colonial Secretary and shall grapple with practical problems, unlike the first which was held in a state of complete confusion and which naturally ended up in a deadlock. A deadlock could not possibly produce anything else but another confusion hence the present political situation in Swaziland.

3. That there must be enough entrenched Constitutional instruments to prevent Ngwenyama from directly or indirectly contesting the elections.

4. That the method of the elections and the composition of the Legislative Council be revised so as to remove the seats racially reserved for the allocation of the whites and coloureds, make technical provision for same and increase the number allocated on the common roll.

5. That seats reserved to be filled by "Swazi traditional methods of election" be discussed only after an agreement has been reached on the position of the Ngwenyama as a Constitutional Monarch and an assurance satisfactorily made and obtained that Ngwenyama shall abide by and respect the Constitutional instruments making him a Constitutional Monarch.

6. That the first seating of the Legislative Council be suspended until these demands have been met with and genuine democratic elections held.

7. That the British Government must give the leaders of political parties in Swaziland the safest guarantee that freedom fighters-in-transit and/or the so-called political refugees presently in Swaziland shall not be extradited and that those who shall enter the territory in future shall be given the necessary political asylum.

8. That after independence the people of Swaziland shall be given a guarantee of passage through the so-called Republic of South Africa and that there will be no interference in the internal affairs of Swaziland or Ngwane by the so-called Republic.

FREEDOM  
FIGHTERS  
OF  
AFRICA  
DEMAND  
UNION  
GOVERNMENT  
IN  
1965.

# Who is a Nationalist?

(Continued from page 19)

## Solid Block

In a showdown between the forces of freedom (or the 'black menace' in settler terminology) and the settler imperialist forces of oppression, there is no doubt in the mind of any African that the settler population will stand as a solid block against us.

Their physical power to frustrate and retard our struggle is considerable, and it figures as a fundamental element in Verwoerd's machinery of force. Working in conjunction with military and civilian terrorists against the African masses, Verwoerd's ultra-efficient police-intelligence apparatus, with its obnoxious agent-informer appendage, permeates the whole of African society.

Its tentacles extend far beyond the borders of the country into every centre of political activity against South Africa, where these agents foment division and intrigue that in turn, reflects back upon and undermines the struggle, at home as it also confuses and detracts our fraternal supporters from the issues and positive action.

Isolation is maintained by force. And force provides the necessary insulation of the country from the scrutiny of international public opinion in spite of eighteen years of United Nations' interest in South West Africa. It stands as a buffer between Africans at home and their association and co-operation with Pan-African and other anti-colonialist forces abroad, and it prevents the penetration of the radical and revolutionary ideas from which the masses of the people have been separated by generations of enforced subservience and colonialist indoctrination.

## Grand Scheme

Enforced division of Africans from each other interferes with communication among the widely scattered people, impedes mass organisation, undermines mass morale, and

attempts to paralyse any effective challenge to the collective colonial forces.

Even in urban 'locations' Africans are forced into tribally divided 'sections'. The masses, however, see more clearly every day that enforced separation is the cornerstone of Verwoerd's grand scheme for South West Africa and they are coming to realise that united, disciplined action are required for success in the struggle.

The difficult task of organising the new spirit into a political and physical force is the order of the day for revolutionary African nationalism.

In South West Africa the ultimate refinement of the divide and rule policy is expressed in the doctrine of apartheid which is simply the logical conclusion of the racist-imperialist ideology. Our country has served as the guinea pig for South Africa's refinement of apartheid techniques since long before the specific operations of job reservation, contract labour, influx control, group areas, Bantu education etc. were transformed into law for application in South Africa itself.

We have experienced the insidious and debilitating effects of apartheid to an extent not yet realised even in South Africa which most of the world regards as the showcase of racist insanity.

## Tribalism

Tribalism is not an independent force in South West African politics. It is a vital extension of imperialist policy in our country. The South African government and its agents are the most active propagators of tribalism, and its most vociferous propagandists.

The alienation and hostility aroused among African peoples by tribalism also provides opportunist

politicians with fertile ground for intrigue and political capital, particularly among isolated, reserve-bound peasants.

"Dominate or to be dominated" is the monotonous theme we hear. It appears in endless variation to suit the monetary purposes of the racist oppressor and his handyman, the tribalist politician. Significantly, this bogey is never raised to question the black-white power structure. Africans are never exhorted from these sources to fight or resist the European tribe—we are only instigated to fratricide.

The African leader who does not play the tribalist game and refuses to identify himself with any one tribe to the exclusion of others automatically becomes the targets of barrage of tribalistic vilification. Forged and anonymous letters and venomous unsigned leaflets from government offices flow through the urban locations and into the rural areas dividing Africans among themselves.

The local settler press and the international press from liberal to reactionary which uses settler and tribalist sources of information, also stimulate division and discord with their exaggerations of tribal differences and distorted accounts of African politics.

A concrete example of the settler government's use of the press in its divide and rule campaign is in the way it has achieved effects of banning South West African political leaders working for unity and a militant mobilisation of the masses, without public proclamation of that policy in South West Africa which would inevitably have international repercussions.

All statements of Verwoerd-branded 'agitators' and 'extremists', must be referred by reporters for clearance through the Special Branch to the Justice Minister Vorster who invariably suppresses them.

The South African government is terrified at the prospect of non-tribal African unity in any form. But it seems to have a particular fear of Ovambo-Herero unity. Consequently, most of its activity is directed toward poisoning relations

between these two tribes and destroying with false propaganda the advocates of their unity.

Here again, the settler government's publicity agents, play an important role. Ovambos are told daily that the Herero 'Herrenvolk' want to enslave them and all other tribes. Hereros and others are told that the 'raw Ovambo want to dominate the country. Damaras are characterised as 'sell-outs' and Namas as 'worthless Hottentots' and we are all told that Coloureds are 'outcasts'.

A deadly doctrine of Ovambo separateness has evolved out of Pretoria to provide the political basis in the minds of the African people for Ovambo bantustan or 'Ovamobostan'.

While our Ovambo fellowmen in Ovamboland are the most strictly isolated and controlled population in South West Africa they are infused with the idea that they must regard themselves as numerically superior and therefore the 'natural rulers of other natives'.

They are told that they have retained their Africa identity, in spite of the fact that even those who have never left the reserve suffer the effects of cultural disorganisation from European missionaries' and colonialist agents' wanton disruption of traditional life and economic impoverishment.

### Faithful Support

Under the government-imposed taxation and contract labour system Northerners are indoctrinated with notions of 'Ovambo purity' in contrast with our Southern African brothers whom we are told have become 'polluted with foreign blood and foreign ideas'.

The people of the North are exhorted to have nothing to do with those who agitate against the South African government that so benevolently provides them with jobs to earn money with which to pay taxes and so generously supplies them with bags of mealies in times of drought, and which is now planning to give them their own government as a reward for faithful sup-

port of the South African government's policies.

To perfect what Verwoerd's Government is trying to do, the tribalist politicians are encouraged to build themselves as champions of Ovambo tribal hegemony, and they use Verwoerd's ready-made platform to instil hatred among Ovambos for the numerically smaller and detribalised or 'ombuit' Africans from the Central and Southern regions of the country.

Because of the peculiar circumstances of isolation, colonial indoctrination and oppression forced upon inhabitants of Ovamboland, our people from the North, perhaps more than any other tribes are susceptible to tribalistic political demagogery.

Meanwhile, Namas, Hereros, Damaras and Coloureds are goaded into attitudes of intellectual and cultural superiority over Ovambo fellowmen and incited to act against them. National liberation movements can not exist as such in this environment under the influence of tribalist oriented leadership. In the long run under the inevitable stresses and strains of the struggle, the interests of the broad masses are subordinated to opportunism and sacrificed upon the altar of tribal domination as we have seen so tragically in SWAPO's failure.

The South African government's long-standing interests in Ovamboland was first given concrete expression to the world abroad in 1946 when a bogus referendum was conducted (through government appointed chiefs) in Ovamboland on the question whether the African people wished the remain under the protection of South Africa or whether they wanted, American, British etc, strangers to take over and rule them.

—European missionaries whom one might say have 'spiritually colonised' Ovamboland as they have much of our country; were active propagandists in the government campaign in the North. The results were intended to demonstrate African acquiescence in South Africa's 'bid for outright annexation of our coun-

try. Chiefs of the southern tribes who for the most part were not government employees refused to participate in the referendum.

### Fabrications

The figures that Smuts presented to the United Nations were fabrications forged by the local administrator over the protest of African leaders. The outcome of the attempt to grasp South West Africa through this manoeuvre are well known.

A petition to the United Nations from Chief Hosea Kutako's Council exposing this fraud formed the basis of the United Nations' rejection of South Africa's demand for our country's incorporation as a fifth province into the Union of South Africa in 1946. This was only one link in a long chain of attempts to legalise the annexation of our country.

In 1958 South Africa again tried to get international de jure endorsement for the incorporation that has long been the de facto state of affairs in our country—this time under the cover of 'self-determination for Ovamboland'.

The South African government manoeuvred an agreement through an appointed United Nations Good Offices Committee whereby the United Nations General Assembly would request consideration (with South Africa, of the partition of South West Africa on the basis of an embryonic form of Bantustan for Ovamboland under some sort of United Nations supervision, and outright incorporation into South Africa of the Southern threequarters of the country where the bulk of the known wealth lies.

If there were any economic potentialities within the so-called 'homelands' the so-called whites would be the last to consider giving them to the Africans under any circumstances.

Demarcations of Bantustans are carefully drawn around mineral deposits, urban areas, sea-ports, transport and communication facilities, and international boundaries. This, in itself, exposes the meaning of independence in the settler mentality.

It is clear to us in South West Africa that the Odendaal Commission's intention reflecting the South African government policy, is to transform the Black man in South West Africa into an impoverished nonentity tied to the barren soil while retaining and controlling the whole of our country's wealth for European settler development of international or collective imperialism.

Bantustanization in our country would be a specimen of racist-imperialist ideology in microcosmic perfection.

We, the Africans, have never asked the white settler to develop our country for us or to plan how it should be developed. We can plan for the future and develop our country ourselves.

Contrary to the settler's constant falsification of facts, it is our labour that has built whatever development the country enjoys today. What we demand and shall achieve is freedom to do for ourselves according to the dictates of our collective requirements.

Urgent eleventh-hour Angol-African intervention with Verwoerd, on the grounds that the implementation at this time with the case pending in the International Court of Justice, might speed international action rather than delay it, has led to a temporary shelving of formal acceptance and application of Odendaal's recommendations.

### Annexation

The Western powers have acted to postpone a showdown and to help save South Africa from the consequences of its 45-year oppression of our people. At the same time, they have moved to protect their own extensive exploitative interests in our country.

On the other hand, we must not deceive ourselves with the notion that Verwoerd has in fact, backed even an inch on South-West Africa. His will to achieve annexation has been strengthened.

Above all, South Africa possesses the necessary physical means to force its annexation plan to fruition.

The Pretoria regime, acting as a facade and instrument for international imperialist and neo-colonial interests, and reinforced by the military forces of occupation as well as the European settler population are easily recognisable as racist imperialist enemies of African unity and freedom for our country.

Another group working from within the ranks of our struggle in the guise of 'freedom fighters' and 'nationalist' are not immediately recognisable as subversive to the cause.

South West African freedom fighters abroad are the product of many different forces. Some left home when the myth of United Nations infallibility was the prevailing sentiment, thinking that their appearance abroad would provide the catalyst for United Nations intervention. At first their section were oriented toward convincing the international community to help.

The sudden intensification of political persecution arising out of the Windhoek boycott and the subsequent massacre of December, 1959 and the appearances of new political organisations also contributed to the exodus. Some of those who escaped had contributed at home to the formation of the emerging political organisations.

### Banishment

Some held office in them by appointment; others were elected after they had landed abroad; some escaped from imprisonment and deportation orders (banishment from the Police Zone to the reserves or to Angola); while others fled the threat of deportation and imprisonment.

Some fled the country to seek education abroad that they are denied at home. Among the refugees were also some 'planted' by the South African Police and Special Branch.

Arriving abroad, they all found the tide of African independence

moving invincibly ahead, and that the question of South West Africa at least until 1962, was one of the burning ingredients in the political ferment that stirred the continent.

Heads of State met at Accra,

Monrovia and Addis Ababa. The All-African People's Conference at Accra and Tunis the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference at Cairo and Conakry and the Freedom Fighters' Conference at Winneba all gave the freedom fighters scope for solidarity.

Africa became a powerful anti-colonial force in the United Nations where a useful propaganda platform was provided for petitioners, and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial countries and peoples was proclaimed. Afro-Asian States opened their doors and their hearts to refugees from Verwoerd and their pockets to the politicians, political parties fronts and alliances that abounded.

A variety of overseas 'African' committees and bureaux flourished and offered sustenance and counsel to the refugees—very often with pressure dictated by their posture and roles in the Cold War. Some of them were very helpful to the refugees in introducing them to techniques of political organisation and Pan-African and revolutionary theory.

Others exerted a tranquillising effect upon the 'nationalists' by seducing them from the struggle into their various spheres of influence and posture

Enforced isolation from revolutionary thought and knowledge of struggle elsewhere, lack of political experience which our people are systematically denied at home and ignorance of the real nature of international diplomacy contributed to the erroneous notion that some refugees held and they as individuals, were unique and that as South West Africans they deserved special attention and favour in international politics for some reasons apart from



their responsibility to the masses at home.

### Propagation

Separation from the people at home also took its toll. Many of the refugees left South West Africa with the best of intentions, but being without disciplined political organization behind them at home they quickly developed many of the ills associated with refugee and exile politics.

Distorted views and interpretations of the home situation were competitively propagated abroad. New leaders with fresh news arrived abroad to challenge the authority of their predecessors. The existence of several organisations all claiming similar aims and objectives and their bewildering proliferation of grandiose titles became difficult to explain, so each had to contrive persuasive arguments to convince sympathetic listeners and supporters that his was the only nationalist organisation.

For some, flight became an end in itself. Competition for the spoils abroad became the basis of the struggle along with the aim of making a reputation abroad to impose on the people at home. Out of all this has developed the class of refugees from reality—political kangaroos, professional petitioners and international parasites operating abroad in their own world of artificial nationalism.

### Competition

The refugees function best in a milieu of contrivance confusion of their own creation. Lacking popular following and organization backing from home, they and their organisations abroad are entirely dependent upon international charity and they are left to their own devices to define and execute their own

strategies regardless of the needs of the home situation.

Confusion generates out of their competition for recognition and support clouding all important issues to give the otherwise aimless politics scope for political busywork.

International conferences and diplomatic gatherings provide the refugees with their best propaganda platforms where they cultivate contacts and solicit funds to perpetuate their activities, where they bask as heroes in the sunshine of Pan-African and revolutionary progress, and where they reap the benefits of our peoples' suffering.

In these conferences and in their tours from one capital to another the refugees' representatives' activities are designed to mislead those who are sympathetic but ignorant and uncritical of the issues in our struggle at home.

Diversionsary rumours and other obstructive decays are carefully planted by South African security branch operatives and their agents on the refugee grapevine and pass directly into Ministries of Home Affairs and Foreign Affairs of Afro-Asian and other sympathetic states where they prevent understanding and block the kind of joint militant action required to help alleviate our problems.

One searches in vain for proposals and programmes for direct action against South Africa in South West Africa, in the numerous defamatory speeches, pointless memoranda, official propaganda organs and falsified press releases issuing forth from the officials and 'foreign missions' of the refugees.

For them, rational analysis of the important issues would expose their subversive characters and be self-defeating. Consequently, they specialize in swearing-advocates of

united non-tribal revolutionary struggle and in undermining popular initiatives at home with false propaganda.

Their vocabularies are replete with such labels as "sellout", "Tshombe", "Imperialist stooge", "Matanzima", "reactionary Chief", "tribalist", "spy", etc. in reference to their political enemies. Most of their charges and counter-charges are devoid of substance and completely irrelevant to the struggle at home.

### Confusion

By careful manoeuvres and monotonous reiteration of their fabrications concealed beneath nationalist slogans, the refugees have worked themselves into positions where they are practically invulnerable to questions or attack. Some have cultivated their positions abroad so well that challenges to their pretension to leadership are automatically discounted as regardless of the fact that the refugees have produced nothing for the masses at home, which many of their well-meaning but gullible supporters abroad do not know.

This situation also suits Verwoerd and the imperialists' interests. They are working to perpetuate the South West African refugee situation and their organisations so that they can continue to use them as vehicles to frustrate popular demands for unified resistance at critical moments and to continue to agitate opposition from abroad to every concrete step taken toward unity by the people at home.

As long as the masses remain inarticulate and unorganized at home and the refugees keep their monopoly of the international propaganda platform there is little that can be done to dispel the confusion.

READ

# VOICE OF AFRICA

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31

# POEMS By Dr. Du BOIS

## GHANA CALLS TO OSAGYEFO KWAME NKRUMAH

I was a little boy, at home with strangers.  
I liked my playmates, and knew well,  
Whence all their parents came;  
From England, Scotland, royal France  
From Germany and oft by chance  
The humble Emerald Isle.

But my brown skin and close-curved hair  
Was alien, and how it grew, none knew;  
Few tried to say, some dropped a wonderful word  
or stray;  
Some laughed and stared.

And then it came: I dreamed.  
I placed together all I knew  
All hints and slurs together drew.  
I dreamed.

I made one picture of what nothing seemed  
I shuddered in dumb terror  
In silence screamed,  
For now it seemed this I had dreamed;

How up from Hell, a land had leaped  
A wretched land, all scorched and seamed  
Covered with ashes, chained with pain  
Streaming with blood, in horror lain  
Its very air a shriek of death  
And agony of hurt.

Anon I woke, but in one corner of my soul  
I stayed asleep.  
Forget I could not,  
But never would I remember  
That hell-hoist ghost  
Of slavery and woe.

I lived and grew, I worked and hoped  
I planned and wandered, gripped and coped  
With every doubt but one that slept  
Yet clamoured to awaken.

I became old; old, worn and gray;  
Along my hard and weary way  
Rolled war and pestilence, war again;  
I looked on Poverty and foul Disease  
I walked with Death and yet I knew  
There stirred a doubt: Were all dreams true?  
And what in truth was Africa?

One cloud-swept day a Seer appeared,  
All closed and veiled as me he hailed

And bid me make three journeys to the world  
Seeking all through their lengthened links  
The endless Riddle of the Sphinx.

I went to Moscow; Ignorance grown wise taught me  
Wisdom;

I went to Peking; Poverty grown rich  
Showed me the wealth of Work  
I came to Accra.

Here at last, I looked back on my Dream;  
I heard the Voice that loosed  
The Long-looked dungeons of my soul  
I sensed that Africa had come  
Not up from Hell, but from the sum of Heaven's  
glory.

I lifted up mine eyes to Ghana  
And swept the hills with high Hosanna;  
Above the sun my sight took flight  
Till from that pinnacle of light  
I saw dropped down this earth of crimson, green and  
gold  
Roaring with color, drums and song.

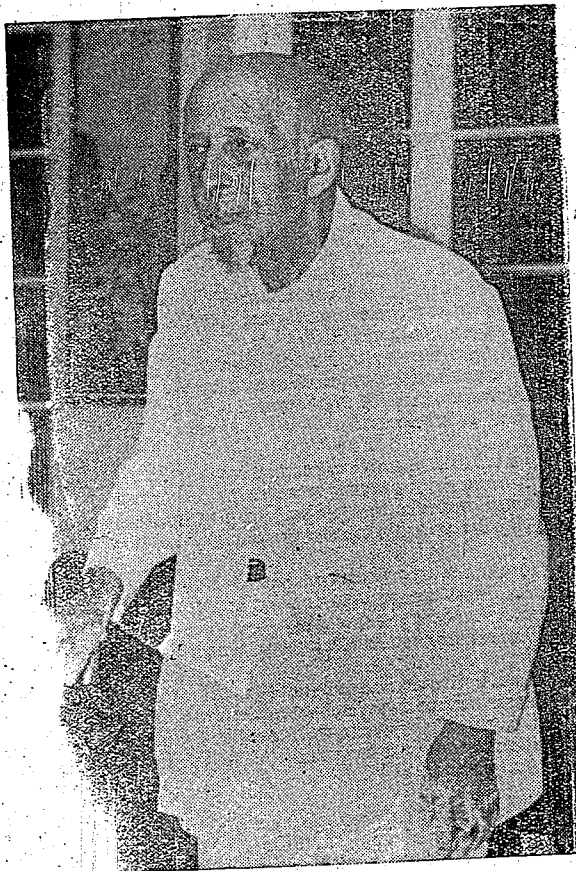
Happy with dreams and deeds worth more than doing  
Around me velvet faces loomed  
Burnt by the kiss of everlasting suns  
Under great stars of midnight glory  
Trees danced, and foliage sang;

The lilies hallelujah rang  
Where robed with rule on Golden Stool  
The gold-crowned Priests, with duty done  
Pour high libations to the sun  
And danced to gods.

Red blood flowed rare 'neath close-clung hair  
While subtle perfume filled the air  
And whirls and whirls of ting curls  
Crowned heads.

Yet Ghana shows its might and power  
Not in its color nor its flower  
But in its wondrous breadth of soul  
Its Joy of Life  
Its selfless role  
Of giving.

School and clinic, home and hall  
Road and garden bloom and call  
Socialism blossoms bold  
On Communism centuries old.



Late Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois; fighter for human dignity.

I lifted my last voice and cried  
 I cried to heaven as I died:  
 O turn me to the Golden Horde  
 Summon all western nations  
 Toward the Rising Sun.

From reeking West whose day is done,  
 Who stink and stagger in their dung  
 Toward Africa, China, India's strand  
 Where Kenya and Himalaya stand  
 And Nile and Yang-tze roll:  
 Turn every yearning face of man.

Come with us, dark America:  
 The scum of Europe battered here  
 And drowned a dream  
 Made fetid swamp a refuge seem:

Enslaved the Black and killed the Red  
 And armed the Rich to loot the Dead;  
 Worshipped the whores of Hollywood  
 Where once the Virgin Mary stood  
 And lynched the Christ.

Awake, awake, O sleeping world  
 Honor the sun;

Worship the stars, those vaster suns  
 Who rule the night  
 Where black is bright  
 And all unselfish work is right  
 And Greed is Sin.  
 And Africa leads on:  
 Pan Africa!

*'Freedomways', February, 1962.*

## A Hymn to the People

O True of God!  
 And primal meeting of the Sons of Man,  
 Foreshadowing the union of the World!  
 From all the ends of earth we come—  
 Old Night, the elder sister of the Day  
 Mother of Dawn in the golden East  
 Meets in the misty twilight with her brood,  
 Pale and black, tawny, red and brown,  
 The mighty human rainbow of the world,  
 Spanning its wilderness of storm.  
 Softly in sympathy the sunlight falls,  
 Rare is the radiance of the moon;  
 And on the darkest midnight blaze the stars—  
 The far-flown shadows of whose brilliance  
 Drop like a dream on the dim shores of Time,  
 Forecasting Days that are to these  
 As day to night.

So sit we all as one.  
 So, gloomed in tall and stone-swathed groves,  
 The Buddha walks with Christ  
 And Al-Koran and Bible be holy!

Almighty World!  
 In this Thine awful sanctuary,  
 First and flame-haunted City of Widened World,  
 Assails us, Lord of Lands and Seas!

We are but weak and wayward men,  
 Distraught alike with hatred and vainglory;  
 Prone to despise the soul that breathes within—  
 High visioned hordes that lie and steal and kill,  
 Sinning the sin separate heart disclaims,  
 Clambering upon our riven, writhing selves,  
 Besieging Heaven by trampling men to Hell!

We be blood-guilty! Lo, our hands be red!  
 Not one may blame the other in this sin!  
 But here—here in the white silence of the Dawn,  
 Before the Womb of Time;  
 With bowed hearts all flame and shame,  
 We face the birth-pangs of a world:  
 We hear stifled cry of Nations all but born—  
 The wail of women ravished of their stunted brood!  
 We see the nakedness of Toil, the poverty of Wealth,  
 We know the Anarchy of Empire, and doleful Death  
 of Life,

And hearing, seeing, knowing all, we cry:  
 Save us, World-Spirit, from our lesser selves!  
 Grant us that war and hatred cease,  
 Reveal our souls in every race and hue!  
 Help us, O Human God, in this Thy Truce,  
 To make Humanity divine!

*"Darkwater", 1920.*

# Children of the Moon

I am dead ;  
Yet somehow, somewhere,  
In Time's weird contradiction, I  
May tell of that dread deed, wherewith  
I brought to Children of the Moon  
Freedom and vast salvation.

I was a woman born,  
And trod the streaming street,  
That ebbs and flows from Harlem's hills,  
Through caves and canons limned in light,  
Down to the twisting sea.

That night of nights,  
I stood alone and at the End,  
Until the sudden highway to the moon,  
Golden in splendour,  
Became too real to doubt.

Dimly I set foot upon the air,  
I fled, I flew, through thrills of light,  
With all about, above, below, the whirring  
Of almighty wings.

I found a twilight land,  
Where, hardly hid, the sun  
Sent softly-saddened rays of  
Red and brown to burn the iron soil  
And bathe the snow-white peaks  
In mighty splendour.

Black were the men,  
Hard-haired and silent-slow,  
Moving as shadows,  
Bending with face of fear to earthward ;  
And women there were none.

"Woman, woman, woman" !  
I cried in mounting terror,  
"Woman and Child !"  
And the cry sang back  
Through heaven, with the  
Whirring of almighty wings.

I saw the black men huddle,  
Fumed in fear, falling face downward ;  
Vainly I clutched and clawed,  
Dumbly they cringed and covered,  
Moaning in mournful monotone :  
O Freedom, O Freedom,  
O Freedom, Over me ;  
Before I'll be a slave,  
I'll be buried in my grave,  
And go home to my God,  
And be free.

It was as angel-music  
From the dead,

And ever, as they sang,  
Some winged thing of wings, filling all heaven,  
Folding and unfolding, and folding yet again,  
Tore out their blood and entrails,  
Till I screamed in utter terror ;  
And a silence came —  
A silence and the wailing of a babe.

Then, at last, I saw and shamed ;  
I knew how these dumb, dark, and dusky things  
Had given blood and life,  
To fend the caves of underground,  
The great black caves of utter night,  
Where earth lay full of mothers  
And their babes.

Little children sobbing in darkness,  
Little children crying in silent pain,  
Little mothers rocking and groping and struggling,  
Digging and delving and groveling,

Amid the dying-dead and dead-in-life  
And drip and dripping of warm, wet blood,  
Far, far beneath the wings,—  
The folding and unfolding of almighty wings.

I bent with tears and pitying hands,  
Above these dusky star-eyed children,  
Crinkly-haired, with sweet-sad baby voices,  
Pleading low for light and love and living—  
And I crooned :

"Little children weeping there,  
God shall find your faces fair,  
Guerdon for your deep distress,  
He shall send His tenderness;  
For the tripping of your feet  
Make a mystic music sweet  
In the darkness of your hair ;  
Light and laughter in the air—  
Little children weeping there,  
God shall find your faces fair !"  
I strode above the stricken, bleeding men,  
The rampart ranged against the skies,  
And shouted :

"Up I say, build and slay ;  
Fight face foremost, force a way,  
Unloose, unfetter, and unbind ;  
Be men and free !

Dumbly they shrank,  
Muttering they pointed toward that peak,  
Than vastness vaster,  
Whereon a darkness brooded,  
"Who shall look and live", they sighed ;  
And I sensed  
The folding and unfolding of almighty wings.

Yet did we build of iron, bricks, and blood;  
We built a day, a year, a thousand years,  
Blood was the mortar,—blood and tears,  
And, ah, the Thing, the Thing of wings,  
The winged, folding Wing of Things  
Did furnish much mad mortar  
For that tower.

Slow and ever slower rose the towering task,  
And with it rose the sun,  
Until at last on one wild day,  
Wind-whirled, cloud-wept and terrible  
I stood beneath the burning shadow  
Of the peak,  
Beneath the whirring of almighty wings,  
While downward from my feet  
Streamed the long life of dusky faces  
And the wail of little children sobbing under earth.

Alone, aloft,  
I saw through firmaments on high  
the drama of Almighty God,  
With all its flaming suns and stars.  
“Freedom! I cried.  
“Freedom! cried heaven, earth, and stars:  
And a Voice near-far,  
Amid the folding and unfolding of almighty wings,  
Answered, “I am Freedom—  
Who sees my face is free—  
He and his.

I dared not look;  
Downward I glanced on deep-bowed heads and closed  
eyes,  
Outward I gazed on flecked and flaming blue—  
But ever onward, upward flew  
The sobbing of small voices—  
Down, down, far down into the night.

Slowly I lifted livid limbs aloft;  
Upward I strove: the face! the face!  
Onward I reeled: the face! the face!  
To beauty wonderful as sudden death,  
Or horror horrible as endless life—  
Up! Up! the blood-built way;

Shadow grow vaster!  
Terror come faster!  
Up! Up! to the blazing blackness  
Of one veiled face.

And endless folding and unfolding,  
Rolling and unrolling of almighty wings.  
The last step stood!  
The last dim cry of pain  
Fluttered across the stars,  
And then—

Wings, wings, triumphant wings,  
Lifting and lowering, waxing and waning,  
Swinging and swaying, twirling and whirling,  
Whispering and screaming, streaming and gleaming,  
Spreading and sweeping and shading and flaming—  
Wings, wings, eternal wings,  
‘Til the hot, red blood,  
Flood fleeing flood,  
Thundering through heaven and mine ears,  
While all across a purple sky,  
The last vast pinion  
Trembled to unfold.

I rose upon the Mountain of the Moon,—  
I felt the blazing glory of the Sun;  
I heard the Song of Children crying, “Free!”  
I saw the face of Freedom—  
And I died.

*Darkwater, 1920.*

Read

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# I Sing to China

Hail, dark brethren of mine,  
Hail and farewell! I die,  
As you are born again, bursting new with life.  
Kith you are of mine, and kin  
That Sun which burned my fathers ebony,  
Rolled your limbs in gold,  
And made us both, cousins to the stars!

Farewell and Hail!  
Now I turn West, where kindly Death  
Opens its arms of endless sleep,  
Crying as I die: be born, New China,  
Celestial Kingdom, Golden Realm!

Hail, China!  
I go, I leave, I hasten home  
Where Dulles' brink can punish a nigger,  
For greeting a chink!  
My country 'tis of thee,  
I cannot sing.

But I can bring greetings  
From six hundred eighty million souls—  
Marching, pushing, pulling;  
Singing, weeping, crawling to conquer  
Themselves and the world.

Bursting pale bonds of poverty  
Dull Ignorance, dread Disease!  
Hand held in hand  
Of that strong elder brother  
Great Soviet Russia, Northern Light:

Emperor of all Snow and Ice;  
Who, wounded and scarred from fighting half the  
World,  
Stands today, wise, strong and proud;  
Exulting and exalted.

She who once felt Pain blasting Pain,  
Blood bleeding Blood  
Hope eating up Despair  
But now sits aloft, unconquered and unconquerable:

Not perfect, but with her eyes firm-fixed  
On Perfection!  
Beckoning all her brethren: south, east and west  
White and black, yellow and brown  
All colors, all men!  
All knowledge, all good!

Eternal China!  
Live again, unending Life of Death!  
Hear not the howling of the Hounds of Hell,  
Old China Hands who kicked their servants;

Raped your daughters  
And prostituted your wives;  
Sent priest, with opium in their right hands, guns in

their left;  
Crosses on their foreheads and gin in their flasks;  
To baptize the heathen!

Torment yourselves, O Chinese people,  
Flagellate your souls, my brothers,  
Do bitter penance for those awful years  
And centuries of yielding  
To self-murder, degradation and despair;  
To faithfulness to China and mankind.

Work now and struggle; sacrifice with joy,  
In just requital for the cruelty and neglect,  
You, yourselves; meted out to  
Your mothers, wives, and children  
And yourselves.

Count sweat and toil today;  
Hunger and cold;  
Nakedness and suffering, as just pay  
For centuries of surrender.

Forget the little shrimp that stinks and stews on Taiwan  
Forget his dogs, Rhee and Diem.  
Remember alone their ravaged peoples, the helpless  
pawns  
Of blood-stained paws, of blood jaws.  
Be calm; their end is written in their stars;  
Even their fellow-thieves in America  
Cower in defeat.

You have faced the Dragon, China,  
That fearsome Beast who ruled a thousand years:  
A writhing coil sin, a poison fang, a slimy horror!  
Who frightened you to submission  
And bound your feet and bowed your backs.

Hearken to the drums, listen to the feet:  
The March, the Long Long March from Ming to  
Mao, led by the Ghost  
Of Sun Yat-sen!  
With the Song of Tu Fu, the memory of Confucius  
and Tao!  
Sing, Liu, to the starving; starve with the song, Chou!

And Chu Teh, fight, fight, fight!  
Through the snows and over the mountains,  
You carry treasure;  
You carry Gold, but not the Gold  
Of banks and war-lords.

But the fine Gold of human hearts  
Whose price can never fall!  
Which is scarce only as it is not used  
Spend your Gold, China, scatter it and throw it abroad  
Buy all mankind as you have bought me  
Bought me and bound me and made me  
Forever and forever yours!

Away Myth and Miracle, Greed and Dogma;  
Up Science, Truth, Right and Reason  
Come, Little England, dying France,  
Live on your own toil and no longer on the Stolen  
land and labor.

Of slaves.

Rejoice, Honesty, God lives again!  
No Christ to kill, no faith to fan  
What China worships is a Man!  
A workingman, who earns his food  
And toils and sweats through day and night;  
And tills his land with all his might;  
And owns the harvest that he sows,  
And winds and pulls,  
And hauls and lifts  
And counts his children as his gifts;  
And thinks and plans,  
And learns and knows;

And plants the tree and sails the sea,  
And works for all and all for me;  
And they for us and we for them;  
Who love their fellows more than self,  
And toil for others not for self.  
No lofty lineage does China rear—  
No lords to strut, no fools to fear  
And all its myriad millions sing  
Work save the people, away with kings!

Let Poet, Seer and Thinker rule,  
Raise Age to honor, child to school.  
To school, to school, Golden baby, China doll.  
Kowtow, all sons of Heaven  
To daughters of Destiny  
Mothers of Men!  
To the women of China  
Pregnant with the fairest Future  
Man ever knew!

Reach down O mighty People,  
With your clenched left fist,  
Grip the hands of Black Folk!  
Hold fast the men from whom this world was born:

The great-brained Ape  
Who stood erect and talked to his fellows  
Who planted seed and first boiled Iron  
And civilised a World.  
Night fell, silent and noisome night, ghost-haunted,  
Earthquake tore, flood roared, serpent and insect bit;  
Fever raged, starvation reigned; but Africa lived;  
Africa lived and grew, fared far and flourished,  
Vitalised mankind.

Until the Devil rose and ruled in Europe and America,  
Worshipping Greed, proclaiming God, enchaining  
His children;

Preaching Freedom, practicing Slavery  
Making Africans the niggers of the World.

To be mocked and spit upon,  
To be crucified! Dead and buried!  
But Africa is not dead; she never died; she will.  
She writhes in sleep; this third century of her  
degradation  
She struggles to awake.

Help her, China!  
Help her, Dark People, who half-shared her slavery;  
Who know the depths of her sorrow and humiliation;  
Help her, not in Charity,

But in glorious resurrection of that day to be,  
When the Black Man lives again  
And sings the Song of the Ages!  
Swing low, Sweet Chariot—  
Good news! the Chariot's a'coming!  
Then again, Peace! Then forward the World, forward  
Mankind!  
No more Murder!

Ignore the memory of white men who tossed pence  
to paupers  
Yoked children to machines  
Ate babies in their mills  
Waxed fat on profits.

Remember only the Saints of the West  
John Brown and Garrison  
Lincoln and Douglass  
Pray that lost Britain  
Live in truth as once it wanted to live  
And bring back the World it murdered.

Sweet cities of China  
With gold-coil roofs and curling eaves  
With flaming walls and flowering gardens  
And laughing children rolling in the sun,  
Thunder your lightnings  
From the Great Wall to Himalayas  
Where pearls and jewels of Jolma Lumgna  
Peer down on all the earth!

Shout, China!  
Roar, Rock, roll River;  
Sing, Sun and Moon and Sea!  
Move Mountain, Lake and Land,  
Exalt Mankind, Inspire!  
For out-of the East again, comes Salvation!  
Leading all prophets of the Dead—  
Osiris, Buddha, Christ and Mahmoud  
Interning their ashes, cherishing their Good;  
China save the World!  
Arise, China!

*China Reconstructs, June, 1959.*

# SUEZ

Young Egypt rose and seized her ditch  
And said: "What's mine is mine!"  
Old Europe sneered and cried: "The bitch  
Must learn again to whine!"

The British lion up and roared  
But used his nether end  
Which raised a stink and made men shrink  
As world peace seemed to rend

Dull Dulles rushed about the world,  
His pockets full of gold.  
Ike sadly left his game of golf  
And talked as he was told:

"Lord God! Send Peace and Plenty down  
And keep on drafting men.  
Send billions east and so at least  
No income tax shall end."

Adlai essays with polished phrase  
To say the same thing less  
And prove without a shade of doubt  
Both parties made this mess.

The campaign's done and Ike has won,  
We spent ten millions for the fun.  
Meantime it would be well to note  
How many million did not vote.

Young Israel raised a mighty cry:  
"Shall Pharaoh ride anew?"  
But Nasser grimly pointed West,  
"They mixed this witches brew!"

Big Three are shouting long and loud;  
United Nations boil;  
Big Business raves: "Drop on these waves  
A million tons of oil!"  
With whites withdrawn, the traffic runs  
As it has run before.  
But white folk fumed and pointed out  
Red pilots from the shore.

Old Britain would be great again,  
With war on Earth, bad will to men!  
But France would civilise the dead  
And make the black Sahara red.

Greed splits the West and hatreds swell  
To rebuild race and color pride,  
Where Moses and Mohammed died  
And Jesus Christ was crucified.

Israel as the West betrays  
Its murdered, mocked, and damned,  
Becomes the shock troop of two knaves  
Who steal the dark men's land.

Beware, white world, that great black hand  
Which Nasser's power waves  
Grasps hard the concentrated hate  
Of myriad million slaves.

The Soviets in blood and tears  
Have made their socialism strong  
The West quite frantic in its fears  
Has tried to stamp it to the ground.

This cannot be, it's but the sight  
Of private capital's sad plight.  
Fear makes America feel free  
To buy revolt in Hungary.

For eastward trumpets sing the song  
The rising sun calls loud and long.  
All Africa lifts high its head,  
And sees all Asia burning Red!

"Mainstream" December, 1956.

## Almighty Death

Softly, quite softly—  
For I hear, above the murmur of the sea,  
Faint and far-fallen footsteps, as of One  
Who comes from out beyond the endless ends of Time,  
With voice that downward looms thro' singing stars;  
Its subtle sound I see thro' these long-darkened eyes,  
I hear the light He bringeth on his hands—  
Almighty Death!

Softly, oh, softly, lest He passes me by,  
And that unquivering Light toward which my Longing  
Soul  
And tortured body through these years have writhed,  
Fade to the dun darkness of my days.

Softly, oh, softly, lest He passes me by.  
The strong, low luting of that long-awaited call;  
Swiftly be all my good and going gone,  
And this vast veiled and vanquished vigor of my soul—  
Seek somehow elsewhere its rest and goal,  
Where endless spaces stretch,  
Where endless time doth moan,  
Where endless light doth pour.  
Thro' the black kingdoms of eternal death.  
See what things I have not seen,

Then I may see, know what things I have not known;  
Then may I do my dreams.  
Farewell! No sound of idle mourning let there be  
To shudder this full silence—save the voice  
Of children—little children, white and black,  
Whispering the deeds I tried to fo for them;  
While I at last unguided and alone  
Pass softly, full softly.

"The Crisis", November, 1911.



DEAR SIR,

A serious armed struggle is going on in the Congo between the African patriots and the enemies of African freedom.

Unfortunately, certain powers have decided to intervene in this domestic conflict because of their economic, military, and political interests in the Congo. This armed intervention is a very serious threat to international peace and security.

It is very well known that the state of Belgium did not want Congo to be independent. This is why Belgium gave the Congo nominal independence. It is also common knowledge that Belgium is primarily responsible for the chaos and troubles of the Congo since Congo became theoretically independent.

## Neo-Colonialism

The attempted secession of Katanga was no doubt a Belgium creation. Belgium has been pursuing a policy of neo-colonialism in the Congo and is now using a puppet government together with armed intervention in a deliberate attempt to keep Congo under Belgian neo-colonialism. This is a crime against the Africans! Belgium must stop all attempts to keep the Congo under Belgian control. This is an essential condition for world peace.

It is very obvious that Belgium could not impose its neo-colonialism on the Congo without the support of its Western allies who also encouraged the secession of Katanga.

These same Western powers used the U.N. operations in the Congo as a cover for their neo-colonialist activities in the Congo. The collective attempt to impose neo-colonialism on the Congo is part of a conspiracy by the West to keep all

Africa under Western control. This conspiracy is due to the economic, military, and political interests of the West in Africa.

Because of its leading role in the Western world, the United States has decided to intervene militarily in the domestic strife which is going on in the Congo. This attempt by the United States to create another South Vietnam in the Congo must be stopped at once before it is too late.

## Puppet Regime

The present "central government" in the Congo is a puppet regime and a creation of the West. This government was not elected by the people of Congo. It was not even approved by the National Assembly. The Government is therefore without any popular authority to rule the Congo. It is a government which consists of ignorant opportunists and self-seekers who are all stooges and puppets of the West.

Tshombe himself is a great Belgian stooge. He is also the most dangerous traitor in modern times. Nobody must expect Africans to assist this government which does not have any popular support in the Congo.

Belgium and the United States have both planned for an interventionist international force of white mercenaries to fight in the Congo against the African patriots. These mercenaries have been recruited in South Africa, Rhodesia, and in most Western countries.

Cuban exile-pilots fly war-planes against the African nationalists in the Congo.

This organised intervention is going on when Belgium and the United States are sending troops, arms, and aeroplanes to fight in

the Congo in their own interests.

I must warn that this massive military intervention in the Congo could lead to an international war. It could also start a racial war in the Congo that would spread all over Africa.

I would like to warn that if armed intervention is continued in the Congo against African patriots, the African states will have to consider rendering volunteer aid in every form to the African freedom fighters.

If necessary, more volunteer aid will have to be sought and accepted by the Africans from all freedom-loving peoples.

## Patriotic Forces

I hold that the patriotic struggle which is going on in the Congo is just and righteous. The aim of this struggle is to free the Congo from neo-colonialism and imperialism.

It is very necessary that the Security Council and the General Assembly should be convened immediately to discuss the Congo situation. They should also condemn all armed intervention in the Congo and consider measures to stop this unjust intervention in a domestic struggle for freedom.

The Congo problem is entirely an African problem and should therefore be left to the Africans to solve. The Organisation of African Unity is now a good instrument for the solution of African problems.

*Yours faithfully,*

Mwena Maina  
(Kenya Student)

216W 100th Street,  
New York 25,  
U.S.A.

*Continued from last issue. In next issue: Co-operation in manufacture of Atom bombs, poison gases, missiles.*

**T**HE real importance of such troops, advised by a Nazi general and led by fanatical racialist and pupils of Hitler, only becomes clear when one studies the full military conception of West-German-South-African co-operation. West German military advisers, instructors etc. are not only active under camouflage in South Africa, but also in the neighbouring Portuguese colonies, particularly in Angola, ("Ghanaian Times", July 30th 1964).

In addition the West German Federal Republic has already concluded agreements with seven different African states, at all strategic points on the African continent, for the supply of military advisers, instructors and other military aid.

("Daily Mail, London, June 5th 1964, and other sources).

More than a year ago the West German M.P. Hans Merten, member of the Bundestag Committee for Advice on Military Aid, revealed in an interview with the "Neue Rheinzeitung" how the young African national states were being fooled. He said :

"These countries wish to have nothing more to do with the former colonial powers, and nothing to do with the world powers, because they fear they will thereby become dependent. For this reason some of them come to us. We always act in agreement with the relevant former colonial power and with the USA."

("Neue Rheinzeitung", June 15th 1963)

This openly conceded and cynical swindle rounds off the picture of the dangerous neo-colonial plan which is the basis for the secret West-German-South-African military agreement: The creation of a network of military liaison points centred on the reorganised South African Commandos, with the help of which pressure can be exerted at any time on the young national states.

This plan is intended not only to make permanent the domination of the Verwoerd regime in South Africa and the Salazar regime in Angola and Mozambique ; at the same time the neo-colonialist forces in Africa shall be supported with the help of the West German imperialists and colonialists, who do not have such an obviously colonialist reputation.

But this is not all. Under some circumstances it may be possible to fill the "military vacuum" in Central Africa, of which Mellenthin speaks in typical Nazi style, with the aid of commando troops using conventional weapons and air transport.

However, the growing strength and consolidation of the African states, and their unity, make the success of such an action difficult. Mellenthin's anti-African army of mercenaries will not suffice in every case against the national independence of the African states and the national armies of liberation.

This makes for an even more intensive unity of interests between the South African Verwoerd clique and the West German militarists and revenge-seekers, who use similar arguments of a "military vacuum" to oppose an atom-free zone in Central Europe, and who are pressing for unlimited West German control of nuclear weapons. At present they are attempting to obtain such weapons through the NATO multilateral nuclear fleet, and through General de Gaulle's "force de frappe". At the same time they have been working systematically for years on preparations for the production in South Africa of ABC weapons (atomic, bacteriological, chemical) and for carrier missiles for such weapons.