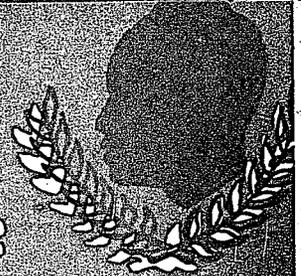


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# Voice of AFRICA



## UNION GOVERNMENT FOR AFRICA

WE cannot wait, we dare not wait until we are encompassed by our doom for failing to seize this grand opportunity rising to the call of Africa's finest hour.

This is the challenge which history has thrust upon us. This is the mandate we have received from our people, that we set about to create a Union Government for Africa now.

And this is also the challenge which providence and destiny has thrust upon us.

We cannot, we must not, we dare not fail or falter.

—President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

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**KWAME  
NKRUMAH**

# CONSCIENGISM

**KWAME NKRUMAH**

CONSCIENGISM

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*Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonization  
and Development with particular reference to  
the African Revolution*





# Voice of Africa

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## **OUR OPINION**

### **THE MAIN ISSUES IN CAIRO**

**REACTIONS** to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah's proposals for an African Continental Government by the African leaders who met in Cairo, although self-explanatory in themselves, were not unexpected.

Anyone who imagined there was going to be an unanimous support for a proposition which cuts hard through the roots of imperialism and neo-colonialism was only deceiving himself.

Apart from such a notion having no historical precedence, it proves how Africa has itself caught in the tentacles of neo-colonialism and how much effort we need to prevent our further capitulation before the forces of imperialism.

And it is the pressing necessity of this new effort which Dr. Nkrumah put before the African leaders in Cairo. It was the second time in fourteen months.

By organising and centralising our economic, political and military forces we provide a united approach to our problems as individual states, our security as individual states and to the freedom of our compatriots still in foreign chains and under colonial rule.

After all, who doubts the united might of Africa to wage a real struggle against apartheid, Portuguese fascism and those who support these evils with trade, investments and arms.

These were the harsh facts of our political world today and which Dr. Nkrumah presented in Cairo and which could not be refuted.

If we accept these as the solution to our problems, why this "lack of sense of urgency in the face of the menacing upsurge of imperialism and revival of colonialism itself in Africa and foreign interference and subversion in the internal affairs of our African states"?

These are the forces which endanger our continent. They do not stand still. They are not moving "step-by-step"—however much we would like to move "step-by-step."

Surely, we must do all we can to see that the revolutionary leadership of our continent is not lost in bureaucratic complexes or sacrificed on the altar of neo-colonialism.

The masses of Africa are wide awake and we are determined that African Unity is not delayed unduly by selfish appeals to narrow interests, false pride, megalomania and inflexibility.

*Continued on page 2*

## THE MAIN ISSUES IN CAIRO

*Continued from page 1*

We look forward to September, 1965 and to Accra to see the fruition of our hopes and aspirations—the creation of a continental government for Africa.

Whether Africa shall regain her lost prestige and pride as a centre of world civilisation or whether we shall remain enslaved to neo-colonialism and imperialism will depend on the outcome of the Accra Conference of 1965.

Within the intervening 14 months the Organisation of African Unity and the masses of Africa face a crucial period.

But whatever becomes the fate of the OAU Presidents Nkrumah, Sekou Toure and Ben Bella will stand out to the countless generations of Africa as leaders who dedicated themselves for Africa's Unity and progress.

### FRANK CLEMENT'S TWO-HOUSE TROLLEY

ANOTHER racist in Southern Rhodesia has spoken on racism.

While Ian Smith remains frantic and yet tamed, defeated, beaten and isolated, one of his lieutenants came up with ridiculous propositions.

This time it was Frank Clement the so-called Mayor of Salisbury who, in a frantic effort to suggest a solution to oppression in that British colony exposed once again the insensibility, blindness and foolhardiness of the racist clique.

Addressing a "National Affairs Association" in Salisbury, Mr. Frank Clement was reported as suggesting "two-house government" for Southern Rhodesia—"one representing the most highly skilled, the wealthiest and the best educated of the population".

We scorn and ignore such racist outbursts. In Southern Rhodesia "the most highly skilled, the wealthiest and the best educated of the population" are the whites and so it is for these exploiters Mr. Frank Clement want in "one-house".

It becomes increasingly unbelievable that the minority group in Southern Africa could be so blind to the realities of the African Revolution.

In Southern Rhodesia, Africans are not begging for a privilege; they are demanding a right which British imperialism, through trickery, conquest and expropriation, has denied them.

The white dissident tribesmen will have to accept the principle of majority rule—Africans do not intend to abandon principle.



# IMPERIALIST STRATEGY IN AFRICA

by Idris Cox

**DURING** the past decade the advance of the liberation struggle throughout Africa has confronted imperialism with new and serious problems. This applies especially to those imperialist powers with direct possession of colonies in the African continent.

The decision of the Addis Ababa Conference of African Heads of State to organise concerted action (including armed struggle) to free the remaining colonies, presents them with an even more serious challenge.

In some respect this new situation alarms United States imperialism more than the direct colony-owning powers.

British imperialism has been forced to recognise that it cannot hold on indefinitely to its remaining colonies, but is still striving to maintain its grip by the strategy of neo-colonialism.

This applies also to French imperialism, and its sole remaining direct colony, French Somaliland, is now looking forward to political independence—with the solidarity aid of the African liberation movement.

The Portuguese imperialist rulers still hope to keep their hold on Angola, Mozambique and other small African colonial territories; the Spanish rulers hope to keep their small African outpost; and the apartheid rulers in South Africa (together with the white settlers in Southern Rhodesia) will fight to the bitter end to prevent the liberation of the African peoples.

The colony-owning powers exercise strong economic and political influence even after political independence in their own specific regions.

**BUT UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM, WHOSE ONLY DIRECT COLONY WAS LIBERIA, SEEKS TO EXTEND ITS GRIP THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE OF THE AFRICAN CONTINENT.**

**DURING THE PAST TEN YEARS IT HAS CONCENTRATED ITS FORCES TO "FILL THE VACUUM CREATED BY THE WEAKENED POSITION OF OTHER IMPERIALIST POWERS IN AFRICA.**

Indeed, the victories of political independence since 1957 (abolishing direct colonial rule), have enabled the United States to penetrate new regions of Africa from which it was to a great extent barred when constitutional power was in the hands of Britain and France.

These developments that have created a situation in which the United States is in a stronger position to exercise economic, political, and ideological influence in Africa than any other imperialist power.

On the other hand, the African liberation movements have advanced, so rapidly and their anti-imperialist outlook has become so pronounced, that the United States is forced to twist and turn in its strategy and tactics year after year.

What is even more disturbing for U.S. imperialism is the impact of the growing socialist world in Africa.

This arises not only from the increasing ability to extend genuine socialist aid, but from the great economic and technical advances in the socialist countries which make this possible.

Above all, the consistent fight of the socialist countries within the United Nations for world peace and for the abolition of all forms of colonialism, gives a practical demonstration to the millions of African who are their real allies.

This is a situation which forces United States ruling circles to constantly re-examine their strategy and tactics in relation to Africa as a whole.

The most recent comprehensive expression of their "new thinking" on this problem is a new book by

Mr. Vernon MacKay "Africa in World Politics" published in 1963.

With typical American brazenness the publishers describe the book as the "first comprehensive analysis of Africa's multiplying contacts with Europe, Asia and the America's."

It does certainly touch upon Africa's relations with the rest of the world, its growing impact within the United Nations and the alleged Soviet "aims" in Africa, but its main essence is the importance of Africa for United States imperialism. The preface "modestly" admits that:

"American pressure on African events has been exerted in many ways—through diplomatic persuasion in Europe, through our votes on African issues in the United Nations even when we abstained, through the "Voice of America" and other propaganda media, through the educational exchange programmes of the State Department and other agencies, both public and private, and through economic and technical assistance to Africa."

The author expresses serious concern at the big changes in the United Nations arising from the increasing number of independent States which have become members.

Though United States personnel are in key position in the U.N. administrative machine, in the General Assembly itself the imperialist powers are often defeated on colonial issue;

"It is quite clear that sharp conflicts over colonial and racial issues have broken down the spirit of co-operation and weakened the United Nations at least in the short run."

Faced with this new situation the need for a more flexible United States policy in U.N.O. is advocated—many would describe it as a deceitful policy.

"In the United Nations African and Asian members are now so numerous that it is even more important for the United States to avoid being stereotyped as a supporter of colonialism. A bela-

Continued on page 5

# CONSCIENCISM

by

Lateef Babs Hussein  
Friendship University,  
Moscow

Philosophy of our revolution,  
Jealously we shall guide thee,  
Through the impasse of evolution,  
High, high, high your honour indeed!

With banner of Consciencism,  
We stand against adversary,  
Counterpose to colonialism,  
Related to African Society-evolutionary.

Surely close for ever the latitude,  
Africa, your son and daughter,  
Today rejoices with gratitude,  
To Nkrumah, the founder our teacher,

Oh! sing halleluya,  
With Evergreen palm-tree,  
Of the tropical forest of Africa,  
What a dawn! dawn where we are free—

Endlessly our lips shall pronounce,  
Consciencism, philosophy of our revolution,  
Endlessly fake philosophy we shall denounce,—  
Hail! thee, philosophy of our revolution.

Hail thee! new philosophy,  
Long in search we are,  
Now in possession of a philosophy,  
At last saved, we are;

Consciencism—enviable height of thought,  
At last Africa discovered road to the past,  
With the new vehicle, we shall march forward,  
For us Consciencism, philosophy at it's best,

Let us end scramble for ideology,  
Conscience is a word we know,  
Beating the tan-tam, everywhere echoing sound of ideology  
Consciencism is a philosophy we ought to know—

Oh! Nkrumah discovered it, our salutation,  
Where do we go from this height of discovery,  
Past 'Speculation' for ideological salvation,  
Looking down and up, Africa rejoice for delivery,

Under the banner of Consciencism,  
Africans unite to rejuvinate the farlow,  
Away, away, away with vulgar ism,  
The dark 'sterday' has come with better morrow,



Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the author  
of "Consciencism"

Continued from page 3

ted jump to the front of the anti-colonialism bandwagon would be some what hypocritical and of little lasting value. An independent posture, keeping the door to both groups open, may still prove valuable in the difficult period ahead."

The actual record shows however, that the United States speeches and votes in U.N.O (while occasionally making gestures on South Africa and Portugal to weaken its rivals), have always favoured some form of imperialist domination in Africa. In a revealing chapter "Soviet Policy in Africa" the author explains that in the Trusteeship Council the "standard technique" of the Soviet delegates in the fifteen years after the second world war was to press for:

1. Participation of the people in the government.
2. Replacing the tribal system with democratic government.
3. Return of alienated land.
4. Replacing the head tax with an income tax.
5. Increasing the budget for education, cultural and health purpose.

The author testifies that in the "early years" these "were voted down one by one". All this helped to "build up the image of the Soviet Union as a friend who always fought for colonial peoples."

In contrast, "the negative votes and abstentions of the United States "built up an opposite image of a defender of the colonial powers if not of colonialism."

Before the African and Asian States had reached a strong position of influence in the NATO the United States supported the colonial powers and was not obliged to resort to subtle methods.

This book boasts about Soviet representative for many years being kept off from visiting missions, to trust territories in Africa, or from serving on Petition Committee and of all kinds of obstruction to Soviet opposition to all forms of colonialism.

At the 15th General Assembly a Soviet proposal for "complete independence forthwith" and the elimination of all strongholds of colonia-

lism was rejected, but a new motion put forward by 43 Afro-Asian members was substituted (supported by the Soviet Union) which retained the basic demand for "the abolition of colonialism".

This was adopted by 89 votes to nil and 9 abstentions. Among those abstaining were the United States, Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Spain, South Africa Australia and Dominica.

The author bemoans the fact that the United States has a "bad press" on this and many other issues in the United Nations.

He consoles himself that with so many colonies achieving their independence, there will be less "opportunities" for the Soviet Union to "exploit" the situation. But he recognises that a several "thorny problems" remain, notably the Portuguese colonies, and South Africa.

A valiant attempt is made to praise the "economic aid" which the United Nations has extended to Africa from its "Special Fund", from 1959 to 1962.

*It does not explain that this is restricted to projects which provide basic cheap services for the overseas monopoly firms in the form of roads, bridges, ports and harbours etc, which in themselves yield little or no profit.*

Even so, Africa was allocated only \$42 million in three years—one-sixth of a dollar per head of the population!

Even more ludicrous is the glossy picture painted of loans to Africa from the World Bank.

A total of 41 loans for 16 African countries (at high rates of interest up to February 1962 to \$929 million.

**WHEN THIS IS BROKEN DOWN IT IS REVEALED THAT 6478 MILLION WENT TO SOUTH AFRICA, CONGO AND THE CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION (WHICH HAS NOW BEEN DISSOLVED).**

This is in contrast not only \$50 million to Nigeria, Kenya, and Uganda (less than half of one per cent!) which together have a bigger population.

However, it is fully recognised that United Nations "economic aid" or even the World Bank occupies

only a minor role in relation to loans and grants to Africa.

More than 90 per cent of economic aid" to Africa consists of bilateral grants and loans.

Because of its special relationship with its ex-colonies France has the biggest total, and in 1960 extended loans and grants amounting to \$732 million, while the United States amount was \$231 million and Britain's only \$144 million.

This is by no means the whole story. The United States has several "channels" for the penetration of the African countries. In his anxiety to prove to American readers what "tremendous efforts" are being made to "assist Africa, the author gives a fairly comprehensive list of these "channels." What are they?

First, there are the "private" United States organisations active in Africa.

They comprise 223 business firms, 203 missionary agencies and 173 other educational, philanthropic and civil agencies.

*They are all listed in a State Department report entitled "International, Educational, Cultural and Related Activities for African Countries South of the Sahara", published in August 1961.*

It is explained that their activities influence African opinion as well as "policy makers" in Washington, and that some of them openly attempt to bring pressure on governments while others deny any attempt to influence policy.

The business firms find Africa extremely profitable, and US investments increased from \$298 million in 1950 to \$925 million in 1960.

Among the missionary societies 60 are Catholic, 39 are Protestant, and 54 are inter-denominational.

South of the Sahara there were in 1962 more than 3,500 missionary "workers", and in 1957 it was claimed that 37 million Africans has been converted to Catholicism and 27 million to the Protestant religion.

Among the "civic" organisations there are councils, associations and clubs, which include the African-American Institute, the African

Continued on page 9

# The Success and Failure of the Basutoland Constitutional Conference



Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle,  
leader of B.C.P.

**T**HE recent Basutoland Constitutional Conference that closed in London on May 15, 1964, was successful to a measure.

On all the major issues, the Basutoland Delegation—which because of its composition was of a loose unity—presented a loose but aggressive front. On the issues such as the getting of truly democratic elections for the country—one man one vote; the holding of the pre-independence elections before the end of 1964; which elections would also be the final elections before the independence of the country; the fixing, as definitely as possible of a date for the independence of Basutoland; the acceptance of independence of the country 18 months after the next elections as the backbone upon which the conference discussions would, without compromise, be based; the unequivocal discussion on the part of Britain to release powers on Defence, External Affairs; Internal Security, Finance and Public Service to a new Basu-

toland Government; the immediate replacement of the expatriate officers by the local officers, the unconditional and automatic assumption of independence by Basutoland—12 months after the next elections on all these, the Basutoland Delegation hammered the British Delegation for over three weeks within which time Mr. Duncan Sandys twice salvaged a wrecking secret Constitutional Conference.

After making it public that they were not going to withhold the independence of Basutoland for any unnecessary period of time, the British did all in their power to sabotage the Basutoland Commission's report, which was to be the basis of this London Conference.

In November last year soon after the recommendations of the report had become well known to them—the British started to sabotage the acceptance of this report by the Basutho.

Firstly, they published their doubts and reservations about the report before it was put before them as a considered and accepted document of the Basutoland Legislative Council.

In this way the British forearmed and strengthened their Basutho reactionary allies in the Council, who were otherwise unskilled to raise any tangible objections on the report. The British realising that by themselves and against the world opinion, they were unable to reject the report, decided to use some councillors to carry out the rejection of the report on their behalf.

Secondly, the British further undermined the report by granting new dictatorial powers to their Resident Commissioner in Basutoland—the powers were opposed to those already recommended in the Basutoland report; in this way the British clearly indicated to Basutho that what the report recommended

was unacceptable to them.

Thirdly, the British attempted to get the support of the United Nations through one of the U.N.O.'s Assistant Secretary, Mr. G. Armacree, who went to Basutoland as a guest of the Government and attempted to scare Basutho away from the idea of Independence.

During the debates on the report in the Basutoland Legislative Council, the official members of the Council—all British officers—declared that they would be neutral and would take no part in the debates.

But throughout the debates they lobbied the chiefs and the unorganised members of the Council to reject the report and/or to amend it—especially to exclude the timing for the independence of Basutoland on which the structure of the report was hinged.

In the conference itself in London, the British, who had been misguided by their civil servants that the Basutoland Delegation was irredeemably divided, used threats calculated to divide the Basutoland delegation—

- (a) They declared that if Basutho wanted to take the Public Service—the British would rather grant immediate independence—nevertheless the British delegation retraced on this point when the Basutho delegation accepted taking over both the Public Service and Independence forthwith.
- (b) The British insisted that since they would, in the pre-independence period, continue to give money to Basutoland, they were justified to keep power in practically all the major fields—Defence, Foreign Affairs, Internal Security, Finance and the Public Service. The Basutho, however, declaring that they were not in

London to sell their right to Independence for money, made it clear to the British would rather keep their money and the Basutho would take their independence whatever the risks.

- (c) The British retracing on this point again—went on to make it clear to Basutoland Delegation that after independence, Britain would not be in a position to defend Basutoland militarily. But the Basutoland delegation established the fact that the present Anglo-South African financial economy, and military Commonwealths could not permit Britain to defend Basutoland against South Africa militarily even today the British accepted this as a fact—and frustrated those elements in the Basutoland delegations that had a misguided trust in the British protection—whereupon our recalcitrants not aligned themselves decisively with the popular demand for immediate independence.

After the Basutoland delegation had rejected these meaningless threats, the British delegation had nothing to hold against the Basutho's primary demand—independence of Basutoland within a certain stated period.

At one stage the British delegation stated that the Afro-Asian bloc in the United Nations would condemn the independence of Basutoland as an irresponsible handing of this territory over to the Republic of South Africa—this again the Basutoland delegation rejected as frivolous and false.

The conduct of the British delegation in this conference was, as far as the Basutoland delegation assessed, determined by a number of factors. The Basutho felt that:—

(1) the underhand way the British dealt with the report of the Basutoland Commission, meant that the British did not like to give Basutho the independence which Basutho deserve and have a right to have as theirs.

(2). The British were determined to hold back the independence of Basutoland in the interests of the

2,000 European Civil Servants, Missionaries, and traders who now reside in Basutoland.

(3). Somewhere in the minds of Mr. Duncan Sandys—especially in the persons of the British delegates and steered the course of this Basutoland Constitutional Conference into an Apartheid and transkian type of Bantustan—wherein the fundamental policy would be the revival of feudalism, the closure of all the doors to independence, the rejection of the principle of democratic and unguided elections and the retaining of the ultimate power in all the essential governmental fields by the British.

(4). The protection of Dr. Verwoerd's apartheid and Bantustan experiments; the protection of the 1,000 million British investments in South Africa; the protection of those notorious Anglo-South African military and economic commonwealths; the ensuring of the constant flow of cheap labour from Basutoland into the British South African farms, mines and industries; the protection of the European Civil Servants—especially those that come from South Africa—all these were the fundamental considerations upon which the British delegation made their firm and measured their successes and failures in this conference.

(5). Any political demands and interest of the Basutho were measured against the resolute determination of the British not to annoy or sabotage Dr. Verwoerd's apartheid and expansionist policies in South Africa.

(6). The best way of negotiating with the British is to suspect every one of their promises and expressed intentions and assurances as hollow and not meant.

Apart from the above assessment of the British attitudes by the Basutoland Delegation, there were other matters that pressed the Basutoland delegation to demand for nothing else but independence:—

(a) The Basutoland Constitutional Report that advocated for responsible form of government for Basutoland—was to say the least—a belated document—it was already 3 years behind time. And the beginning of

1961 when a resolution for Responsible Government was agreed unanimously in the Legislative Council, the political climate was then for a Responsible Government but in April 1964 when the Conference began its sittings in London—the people—the popular masses of Basutoland had already gone 3 years ahead of the idea of a Responsible Government—the talk in the villages and all around the country was—Immediate Independence of the country—and so while the British and Basutoland Delegation met in London to speak on a Responsible Government—the people at home demanded for Immediate Independence—with, twice during the Conference, the Basutoland Delegation adamantly called for almost to the point of breaking down the constitutional talks.

(b) During 1962 when the members of the Basutoland Delegation toured the country to get the people's views on the type of constitution they wanted, one out of every 8 of the thousands that appeared before the Commission spoke of immediate independence of the country as all that they want. This they stated even after they were warned that there should be no reference to independence—as it was not included in the Commission's terms of reference.

(c) During the debates on the report in the Basutoland Legislative Council, an amendment inspired from the Colonial Office in London—required that the time for Basutoland's independence should not be fixed, this should be left open, undecided and indefinite—but by 34 votes against 5 the Legislative Council rejected this postponement.

(d) On the 11th of February this year—the Legislative Council—with demonstrative pressures from popular masses—unanimously adopted the report the first paragraph of which reads as follows: "In this report we make proposals for a new Independence Constitution for Basutoland (hereafter called

Lesotho), it having been our aim to devise a Constitution which, after a defined interim period of preparation, might within minimum changes and maximum ease, become the Constitution of an independent Lesotho?

(e) During our deliberations in London, the Basutoland Delegation received a cable from a 15,000 strong Basutoland Congress Party rally—demanding of the delegation to return home if the British did not want to speak about Basutoland's Independence—as the British were at the beginning disinclined to make independence the backbone of the Conference discussions—the cable then stated that the people would then be justified and be in strong position to seek their own ways to the immediate independence of the country. On the question of Defence, Internal Security, Foreign Affairs, Public Service and Finance—no agreed solution was in fact arrived at—the British assured the Basutoland Delegation that these matters would be delegated to the Government after the elections—in some way similar to that followed in Kenya—where these remained reserved matters but were delegated immediately after the 1963 Kenya elections—the Basutoland Delegation was not agreed to this as they contended that the special circumstances of Basutoland—surrounded by an unfriendly apartheid Republic of South Africa—necessitated an immediate participation by the Basotho Ministers, with power and responsibilities, in these fields. Mr. Duncan Sandys insisted that for the present, his repeated assurances for the delegation of their powers to Basotho Ministers in these fields soon after the next elections should be accepted as sufficient by the Basutoland Delegation, which continued to express serious doubts and reservations on their being fed on “assurances”—this was such an issue that nearly resulted in the Basu-

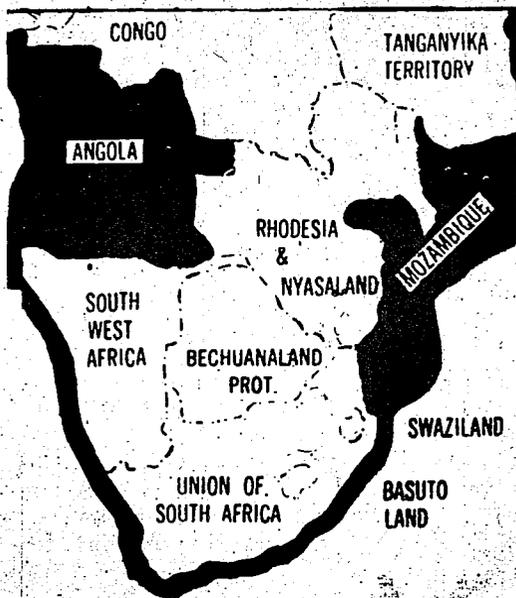
toland delegation refusing to sign the final documents.

The success of this Conference was on the following points:—

1. That now in Basutoland, democratic elections based on one man one vote are accepted and will function with next elections.
2. That there will be a fully elected National Assembly with a fully elected Cabinet responsible to the National Assembly.
3. That the acceptance and the immediate initiation of the arrangements for the independence of Basutoland—12 months after the next elections, are now on agreed policy.
4. That all efforts will be put into holding elections, on the new constitution before the end of 1964.
5. That the threat of a Dr. Verwoerd's apartheid Bantustan constitution has now been avoid-

ed in Basutoland.

6. That the South Africa's territorial expansionist programme has been arrested—and if the International Court should give a decision, on South West Africa, which removes it from under South Africa back to free world—then some loosening of the cohesive forces that keep apartheid intact will have been loosened considerably.
  7. That the British power and hold on Basutoland will be greatly lowered by the disempowering of the High Commissioner and his District Commissioners.
- With the results of these talks, Basutoland now looks ahead to elections to be followed soon by independence when Basutoland will look forward to friendly relations with all the peace-loving nations of the world.



*Continued from page 5*

Studies Association, the American Society of African Culture, the American Committee on Africa, the Africa League, the African Research Foundation, the African Service Institute, the African-American Students Foundation, and the Foundation for all Africa.

Truly a formidable list!

These "civic" groups are not so private as they seem.

They are assisted by the Council on Foreign Relations and the Foreign Policy Association to organise meetings and publish journals, and extend their operations to the formation of branches in various parts of Africa.

Then there are 11,000 "private foundations" or philanthropic organisations (apart from 50,000 other tax exempt organisations), which are active in this field.

The Carnegie programme for Africa for 1959-60 totalled projects to value of \$1,189,500 and Rockefeller \$1,152,600.

The Ford Foundation did not begin operations until 1951, but for "training and research" has now advanced \$9,000,000 and of its \$40 million grants to America universities for 1960-62, one-tenth was allocated for African studies.

In 1960 alone, American universities had no less than 76 different programmes on various aspects of African problems.

One must not forget either the activities of the A.F.L. and CIA and the ICFTU regional organisations in Africa for which money has been poured out in recent years, especially to resist the growth of the All-African Trade Union Federation formed in 1961.

After a brief review of various interpretations of America's "national interest" in Africa, the author comes to the conclusion that:

"It is most of all a political interest in having the proper balance of freedom and stability in Africa," and then proceeds to examine this from three aspects: (a) military (b) economic, and (c) political.

With the growing African opposition to military bases, the new technique of nuclear war and the

impact of the socialist world, it is argued that "Africa in 1962 contained fewer Western military assets than Europeans had hoped for".

At the same time the United States cannot ignore the new discoveries of mineral deposits in Africa useful for war purposes, or its growing need for raw materials which may increase its dependence on African resources.

**THE ECONOMIC ASPECT IS LINKED WITH THE MILITARY ASPECT, AND THE EXPLOITATION OF AFRICA'S OIL, IRON ORE, BAUXITE AND OTHER RESOURCES IS EMPHASISED AS BEING ESSENTIAL FOR THE UNITED STATES.**

**FOR THIS REASON U.S. GOVERNMENT AGENCIES ARE TAKING AN INCREASING SHARE IN PROCURING THESE RESOURCES IN THE "NATIONAL INTEREST".**

It also underlines the decisive importance of the Common Market as a means for the "restoration of a sound European economic and in the interests of furthering the aspirations of African peoples."

In other words, to maintain Africa as a reserve to produce minerals and raw materials for the imperialist countries!

From the political standpoint the author asserts that if "democracy is to flourish in the United States, free institutions must also continue to exist in other fortunate parts of the world".

### AMERICA'S ALLIES

He lumps together "the dictatorship of Khrushchev, Hitler, Franco, Mussolini and Salazar".

Hitler and Mussolini are gone, so it is safe to condemn them!

But no word of condemnation for the fascist Verwoerd in South Africa, Chiang Kai Shek, of the American "pillars of democracy" which have been set up in South Korea, Thailand, Iraq and many parts of Latin America.

Certainly nothing about democratic rights for American Negroes!

The author declares: "It is in our national interest for Africa to remain free of Communist dictatorship", which means in practice that Africa should refuse to have friendly

relations with the socialist countries.

To prevent this development, it seems to be in America's "national interest" to support one-party systems, two-party systems—anything, providing it does not mean the advancement of socialist ideas in Africa!

To protect its "national interest" in Africa and elsewhere in the world, the United States is obliged to build up a huge administrative machine.

### STATE DEPARTMENT

In the chapter "The Making of African Policy," this book explains this as the main reason for increasing the personnel of the U.S. Department of State from 4,726 in 1930 with a budget of \$15 million to a budget of \$331 million in 1960 and since then it has risen far more.

The author is himself a Professor of African Studies, a Director of Programmes for African Studies, Chairman of the State Department's Advisory Council on African Affairs, and an extensive traveller over Africa.

A new development in July 1958, was the formation of a "Bureau of African Affairs" under an Assistant Secretary of State, and an increase of full-time officers from 44 in 1960 to 97 in 1962.

This is now the main "power-house" for United States operations in Africa, where the number of U.S. Foreign Service officers" has increased from 664 in 1957 to 1,359 in July 1961. The U.S. "Bureau of African Affairs" is the main political channel, but there are many more which enable the United States to penetrate into Africa.

The Agency for International Development has no less than 1,310 U.S. representatives in Africa.

The so-called "Peace Corps" has reached nearly 10,000. The United States Information Agency (USIA) has 133 officers and 476 trained propagandists in Africa in 1962 at 43 U.S. "Information centres" in 31 African cities.

Through various channels too numerous to mention, the United States uses films, books, television and radio relay stations, and buys up African newspapers to influence Africans in the United States itself

*Continued from previous page*

They all dovetail into comprehensive strategic plan for the advancement of America's "national interest" in Africa, and the author quotes with approval a recent new book on American Foreign Policy, which declares:

"... foreign aid is wholly inseparable from politics and is always an economic instrument of foreign policy". (The New Statecraft—Foreign Aid in American Foreign Policy, by George Liska).

Despite this vast apparatus in the service of America's aims in Africa, the author is by no means confident, that its operations are successful, because racial discrimination against Africans in the United States itself is difficult to explain away—and in contrast to the absence of racial discrimination in the Soviet Union.

"At the height of the controversy over the colonial question it was extremely difficult to make palatable propaganda out of U.S. fence-sitting in the United Nations. The racial discrimination to which American Negroes are still subjected is even harder to explain to Africans. Since the Soviet Union in contrast, has escaped identification with racialism and colonialism, American propaganda about Soviet 'colonialism' and the threat of communism in Africa has little effect, and in fact is often regarded by Africans as deceptive counter-propaganda to conceal American support for Western colonialism".

It certainly seems as if all the money spent on American activity and propaganda in Africa is not reaping a rich reward.

After the Addis Ababa Conference of African Heads of State in

May, 1963, it is even more difficult to do so.

United States ties with fascist circles in South Africa and Portugal will reach breaking point when the Addis Ababa decisions are translated into practice.

The author closes his book with the warning that "We must attune ourselves to this revolutionary spirit in Africa," and declares:

"If we fail in the effort, we may find our present system of international security collapsing all round us within the next decade".

What the author really means is that the United States will no longer be able to exercise domination over the African continent.

**AND WITH THIS CONCLUSION ONE CAN ONLY EXPRESS THE FULLEST AGREEMENT.**

**(Culled from Pan-African)**

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# IMPERIALIST POWERS DEPEND ON AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA FOR RAW MATERIALS

by A Special Correspondent

**I**N the era of monopoly capitalism, the imperialist countries are increasingly dependent on their countries for raw materials. Asia, Africa and Latin America play an important role in providing these supplies.

In his "Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism", Lenin pointed out: "The more capitalism is developed, the more strongly the shortage of raw materials is felt, the more intense the competition and the hunt for sources of raw materials throughout the whole world..." He laid stress on the plunder of raw materials as one of the principal motives and aspects of colonial aggression by imperialism.

The modern revisionists, however, are busy spreading all sorts of lies, alleging that the imperialist drive for plunder and aggression has changed and it is no longer necessary for the imperialist powers to conquer for wealth. They want to whitewash the imperialist policy of pillaging other countries and negate Lenin's correct conclusions.

## WHAT MAKES THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES DEPEND ON RAW MATERIALS FROM ABROAD.

Some people argue that the imperialist countries are becoming less dependent on foreign sources of raw materials, thanks to the progress of science and technology, the growth of the productive forces and the emergence of synthetic raw materials. Is this true?

Scientific and technological advance and development of the productive forces have made it possible for the industrially-advanced countries to reduce average consumption of raw materials per unit produced. But large-scale expansion of production drains these countries of raw materials, especially mineral products, which are closely connect-

ed with modern heavy industry. Take those which are closely connected with modern heavy industry. Take the total consumption of certain important nonferrous metals by the six major imperialist or capitalist powers—the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy and Japan. In the nine years between 1953 and 1962, their consumption of aluminium increased by 73 per cent; copper by 48 per cent, zinc by 35 per cent, lead by 26 per cent and tin by 23 per cent. Their total consumption of major petroleum products went up 34 per cent between 1957 and 1962.

Part of these raw materials was produced by the countries themselves, but part was imported. Consumption was for above their own production.

In two research reports published in 1959 and 1961 respectively, the U.S. Congress admitted that "the U.S. industrial system is becoming increasingly dependent upon foreign materials, particularly petroleum, ores and metals. . . . In some of these products the United States has shifted from a net exporter to a net importer", and that "even in the United States, which is generally well endowed in minerals, domestic industry no longer suffices to meet domestic requirements and the gap between consumption and production is growing."

The annual output of petroleum in the United States almost doubled between 1940 and 1962, rising from 1,353 million barrels to 2,676 million barrels. The United States exported eight million barrels in 1940. In 1962, however, it had to import 409 million barrels.

The United States used to produce all the iron ore it needed. But higher consumption and a decline in production resulted in imports of 2.84 million tons of iron ore in 1940, which rose to 33.41 million tons

in 1962. The United States supplied 97 per cent of its iron ore in 1940 but only 68 per cent in 1962. The rate of self-sufficiency in certain minerals, such as copper, has risen in the United States in recent years, but these exceptions are few.

Between 1952 and 1961, the gap between production and consumption of iron ore in Britain increased from 9.70 million tons to 14.7 million tons, of primary aluminium from 190,000 tons to 250,000 tons, of copper from 200,000 tons to 290,000 tons, of zinc sheets from 100,000 tons, of wool from 318 million pounds to 405 million pounds, etc. This results in corresponding increases in the importation of such raw materials.

The demand for many other raw materials, such as rare metals used in the most advanced industries has risen, and these countries cannot fill all the needs by themselves.

The development of synthetics has enabled industrially-developed countries to obtain substitutes from their own chemical industries for certain natural raw materials imported. However, synthetics are still few and the degree to which substitutes can be used is limited. Natural rubber is still necessary for certain kinds of high-grade rubber products.

Since 1951 the annual consumption of natural rubber has remained above 400,000 tons in the United States, where the synthetic rubber industry is developing, and no natural rubber is produced. Total import of natural rubber by North America, West Europe and Japan in 1961 exceeded the 1948-1950 period. The situation regarding cotton is similar.

## MORE RAW-MATERIAL IMPORTS AND LESS SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Without exception the principal imperialist or capitalist countries have imported a growing amount of raw materials in recent years.

Official statistics released by these countries testify to this.

Using the 1946-1950 average annual import of unprocessed raw materials by the United States as 100, the figure for 1951-55 is 109, for 1956-60 is 132 and for 1962 it

is 137. The import index of semi-processed raw materials also rose from 100 for 1946-50 to 138 for 1951-55, to 158 for 1956-60 and to 195 for 1962.

Taking the index of raw materials imported by Britain in 1947 as 100, the 1961 import of unprocessed raw materials is 121, of non-ferrous metals 166, and fuel 341.

France, West Germany and Japan developed their economy faster than the United States and Britain in recent years, and accordingly increased their raw material import at a greater pace.

To what extent do the imperialist countries depend on imported raw materials?

According to a report made public by the U.S. Department of Commerce in early 1963, the United States in 1961 depends on foreign countries for 80 per cent to 100 per cent of its supply of 84 kinds of important raw materials, for 50 per cent to 80 per cent of 22 other kinds and for 10 per cent to 50 per cent of still another 43 kinds.

A comparison between the situation in 1951 and that in 1937-39 shows that the United States depends more and more on imports.

The following table show increasing U.S. dependence on raw material imports in percentages:

	1937-39 average	1961
Petroleum	0	20.7
Bauxite	53	76.9
Iron ore	2.8	26.3
Lead	0.2	59.4
Zinc	6.3	50.8

It is thus clear that the imperialist countries today are dependent increasingly on foreign sources. This is one of the main reasons why the imperialist powers are vying with each other for raw materials abroad.

### WHERE DOES IMPERIALISM GET RAW MATERIALS?

It is common knowledge that, with the exception of Japan, all the Asian, African and Latin American countries in the capitalist economic system have long been raw material exporters. These countries produce almost all the tropical agricultural

raw materials and rare metals in the capitalist world.

Wages of the miners and agricultural workers of these countries are several times and even scores of times lower than those of their counterparts in the imperialist countries. According to figures in the 1961 International Labour Year Book, South Korean coal miners in one month earned the equivalent of the hourly wage of an American miner.

The Asian, African and Latin American countries produce huge quantities of cheap raw materials, minerals in particular, for export. Rubber, palm oil, coconut oil, hemp and other tropical raw materials come entirely from these areas. This situation will continue for a long time since natural conditions cannot be changed.

But this relation obtains for other agricultural raw materials as well. The proportion of cotton produced by the Asian, African and Latin American countries in the gross output of the capitalist world went up from an average of 45 per cent between 1949 and 1953 to 53.6 per cent in 1962. In the cotton export figures of the capitalist world the share of these countries rose from an average of 55.8 per cent in 1948-1952 to 57 per cent in 1961.

The mines of the principal imperialist countries have been exploited for a long time. In the Asian, African and Latin American countries, however, the underground resources are far from being fully tapped and the mines are in their prime.

The following table shows the percentage of the mineral output of the capitalist world accounted for by these countries:

	1949	1961
Petroleum	40	57.1
Bauxite	66.3	72.6
Copper ore	47	52
Zinc ore	23	50
Lead ore	31.3	35.2
Tin ore	97	95
Chromium ore	92.7	91
Iron ore	8.3	23.3
Manganese ore	90	90
Niobium and tantalum ores	90	90
Cobalt ore	—	70
Diamond	100	100

Most of other mineral products of the Asian, African and Latin American countries are exported, either as unprocessed raw materials or as semi-processed materials or high grade fuel. On the other hand, the mineral products of the industrially-developed countries, especially the principal imperialist powers, are primarily for home consumption. The following table shows the proportions for the most important minerals produced and exported by Asia, Africa and Latin America in 1961:

	Percent in the total output	Percent in the total export
Petroleum	57.1	97.6
Bauxite	72.6	85.8
Iron ore	23.3	48.4
Manganese ore	90	97.2

The following table shows the proportion of imports from the Asian, African and Latin American countries of total U.S. imports of certain agricultural and mineral products in 1962:

Rubber, palm oil and coconut oil	100 per cent
Vegetable oil seeds	84 per cent
Wool	43 per cent
Hides	52 per cent
Bauxite, Manganese ore, Tin ore, saltpetre	100 per cent
Iron ore	47 per cent
Copper ore	58 per cent
Zinc ore	67 per cent
Lead ore	62 per cent
Chromium ore	96 per cent
Tungstenore	66 per cent
Sulphur	57 per cent
Petroleum	82 per cent

The Asian, African and Latin American countries also occupy a prominent place in the imports of other imperialist powers.

Since all the major capitalist countries have to depend heavily on the "raw-material exporters", each tries to grasp as much raw material as possible from Asia, Africa and Latin America. Each aims not only at meeting its own demands but at weakening the competitive

*Continued on next page*

## South Africa

# BANNING "POWERS"

**A**N ESTIMATED 300 people have been 'banned' in South Africa under a fascist 'law' which goes by the name of the "Suppression of Communism" Act.

*Continued from page 12*

power of the others, not only at siphoning off the largest amount of raw material but at getting the lion's share of the fabulous profits that trade in these raw materials and their production ensures.

The United States, Britain, France, Italy, West Germany and Japan imported more than 240 million tons of petroleum from the Asian, African and Latin American countries in 1962, averaging more than 600,000 tons daily. The United States ranked in profits of 1,477 million U.S. dollars from its oil investments in Asia, Africa and Latin America in 1962 alone, according to U.S. government data.

Certain imperialists try to describe their plunder of the natural resources of these countries and the exploitation of their people as "care" for these countries. They brazenly state that because of their "investments" and "exploitation" the mineral resources of these countries do not lie untapped and large numbers of working people are employed.

This is standing truth on its head. As a matter of fact, the Asian, African and Latin American countries are capable of building up their own industries by relying on their industrious people and their rich resources. On the other hand, the imperialist countries will find it impossible to get on without the raw materials from Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Who are banned? How is it to be banned? This week we bring to our readers the "Banning Powers"—and how they have been used.

### BANNING POWERS

All banning powers stem from the "Suppression of Communism" Act of 1950, frequently amended, and rest with the Minister of Justice (B. J. Vorster).

They enable him to take action against the following categories of persons:

- Persons listed as being members or active supporters of an organisation declared unlawful under the Act.
- Persons listed as being members or active supporters of any other organisation declared unlawful (e.g. the African National Congress, Pan-Africanist Congress, Poqo, Spear of the Nation, Congress of Democrats) and of bodies deemed to carry on the activities of any of these organisations.
- Persons convicted of actions judged to have furthered the aims of communism, or who are likely to do so, or who engage in activities which may do so.

### POWERS

The Minister may apply any or all the following alternatives to such persons.

- \* He may ban them from belonging to specified organisations, or organisations of a specified nature.
- \* He may forbid them to attend gatherings (defined by the Courts as any meeting of two or more people for a common

purpose), including social gatherings.

- \* It automatically becomes a crime to record, publish or disseminate any speech, utterance or writing of a person so banned (unless the Minister's consent has been obtained).
- \* He may prohibit them from communicating with anyone whose name has been listed or who has been served with a banning order.
- \* He may forbid a person confined under house arrest to receive visitors other than an advocate or attorney managing his affairs, provided that the lawyer has not also been listed or banned.

- \* A listed or banned person may be required to report regularly to a police station.
- \* A listed or banned person may not change his place of residence or his employment without notifying the police.
- \* The organisations forbidden to banned persons—a total of thirty-five—including political parties, teachers' organisations, trade unions. Whole categories of organisations are also included e.g. unregistered (i.e. African) trade unions, and "any organisation which in any manner propagates, defends, attacks, criticises or discusses any form of state or any principle or any principle policy of the Government of a state, or which in any way undermines the authority of the Government of a State".
- \* Any person listed or banned is automatically prohibited from being an officer, office-bearer, or member of an organisation which in any manner prepares, compiles, prints, publishes or disseminates any publication, unless special permission is given.

### EFFECTS

Minister Vorster alone knows the full extent to which these powers have been used. But their effect can

*Continued on page 16*

# BANTU EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

by Franz J. T. Lee

**B**EHIND the refusal to allow an African to enter the same public bus, the same park or the same church, as a European, lies the whole complex system of colonialism, racial discrimination and economic exploitation.

This system robs the African of his land and his produce, it forces him to live in poverty, misery and disease, it denies him education, intellectual and technical training, it herds him into slums, jail-like locations and overcrowded Reserves (or Bantustans), it cuts him off from every form of democratic expression and freedom, in a nutshell, the chief aim of colonial racial discrimination is economic exploitation of the millions of toiling masses.

The United Party of South Africa, which had been in power till 1948, and is the official opposition in Parliament today, is predominantly English-speaking, and tends towards a policy of laissez-faire, on the basis of the status quo, but with the proviso of judiciously closing every possible loophole. The Afrikaander Nationalist Party, at present in power and mainly Afrikaans-speaking, postulates a policy of baasskap, alternatively known as apartheid, which prescribes a rigid demarcation between white and non-white, or African and European.

In 1945, and prior to the Bantu Education Act (1953), the Boer nationalists were making emphatic statements about native education—so-called "Bantu Education"—in parliament.

Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel said: "As has been correctly stated here,

education is the key to the creation of the proper relationship between European and Non-European in South Africa... Put native education on a sound basis and half the racial questions are solved... The whole (present) policy is a danger for our western civilisation" (Hansard, Volume II, 1945.)

Mr. J. N. Le Roux, now Minister of Agriculture, in the same debate said: "I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends those schools will know that to a great extent he must be the labourer in the country." (ibid.)

## DANGER TO CIVILIZATION

Continuing the theme, Mr. S. A. Cilliers, M.P., said "I am very anxious about the position unless we lay down a very sound policy regarding native education... the future of South African agriculture may in my opinion drift into a very precarious position." (ibid.)

Mr. C. R. Swart, later Minister of Justice and then President, endorsed these opinions: "Hon. members have mentioned that the Department of Native Affairs adopts the policy that natives should not be detribalized, but should be educated in their own manner and should learn to be good natives; as tribal natives, and should not be imitators of the white man. That is the policy which we favour, and in my opinion it is the only sound policy." (ibid.)

On the question of control of native education, Mr. P. O. Sauer, later Minister of Lands, said: "We

want the native problem to be regarded as a unit, and for that reason we want to place all aspects of it under one department, which can then carry out a continuing policy in connection with education." (ibid.)

Captain G. H. F. Strydom, M.P., warned that if the present development is not arrested then "within half-a-century we shall be a coffee-coloured nation... (The African) must live in hut and we must live in the house. He must remain separate in his place... He is not our equal." (ibid.)

In 1953, J. G. Strijdom, then Prime Minister of South Africa, stated: "Our policy is that the Europeans must stand their ground and must remain BAAS (master) in South Africa. If we reject the Herrenvolk idea and the principle that the white man cannot remain Baas, if the franchise is to be extended to the non-Europeans, and if the non-Europeans are given representation and the vote and the non-Europeans are developed on the same basis as the Europeans... how can the European remain Baas? Our view is that in every sphere the European must retain the right to rule the country and to keep it a white man's country." (African Nationalism, by Ndabani Sithole, 1961 Edition, P.47.)

In the same year Verwoerd, then Minister for Native Affairs, went to the core of the matter by bluntly stating: "Their education should not clash with Government policy.

... If the native in South Africa today... is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake." (Hansard Volume 11, 1953.)

In 1954, after the Bantu Education Act was passed, Verwoerd outlined his policy in the following manner: "My Department's policy is that education should stand with both feet in the Reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society... There is no place for him (the African) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour... Until now he has been subjected to a system which drew him away from his own community and misled him

by showing him the green pastures of European society, in which he was not allowed to graze." (Bantu Education: Policy for the Immediate Future.)

What the Nationalists understand by "Christian Nationalism" was made clear by B. J. Vorster, the present Minister of Justice, in 1942, when he stated: "We stand for Christian Nationalism, which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany National Socialism and in South Africa Christian Nationalism." (see World Outlook Vol. 1. No. 14.)

In 1939 the Institute of Christian National Education was established to work out a policy of education, acceptable to Afrikaanderdom.

### EDUCATION FOR SLAVERY

In its bulletin it states: "Every (school) subject must be taught in the Light of the Word of God, namely on the applicable principles of Scripture." (i.e., according to the dogmas and traditions of the Calvinist Churches) "Unless he (the teacher) is a Christian, he is a deadly danger to us." (on Higher Education) "The Christian doctrine and philosophy should be taught and practiced... the teaching staff (of universities) should be convinced Christian-Nationalist scientists." (Christelk-Nasionale Onderwysbeleid), 1948).

It would appear as if the Herrenvolk Christian-Nationalist scientist knows all the answers to the questions that have baffled armies of philosophers and scientists for three thousand years. "Native Education should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation." (ibid).

It becomes clear that Bantu Education is intended to rob the African of education, cut him off from the main stream of modern culture and intellectual progress, and shut him into a spiritual ghetto.

The schools and universities are no longer centres of education but of indoctrination for the docile acceptance of slavery.

Although Verwoerd too eagerly

boasts that he is giving education to many more Africans than ever before, yet concretely he wants to drive four-fifths of the total population as quickly as possible through the mills of apartheid, to become docile slaves, quite contented with their lot.

The black chiefs have to see to the local management of schools and act as "tribal authorities". The inability of a chief to read or write does not disqualify him. He can simply draw a cross on an official document, this being witnessed by one of the teachers whom he employs.

In schools an inordinate time is given to religious instruction and menial duties. The longest time is given to manual training and there is plenty of practice. The students have to learn how to use a broom, pick or shovel scientifically, as they have to be familiar with the most efficient use of these tools, for their future exploitation.

New books considered for Bantu schools are being written by whites and servants of the Native Affairs Department. International scientific books are declared taboo. Over 14,000 international text-books are banned, especially books by Marx, Lenin, Engels and other socialist writers. Even the South African Public Libraries came under the axe of Apartheid.

Each African pupil has two and a half hours schooling a day (in the substandards) instead of four, whereas the teacher has to cope with 5 hours a day, due to the system of "double sessions." This coupled with the introduction of the vernacular (some pseudo-Bantu language created by the authorities) as a teaching medium, has led to a drop in primary school standards, particularly in the secondary schools.

"Thus the matriculation pass rate for Africans has dropped steadily since the introduction of Bantu Education: 47.3 per cent in 1953, 46.1 per cent in 1956, 39.2 per cent in 1957, 37.6 per cent in 1958, 18.8 per cent in 1959, 17.9 per cent in 1960, 17.1 per cent in 1961." (The "Spark", Ghana newspaper, March 9, 1964. Extra figures from South African newspaper: "Daily Despa-

th", February 16, 1961 and "Star", February 26, 1962.)

After 1960 and the passing of the "Separate University Education Law", the non-whites could no longer attend the "public" (white) universities of Cape Town, the Witwatersrand and Natal.

According to Otto Raum, "about 5,000 to 6,000 students, of these 5-6 per cent Africans, have been attending these universities in 1960". (Afrika Heute, 1963, P.219)

In 1958, the University of Natal, Durban, had 1,900 students, of which 560 were non-whites, mainly Indians. It was feared that the non-whites would outnumber the whites, and hence a separate university had to solve the problem.

Fort Hare, the oldest African University College in Southern Africa, founded in 1917, was affiliated to the white Rhodes University, Grahamstown, in 1949, to control its education. It was then attended by non-whites, even from the Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda. In 1959 the professorial staff consisted of 38 teachers of whom 11 were Africans, including two professors. It had two faculties: Humanistic Studies and Natural Sciences. With the change-over in 1960, and as a result of the "Treason Trial", lasting from 1956 to 1960, many of the involved teachers were sacked. The number of students and standard of education also decreased.

### STANDARD FALLS

On August 1, 1959, the Turfloop College in Pietersburg Northern Transvaal, was opened for the Sotho, Venda, Tswana and Herero tribes. In 1962, 122 students matriculated. In Bellville the "Bush College" for Coloureds and Malays, with 300 registered students, was founded in 1960.

In Empangeni Zululand, the Ngoya College for Zulus was opened at the same time, from which 50 students matriculated. The University of South Africa in Pretoria, a correspondence course and external university, controls the examinations of these tribal universities. It has even the Pius XII University of Roma Basutoland, in its clutches.

In 1961, Roma had 170 students, of whom 76 came from the Republic. The professors of these universities have to sign a document that they will not "propagate any idea . . . calculated to impede . . . the activities of any Government Department." (Separate University Education Bill, 15th March, 1957.)

### THE WEST GERMAN CULTURAL AGREEMENT WITH SOUTH AFRICA

In the Cultural Agreement signed at Cape Town on June 11, 1962, and officially accepted by the West German "Bundesminister des Auswartigen", on the 4th December 1963, among other things, can be found the following:

"The Contracting Parties shall strive to facilitate :

- (a) the interchange of university staff, students, journalists and other approved persons;

- (b) co-operation between scientific and cultural institutions and societies of the two countries;  
 (c) mutual visits of selected individuals and groups of persons with a view to promoting cultural co-operation;  
 (d) co-operation between recognised youth organisations of the two countries." (Article 1.)

"The Contracting Parties shall endeavour to assist each other in imparting to their people knowledge of the culture of the other country, particularly by means of:

- (a) books (including text-books), magazines and publications;  
 (b) lectures;  
 (c) concerts;  
 (d) art and other exhibitions;  
 (e) theatrical performances;  
 (f) radio, television, films, . . . ;  
 (g) co-operation in the field of historical research and utilisation of archives". (Article 2.)

What a serious crime against

Africa this agreement is, is beyond comment. It seems as if Germany has forgotten the horrors of Nazism and the bestiality of the Hitler regime, in spite of the reminders of the current Frankfurt trial.

The Nazi Spirit is still living and is very much alive in South Africa.

However, in spite of the active collaboration of imperialism, Bantu Education, like Apartheid, with its manifold filthy ramifications, is doomed to failure.

As Isaac B. Tabata puts it: "It is our belief that the people of South Africa, both White and Non-White, will one day jerk themselves out of their complacent smugness and prostration, wake up to their responsibilities, and seek to wipe out from the book of history this chapter of degradation, misery and moral destitution." ("Education for Barbarism, P.47.) Judging by the present situation in South Africa, this "one day" is nearer than ever.

## SUPPLEMENT

### Voice of Africa

By Reading :

The Spark

The Freedom Fighter

The Pan-Africanist

Review

The African Chronicler

## Banning Powers

Continued from page 13

be seen from the following figures, quoted in *Forward*, the Johannesburg monthly. The paper reports that "at least" 232 people are currently banned. The banning orders have affected them as follows:

- \* All were forbidden to attend political gatherings.
- \* 66 were also forbidden to attend social gatherings.
- \* 25 were placed under house arrest, and 120 confined to specified magisterial districts.
- \* Most of them were also confined to townships.
- \* 51 (mainly trade unionists) were forbidden to enter factories.
- \* 4 were prohibited to enter railway premises or harbours.
- \* 4 were prohibited to enter the premises of 35 specified organisations or any other organisations which discusses the state.
- \* All were prohibited from being members of such organisations.

\* All were prohibited from being connected with any organisation which publishes, disseminates or distributes any publication, pamphlets, book, handbill, poster, or being concerned in any way with their preparation, and 19 were forbidden to any premises where a publication is produced.

\* 58 were forbidden to communicate in any way with listed or banned people.

\* 3 were forbidden to communicate with anyone except members of their families.

\* 65 were ordered to report daily or weekly to the police.

\* 26 were forbidden to enter any court of law, except as a petitioner, accused or witness.

\* One was prohibited from visiting any hospital.

A banned person is liable to a maximum sentence of 10 years imprisonment for failure to comply with the provisions of a banning order.

# APARTHEID DEMANDS EFFECTIVE SANCTIONS

IN keeping with the Resolution of the Security Council of December 7, 1963, some months ago the United Nations Secretary General U Thant formed a group of independent experts from Sweden, England, Yugoslavia, Ghana and Tunisia to investigate the possibility of transforming the Republic of South Africa into a multi-racial state.

This action was initiated in the UN by the Scandinavian countries, and a few weeks ago the group of experts submitted their report to U Thant. In January this year the government of South Africa banned entry of the group into the country, under the pretext that it was "interfering in the internal affairs of the South African State".

After the report of the experts, I feel it my duty as an African to ask: is this initiative of the United Nations feasible and effective? Although a "multiracial" state does exist in South Africa, this term has a different meaning for an African fighter for freedom, for a diplomat of the United Nations, and for an overseas investor.

The Afrikaner nationalists have led loose the blind forces of anarchy in South Africa. The police force has been turned into a gang for committing unlawful acts. The Bantu chiefs have lost the support of the African population, because they turned the firearms they were supplied with against their own people.

Since the passing of its latest Draconian laws South Africa has been in a state of siege. The entire population has ceased to respect the law, and this is now a permanent condition which indicates the need for radical changes in South Africa.

After the notorious massacres in

Sharpeville, the oppressed and exploited population became aware of the urgent need for united action and the establishment of a single united national front which would put an end to the intolerable conditions and relations in the present state.

A National Liberation Front was formed in South and South-west Africa, which incorporates various democratic and socialist organisation. Not long ago the organisations ANC, PAC, and CPSA also decided to form a united front. On February 14, the latter announced in SPARK that a united goal and action must be established by the forces of national liberation.

## OPPRESSED POPULATION

The extent to which the oppressed population is determined to gain its liberty can be judged by the recent witch-hunt and trials in Cape Town, Pretoria, Pietermaritzburg, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and Belville, where Dr. Alexander, Sisulu, Mandela and a group of 188 patriots have been put on trial and whose lives are hanging by a hair.

In spite of the mass arrests of over 6,000 members of the National Liberation Front and other democratic organisations, the struggle of the Africans has gained in strength and determination.

Many layers of the population which were dormant before, including the whites who are sincerely interested in the cause of liberation, are now showing lively interest in throwing off the yoke of apartheid, by means of the radical socio-economic transformation of the South African society, and to destroy the present status quo, which is based on undemocratic principles, oppres-

sion and exploitation.

A direct clash between the liberation forces and the racist government has become unavoidable, although so far the mass movement has not seriously challenged the rule of the Afrikaners. Even the wave of sabotage was only a "minor disturbance", intended to harass the government.

However, having learned by their mistakes, the true revolutionary forces in South Africa have realised that there is no other way but a revolution, which would inevitably overthrow the disgraceful rule of the white minority.

But the Afrikaners relentlessly continue their policy of apartheid, thus defying history in the era of the decline of imperialism. These "nationalists", who are relying on the support of their vast army, are still the strongest political group of South Africa and will remain so for some time to come. Verwoerd's regime clearly intends not to give way to the pressure of the mass movement, and he will not change his policy of complete political domination and total exploitation of the coloured population.

In the light of such developments the question arises: what is feared by the initiators of the latest UN campaign as well as certain UN diplomats and overseas investors who are linked by financial interests to the South African regime?

The answer to this can be found in an article published in the Paris paper LE MONDE of February 28 and March 3 this year, and inspired by the South African government:

The article says: "14,000 South African enterprises have an annual product of 26 thousand milliard francs. The economic situation in South Africa is stable, the national income is high, the living standard is rising steadily, industry is in full swing, investment are up to 19,500,000,000 francs, and it has been computed that American investments are bringing in an annual profit of 27 per cent. . . In our country there is a feeling of happiness, development and wealth. . . Western Europe has invested 3,948,500,000 francs in South Africa."

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## Apartheid Demands Effective Sanctions

*Continued from previous page*

Overseas investors, like domestic industrialists and mining magnates, clearly realise that rule of the fascist Afrikaners is threatening the security of their investments and their breath-taking profits.

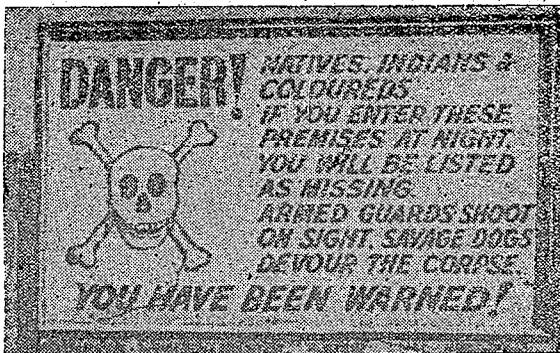
The pressure exercised by the Africans of South Africa, who hardly earn enough for a crust of bread, who leave extremely low wages, who are offered no prospects in any walk of public life, and who have no political rights whatsoever, has reached a point at which at least the upper stratum of the mass movement will have to be bribed into relaxing their demands in order to stabilise the explosive situation.

In short, what is causing many diplomats in the United Nations sleepless nights is the fact that the monopoly of the white minority and the privileged position of their protectors will be brought to an end through a revolution—if changes do not take place by peaceful means.

The longer Verwoerd resists these changes, the greater the inevitability of revolutionary eruption. According to some diplomats in the United Nations, the true goal of this UN camping is to find a way transforming South Africa into a state which would protect the interests of foreign and domestic capital, while continue the rule of the white minority in a milder form.

The United Nations can avoid a massacre and ensure peace in Africa if they sincerely consider the democratic aspirations of the black, yellow and other coloured and white people, for otherwise any intervention will be doomed to disaster.

In the present state of affairs, the only way to achieve this is by effective economic sanctions and pressure on the part of the United Nations, which would break down the resistance of the present regime and initiate a process of democratic change.



The above notice is a vivid example of the horrors of apartheid being practised in the mad republic of South Africa.

But today the imperialist chains can no longer contain the awakened Africans of that unhappy country—for it is Western imperialism which supports the policy of apartheid.

The Africans have a lost country to regain and no amount of oppression, false trials and imprisonment, banings and detention can withhold their force. This decade is that of Africa's redemption and rediscovery.



# BRITAIN AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA

*THE present situation in Southern Rhodesia is critical and explosive.*

*This situation, which is a threat not only to the security of Africa but to world peace, is the direct result of the European settler in the colony. This settler policy has evolved with the direct and indirect support of the British Government.*

*This paper is addressed to the Government and people of Great Britain. Its purpose is to spell out in clear and unequivocal language the position of the Government and people of Ghana, which is in close accord with the stand taken by the rest of Africa on the grave issues which the Southern Rhodesian question raises.*

*Briefly stated, this position is that the Government of Great Britain has an inescapable responsibility in directing the evolution of the European settler colony of Southern Rhodesia toward an independent government, with a universal franchise, based on the oft-proclaimed British principle of one man, one vote.*

*In the following pages are set out, in summary, the reasons why the governments and peoples of Africa have arrived at this position.*

THE African people are the rightful owners of the land of Southern Rhodesia.

Because of a European settler policy, maintained with the implicit support of successive British Governments, the Africans have been systematically deprived of their land.

Moreover, all constitutional means of access to political power—which is necessary to right the social and economic wrongs about by this policy have been removed from them.

Shorn of property rights, shorn, too, of political rights by which the former might be restored, the African majority has one of two alternatives. It must either accept a future of unremitting poverty or it must set itself upon the path to revolution.

There is an enormous disparity in Southern Rhodesia between the quantity and quality of land occupied by Europeans and Africans. The best land—farms and reserves—is allotted to Europeans. The worst patches have been allotted to the Africans.

There are only 223,000 Europeans as against 3,690,000 Africans. That is to say the African population is sixteen times greater than the European population. But the total

acreage of land (41 million) occupied is approximately the same as that (44 million) occupied by Africans.

The European farms, therefore, are vast in size. Approximately 2 per cent of this land is devoted to farms of less than 1,000 acres. Over 33 per cent of it consists of farms of more than 20,000 acres.

More than three million of the Africans live on the land. They either cultivate their own, tiny unproductive plots at subsistence or below subsistence levels, or they work as labourers for the European farmers.

The overall tendency, therefore, in the apportionment of land has been either to dispossess the African farmer entirely or to relegate him to inferior and smaller holdings.

And, in conjunction with this tendency, the dispossessed have been either assimilated as cheap farm labour on European land or have been funnelled into the towns as cheap domestic or unskilled labour.

One may readily see why land apportionment is one of the most important political issues in the colony today.

The present distribution of land in Southern Rhodesia can in no way be construed as a mere result of the operation of a free market. Until

1887, the area now known as Southern Rhodesia was chiefly occupied by the Matabele people. In that year, an agent of Cecil Rhodes, "diddled"—as J. Rogaly puts it—the Matabele chief, Lobengula, out of all mineral rights in his kingdom in exchange for £100 monthly, plus rifles and ammunition.

In 1889, Rhodes' British Africa Company—which received the aforementioned mineral rights—was granted a royal charter. This company, with its own army of freebooters, conquered Mashonaland in 1890.

In 1893 the company picked a quarrel with the Matabele and crushed them too. In short, the present configuration of land ownership in the colony is the direct result of trickery, conquest and expropriation. It is not an historical or economic accident.

It was Rhodes' purpose to create a new European Dominion in the heart of Africa. The subsequently conquered territory was known to possess an agricultural potential, mineral resources and a climate eminently suitable for this purpose. Those men who participated in the military expedition of 1890 knew that immense wealth would be theirs if their mission succeeded.

Each would be given a minimum

of 15 gold claims, 3,000 acres of farm land, and enormous reserve of exploitable man power, represented by Mashona and Matabele labour.

Today, the economic and political structure of the colony sharply reflect the original purpose which its establishment was intended to serve.

There is a substantial European settler community which controls the land, mineral wealth, industry. In order to secure these privileges, they also control the government.

The apportionment Act of 1930, which has been referred to as "the Magna Carta of the European", established solidly and legally the basis of European economic control. In this act, 48 per cent of the land was allocated to the African population and 52 per cent to the European. In justification of this division, the then senior official of the Native Affairs Department testified before the Carter Commission (whose report laid the foundation for the Act) in the following terms:

"We", he said, "are in this country because we represent a higher civilisation, because we are better men. It is our only excuse for having taken land."

The proportions of land reserved to the two races was revised in 1962, but not substantially.

The land reserved for the Africans, by contrast with that of the Europeans, is poor and infertile, overcrowded and over-farmed. Two million out of the total African population live on the Reservations, where the soil, already poor, is further exhausted through inevitably excessive cultivation.

Even on the basis of subsistence agriculture, these reservations can no longer support the people. Further, they lack roads, irrigation and running water.

Health and educational facilities are rudimentary. African men are thus forced into towns and on to European farms, leaving a vastly disproportionate number of women and children on the Reservations.

Over one million Africans now working on European farms. They are hired on terms which necessitate long separations from their families. Housing conditions are miserable and wages grossly inadequate.

Because of the limited amount of

arable land available within the African reserves, the farmer's allocation is often reduced by half to one-third of the permitted legal maximum (6 acres).

To this gross economic deprivation must be added an equally gross administrative tyranny, for the "Native Commissioners" of the colonial government can, at their discretion, revoke a grant of land for bad farming and remove the farmer from one farm to another.

It might appear that the 44 million acres of land now allocated to the African population is sufficient. But if the former figure were averaged out over the latter, one would only be left with 22 acres per person.

Much of this acreage would be fit for grazing, but only a far smaller proportion for farming. But the iniquity in this allocation becomes glaring when one considers that the minimum allocation of land to a European immigrant is 750 acres; indeed it is not unusual for a European to be granted as much as 3,000 acres of land.

This disproportionate allotment is justified in the spacious ground that agricultural conditions in Southern Rhodesia being what they are, farms of a smaller size would not be worth maintaining economically.

If farms under 750 acres broad are uneconomical, then it cannot require much thought, or human sympathy, to imagine the misery which must be borne by Africans confined to less than six.

Despite the enormous disabilities from which, as may be seen, the African farmer suffers, he nevertheless produces a small and limited range and quantity of goods for the commercial market.

But even when he does, legislation has been enacted which places a further, inequitable burden upon him in respect of his settler competitors.

The Tobacco Marketing Board for example, effectively reserves the growing of high grade Virginia tobacco which bring the highest return, to European farmers alone. Maize is a staple crop in Rhodesia, and here also, legislators place a disability upon the African grower. Generally his crops will not be ac-

cepted as of equal quality, but even when they are, he will receive only 25s. 6d. per bag, after a series of special deductions are made, while the European producer will be paid 38s. clear—without deductions.

Again, the Southern Rhodesian Cold Storage Commission, without respect to the quality of African cattle, will only buy from European ranchers.

These examples only serve to show that even when the African can produce, and when his products are as good as those of Europeans, he will, frequently and as a matter of deliberate policy, be refused the right of sale, or be paid significantly less than settler competitors.

The effect of these policies, enshrined in law, is further to secure the fixedly subordinate and impoverished state of the African. Such a policy is considered a necessary means of protecting the entrenched rights—economic and political—of the settlers.

Dispossession of the African farmer and the discriminatory treatment of the produce, however, form only—although the basic—aspect of European supremacist policy in Southern Rhodesia.

Other aspects of this policy consist in excessive taxation of Africans; indirect, but effective, compulsion requiring that they work for Europeans as migrant labourers the calculated depression of their wages to a fraction of that paid Europeans; their virtual exclusion from the professions; their exclusion from property, either as owners or as renters in central urban areas; discriminatory treatment in shops, hotels and elsewhere; the demand that they carry identity cards which are more or less equivalent to South African passes; and the severely limited educational opportunities for Africans, as compared with entirely secondary education for settlers.

In regard to taxation, its chief purpose was, from as early as 1896 (when the first hut tax was imposed), not only to secure revenue for the British South Africa Company which was then the government) but also to force from the Reservations, and to make available to Europeans, African labour. In 1902,

this tax doubled from 10s. to £1, representing then an African labourer's wages of a month. The essential features of the system remain, and due to the government's tax policy, coupled with the insufficiency of available land, large numbers of male Africans are forced to seek work in areas exclusively reserved for Europeans.

These labourers, in both town and country, are excluded from the more remunerative jobs, especially in industry, and their salaries, average under one-tenth the wages of Europeans.

Moreover, they have virtually no civil rights. To live outside the Reserves, they must have their employers consent. If dismissed, they are liable to prosecution as vagrants.

If they quit their jobs, they can be, and, indeed usually are, imprisoned and subsequently compelled to resume the job they left.

Even on the Reserves, however, the lives of Africans are controlled in the minutest detail by Native Commissioners who act as chiefs of police, agricultural controllers and judges—all in one—and thus exercise virtually absolute power.

Still, life in the "location", as it called, at least from the point of rights, is worse. The African labourer may only have a visitor to stay in his lodging, for two weeks. He may not be out of doors after 9 p.m. For African domestic servants conditions are worse still.

They are invariably refused permission to have their children live with them. There are no schools for their children, in any case.

One might continue, in great detail to elaborate upon these methods created and operated by the Southern Rhodesian Government, the purpose and effect of which is to assure the subordination of the African people.

But at the heart of the matter is the irreducible question of land. Its disposition is the most crucial issue in Southern Rhodesia. Other aspects of the colony's repressive African policy are built upon it. Since the days of the British South African Company the land preserved for the European settlers has been the best—with the best soil

an ample rainfall, and the most adequate communications by road and rail.

Not only is the settler's land the best, but he generally has far more than he needs or can actively cultivate. One writer, in remarking upon the striking low average of land utilisation and productivity wrote that "Some of the best agricultural scientists in the country will tell you that a careful farmer could do a well on seventy acres as many Rhodesians do on 2,000..."

In fact, only a small proportion of arable land held by Europeans is under cultivation.

In 1957, the proportion was estimated—by a select committee of the colonial legislature—at between 3 per cent and 4 per cent. Much of the land is not being farmed or is held by absentee landlords in Britain. In 1962, the percentage of European land under cultivation fell still further.

Not only is the land in European possession under-cultivated but large tracts of entirely unoccupied land, approximately eight million acres, are reserved for future European use, and denied presently to Africans—despite the acute land hunger among the African population.

This, too, forms part of a concerted policy. Irrespective of whether the land is farmed or not, it is felt to be financially and politically essential for the European farmer to deny land to the African inhabitants.

To act otherwise would promote a higher level of agricultural production among Africans and provide them with the basis for successful competition with European farmers.

Further, if a class of prosperous African farmers were to emerge, the present availability of cheap labour for European mines industry and large scale farms would be seriously curtailed.

And, finally, if the land available to European settlement were restricted the terms of settlement would be less attractive because the type of farming demanded would be qualitatively higher, and one's ability to earn a profit more risky, the result being a diminished appeal to

prospective European immigrants.

Herein lies the key to the entire politico-economic situation. Very attractive conditions are created on the basis of depriving the African of such political expression and rights as would enable him through the means of constitutional procedure, to recoup or balance his losses.

Further, to deprive the African as such, of rights to property and political expression, can only be done on the basis of racialist assumptions—which, in respect of formal government pronouncements, are tacit, but which in the case of settler practices and opinions are usually blatant and explicit.

A calculated effort has been made to deprive Africans of their political rights. The effect of such deprivation is to perpetuate the economically advantageous position of Europeans.

One of the most essential of political rights is the vote. In regard to it, the present British Prime Minister declared in the House of Commons on November 28, 1963:

"I think there is no dispute that the Southern Rhodesian franchise is in accordance with the principle of majority rule".

But Mr. Humphry Berkeley M.P. (Conservative) in the *Observer* of March 1, 1964, wrote:

"It is unlikely that under the present constitution the Africans will gain majority rule in less than 30 years. Majority rule, he continued, "must come in less than five years if major violence is to be avoided."

Between these two views lies the issue whether the principle of majority rule is being infringed upon or whether it is somehow being promoted within the colony.

The British Prime Minister actually argues, by implication, both ways. At present, he recognises, the principle is infringed upon in practice. But as the constitution contains a built-in measure of revolution toward the principle, the latter—through the constitution finds the means of its rectification and is therefore being promoted.

This is what the Prime Minister appears to have intended in append-

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# DECLINE OF COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

THE African continent comprises of no less than 24 per cent of almost one-quarter, of, the total world land area. It only, however, contains 8½ per cent of the world's population.

In other words, while Africa is, in size, one-quarter of the world, is only because intrinsically the potential resources of the continent would not support in prosperity as large a population as other parts of the world, but because largely owing to the colonial past of Africa, African resources both in manpower and in natural products have been drained away from our African Homeland and have been used to enrich other parts of the world.

Before we can achieve an African solution to our problems, it is necessary to be clear about the real nature of colonialism.

Much of the world misunderstanding of Africa is due to the acceptance of subconscious premises.

## SUBCONSCIOUS PREMISES

Unfortunately, accurate statistics for Africa are difficult to obtain, but if the usual estimate of a total African population in the neighbourhood of 215,000,000 is accepted, then the total percentage of so-called European settlers does not exceed 3 per cent of total population of the African continent. A minority of this small size would not anywhere else in the world be thought to constitute an international problem. It does so on the African continent solely because the world looks at Africa from essentially a European standpoint.

If, in any other continent, a minority of 3 per cent of the total population demanded special privileges

and advantages, they would be laughed at by world opinion. The European population of the African continent is only a political force because subconsciously they are still regarded as the representatives of colonialism. Their continued ascendancy is considered essential for the maintenance of a hold on Africa by the world outside the African continent. In practice, however, the economic and social basis for this non-African ascendancy is disappearing.

## FEAR IS UNREAL

"The motives of the ruling minorities are of course complex and varied, but they have in them one common factor—a fear amounting to hysteria, as to what might happen to them if they conceded the principle and, I believe, the only principle which can bring peace and prosperity for Africa—the principle of 'one man, one vote'.

The experience of Ghana shows how unreal such a fear is. Of course, the longer oppression continues, the more dangerous and explosive becomes the situation. Ultimately, if the majority are oppressed, and degraded in the way in which the majority of Africans are being treated to-day in Algeria and in the Union of South Africa and, indeed, in many other parts of the African continent, all government becomes impossible and the State which are practising oppression disintegrate completely. All organs of government break down, economic chaos supervenes, threatening not only the territory concerned, but possibly even the financial stability of the colonial power responsible for the oppression.

What the ruling minorities should



*Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Pioneer of Africa's independence and unity*

be afraid of is not that power will fall into the hands of the majority, but that by their own attempt to maintain a social order which can no longer exist, they themselves will be their own executioners.

The supreme task of the United Nations is to organise, before it is too late, a peaceful transfer of power.

This is the eleventh hour! Unless we act in concert together through the United Nations, it will be too late to save the ruling minorities of Africa from the consequences of their own political blindness and folly.

We must act now, not only in the interest of the minorities who are so assiduously organising their own destruction, but in the interests of the majority. If the situation is allowed to develop to its inevitable conclusion it will not of course prevent defeat and the destruction of the ruling minorities, but that destruction will be accompanied by untold hardship and misery. The situation that is likely to arise, if nothing is done, is one that is bound to be in itself a danger to world peace.

What in my opinion is now required is 'positive action' by the United Nations."

*From Mozambique, Paulo Gumane  
Writes on*

## SALAZARS' MISCONCEPTION

THE motive power of progress is the truth and nothing but the truth—truth which is sometimes bitter. Matters related to the liberation of those dominated by foreigners, the oppressed, the enslaved, the exploited, require men, women and children alike: those who have the courage of their convictions: UDE-NAMO will fail in its duty if it fails or hesitates to contribute fully to any question affecting the Mozambican people.

We, the Mozambique National Democratic Union (UDENAMO), speak as men and also as Africans. As men we freely and fearlessly speak for our people. We speak for the silent, the dead, the living and even the unborn. Above all, we have moral courage; and when moral courage knows it is right, it dares anything.

We therefore make no apology if the bitter truth we expose offends anybody. Men of goodwill and conscience throughout the ages have condemned the brutalities inflicted on the people—they have condemned class distinction and political injustice inflicted on people who, through no fault of their own, live under the iniquitous and evil system of colonialism.

We call upon men of goodwill, not only to condemn colonialism, but to help in eliminating it totally from the face of the earth.

The colonial mystique, so misplaced and meaningless today, not only hurts the people in the colonies, but vitiates the life of the people in the metropolis itself.

The problem of the Portuguese colonies in Africa has become not only difficult but tragic, because of the arrogant frame of mind of the ruling stratum of Portugal. We in Mozambique have full perception of Portuguese colonialism as distinct from that of the British and the French, of which too, we have some perception; and have learnt of the peculiar flavour or texture, as it were, of the Portuguese variety. It

is tenacious, purblind, pathetic, auto-intoxicated. It seeks and releases its *raison d'être* in tilting at the windmills of history.

The Portuguese are proud of their history, and they deem their country among the most gallant in the world. But instead of building an expanding future on their past, they have sought to convert the past into a prison. Those who pride themselves as being the greatest discoverers in the world strangely remain anchored in the stagnant pool of the unchanging, ossified past. They once made a mighty effort, and now they seem determined to petrify that effort.

The heroic element of Portugal's past continues to haunt and distort their destiny. This reminds us of another, more famous historical trial of ghosts: the holy Roman Empire, "a sharing of spiritual values": but the "sharing", no longer exist.

The Portuguese spokesman in their lucid moments are not unaware of the distortion and debasement of their dream—that of building a Portuguese empire out of varied and different ethnic, geographical and cultural groups of people—and beyond and beneath everything, this is economic imperialism.

One of them candidly stated, "It is often said that we Portuguese have the vice of history. Some even say we take refuge in the past to compensate for the smallness of the present—thus obeying the tragic law of empire, corroded by stagnation and decadence". It is this insistence on clinging to the tattered toga of yesterday that prevents modern Portugal from revealing the intellectual fecundity and the spiritual dynamism of her people. "Africa" says another of its colonial spokesmen, "is for us moral justification and our *raison d'être* as a power. Without it we could be a small nation: with it we are a great country". Here is the nation; authentic idiom in the past, the self-mummification as it were, that makes the problem

of the Portuguese colonies one of unabating tension.

We have no doubt that when the people of Portugal discover their authentic idiom, they will speak from the depth of their understanding the wise words we wish them to speak now; for in seeking the liquidation of the Portuguese empire, we seek the realisation of a freer and fuller expression of the Portuguese people themselves.

The Portuguese colonialists proclaim their non-racial record. But they fail to understand that any claim to racial equality is reduced to mockery when it is overlaid by cultural inequality—nay, cultural genocide. The Portuguese empire is not geographical, not even purely political, but fundamentally a cultural one.

With strange obtuseness Adriano Morreira, ex-minister for the so-called overseas provinces of Portugal, observes in his book, "Portugal's Stand in Africa", on page 111: "Now, we Portuguese have always repudiated the philosophy of aggression and reprisal between cultures which inspired Nehru, Nkrumah, Nasser; and, likewise, we repudiate conflict between classes and races."

The distinguished leaders of Afro-Asia need no defence against this blind and venomous attack, but one wonders at the intellectual temerity of a person denouncing cultural aggression while holding fast to the philosophy of total aversion to cultural confluence of any kind. Do the Portuguese not release the consequences, scalding and explosive, of the systematic debasement, and eventual denial, nay, obliteration, of the individuality of the Africans as a subject people?

It is this willful blindness of the Portuguese rulers, the topay-turvy logic of their Orwellian insouciance, their propensity to ignore the terrible beam in their own eye, while furiously focussing on the non-existent mote in their brother's, that constitutes a fearful threat to world peace and the world sanity.

What has been the record of the process of selective assimilation? After 465 years of Portuguese colonial rule over Mozambique only a

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ing to the above statement the following:

"It is really a question of peace"

In short, all good things come to pass in time. The difficulty with this view is that it ignores the tenuous nature of a 30-year promise and the impatience—and indeed, the desperation—of the African majority forced on them by the deplorable conditions of their existence.

Such exclusion of Africans from the political process is however frequently excused by the widespread belief that the European population of Southern Rhodesia, like that of South Africa, has been established in the colony for generations and that the enfranchisement of Africans would create a grave risk of the subsequent expulsion of Europeans from their own country of origin. Apart from the objection that skilled expatriate labour (for the most part, almost invariably and inescapably European) will be necessary for the development of the country for an appreciable time to come there is another fact to consider.

This is that the European population is actually composed in the main of individuals who left their countries at a mature age to take advantage of the substantial privileges and opportunities accorded to them under Southern Rhodesian law.

Southern Rhodesia, in company with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, formed from 1953 to 1963 the Central African Federation.

Full statistics on Southern Rhodesia's Europeans are difficult to obtain for that period, since they were compiled on a federal basis. But Mr. Colin Leys, in 1959, argued that on the basis of available evidence it was likely that native born Rhodesians formed a minority of the European electorate.

From this and similar information, it becomes difficult to scope the conclusion that a large majority of Southern Rhodesia's present European electorate—and a dull "Rhodesians"—were not born in the colony at all and are only Rhodesians through adoption.

When the federation was formed

in 1953, political control of its government was given to the European voters. But in 1960, following violent opposition to the federation in Nyasaland, a new constitution was promulgated for that territory with the consequent enfranchisement of 100,000 of the 2,900,000 African inhabitants there.

With power decisively transferred to Africans the new Nyasaland Legislative Assembly rejected the maintenance of the federal union.

Similar protests among Africans in Northern Rhodesia produced similar results, and so the Legislative Assembly of that territory opposed, in its turn the survival of the federation.

In 1957, Mr. Garfield Todd then Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia attempted in anticipation of similar events to broaden the franchise while preserving European supremacy.

He failed and was later forced to resign. The new Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, negotiated a new constitution with Britain in 1961. It featured the removal of safeguards for African interests and the introduction of a new electoral system.

An election under this new system in December of 1962 brought to power the Rhodesian front Party which advocated a policy of vigorous apartheid and the break up of the federation.

Thus with the legislatures of all three territories now opposed to the union, it had to be, and was brought to an end—on December 31, 1963.

But what was left in Southern Rhodesia was not a government representative of majority interests or views. What was left was a minority settler regime dedicated to the exclusion of African participation in government.

Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland objected to the federal union because they saw in it an instrument of settler domination. The legislature of Southern Rhodesia rejected the union as well, since it now came to imply the subverting of settler domination.

The government of Southern Rhodesia is elected by less than six per cent of the population. All con-

stitutional means of protest or reform have been denied to over 94 per cent of the population on the basis of race. ZAPU (The Zimbabwe African People's Union) which are supported by the overwhelming majority of the population cannot operate freely.

In fact ZAPU has been proscribed. The leaders of both parties have been severely harrassed by the settler government and banished to remote areas.

Virtually all political activity by Africans has been declared illegal. Almost anything the African says or does in his own defence makes him liable to imprisonment for sedition. The political process, therefore, excludes and victimises the African.

Nevertheless an attempt is made to suggest the Southern Rhodesia's Africans not excluded. Membership of the colonial legislature, in 1962, was enlarged to 65 seats.

It must be remembered that Europeans constitute 5.7 per cent of the population and Africans 93.9 per cent. Nevertheless of these seats 50 were allotted to Europeans and 15 Africans.

This is to say that one-twentieth of the population control 80 per cent of legislative representation.

As the constitution may be amended by the vote of any 44 members, and as European members are in general agreement regarding the depressed status of Africans, the 15 seats granted the latter must be looked upon as window dressing intended primarily, to impress the British public.

However, even the seats "allotted" to Africans cannot actually be controlled by the Africans. For in Southern Rhodesia, there is a dual system of electoral rolls.

The "A" Roll, which returns 50 legislators comprises 91,000 electors, only 2,563 of whom are Africans. The "B" Roll which returns 15 legislators, comprises 11,197 electors, 681 of whom are Europeans.

But due to provisions for cross voting, electors on one roll may also vote for candidates intended to be elected by the other. A system of weighing assigns the relative values of votes. The net result is that 50 Europeans must be elected,

while the 15 African candidates—not all of electors in order to be chosen.

Thus the colony's constitution ensures that African voters in 50 constituencies will be restricted to about 3 per cent of the total electorate. It also ensures that European electors will largely determine which African candidates are chosen in the remaining 15 districts.

Some people in Britain take the view that, in time, at a gradual pace the situation will so evolve that power is peacefully transferred to the African majority.

But in contrast to this hope, certain facts must be faced. First the present electoral system mathematically ensures, through various complicated procedures, that the "A" Roll vote must never count for less than 80 per cent of the total vote—no matter how many "A" or "B" Roll voters cast their ballots.

Second, salary, property and education requirements for "A" Roll voter registration are such that the upper limit has almost been reached for Africans who might qualify to register; and the number of these on a generous, outside estimate is 5,000.

Third European "A" Roll voters increased by 9,116 within one year (1961-1962) and presently 94.7 per cent all voters on this roll.

Thus, there is no empirical basis for the sanguine hopes expressed by many, including the present British Prime Minister, in regard to a gradual and peaceful transfer of power to the majority.

The electoral system is so rigged that impoverished Africans could never come to within hailing distance of the electoral defeat of wealthy Europeans.

Even were it conceivable that within 30 years this might be done, there is no assurance that the European electorate, which in fact controls the amendment procedures, would permit it.

All the evidence, actually, points in the opposite direction. Increasingly, the settler electorate of Southern Rhodesia has opposed all liberalising trends. Europeans in office who have advocated an easing of restrictions placed upon African political participation have been removed.

Mr. Garfield Todd, the Liberal Prime Minister who declared for the lifting of the colour bar and who then also called for the addition of six to ten thousand Africans to the voters' roll, was swiftly driven out of office.

One writer suggests that the Todd case affords "almost medical insight... into the Rhodesian mind."

"In forty years of settler politics, only one Prime Minister has been scuttled in office, and this accolade was accorded to the one reformer in power that the system ever produced. Garfield Todd... was a New Zealander. In broad terms his mistake was to break the infallible rule for success in Rhodesian politics—'Keep Right'."

Even Sir Edgar Whitehead, the new Prime Minister, proved insufficiently conservative. He fell. The same fate in April 1964, overtook Mr. Winston Field, who was thought by the right-wing to be too ineffective in regard to the wresting of independence from Britain.

The mantle of leadership settled about the shoulders of Mr. Ian Smith, the present Prime Minister, who under Mr. Field's regime, made out-right references to the benefits of a unilateral declaration of independence from Britain and who recently (June 6, 1964) told a crowd that even a "thread of an apron string" linking Southern Rhodesia to Britain was unacceptable.

It seems beyond question that the attitude prejudices and economic interests of the European electorate in Southern Rhodesia requires that their electoral intentions toward Africans be viewed from a severely realistic which is to say, doubtful, perspective.

One may reasonably suppose that the granting of independence to Southern Rhodesia would be disastrous in at least one of the two respects mentioned above. Britain has granted independence to minority regimes only twice in her history as an imperial power.

South Africa was the first in 1910. Zanzibar was the second in December, 1963. As for the first, despite entrenched clauses in the constitution protecting the rights of Africans, these were swept away following independence by the Eu-

ropean minority.

In regard to the second, namely Zanzibar, an anti-British revolution destroyed the newly-established government within 34 days of its birth. In either case, these ensuing developments could have been avoided by establishing fully representative governments before independence was declared.

The fact that Southern Rhodesia is on the agenda of the UN and has been the subject of discussion at the Security Council and at the Committee of Twenty-four on decolonisation, has reinforced the view that the question of Southern Rhodesia is a threat to peace in the area concerned.

This is so not only because of the massive armed forces acquired by Southern Rhodesia but its challenge to the principle "one man, one vote"; its determination to perpetuate a European settler Government, and its links with apartheid South Africa, forming the "Unholy Alliance".

For all these reasons, moral, legal, historical and also because Southern Rhodesia has international implications, Britain has a responsibility to ensure that Mr. Ian Smith does not declare unilateral independence.

If this is declared, then it is the duty of Britain to take punitive measures which she is legally and morally entitled to do because Southern Rhodesia is still her colony.

A point which must be established is that Southern Rhodesia is still a colony and not an independent state. She is a British colony and the United Kingdom has sovereign authority over her.

When a British colony acquires independence, British authority is relinquished. But, until accession to independence is achieved, the United Kingdom's responsibility for that colony, vis-a-vis other states and international organisations, is retained.

This legal position cannot be obliterated by Britain's oft-repeated references to conventional privileges "enjoyed" by Southern Rhodesia over a period of years.

In October, 1962, the general assembly of the United Nations requested by a majority of 81 to 2 (with 19 abstentions) that the United

Kingdom secure for the people under its authority in Southern Rhodesia the right to vote.

This body made similar requests on October 14 and November 6, 1963. The African Heads of State and Government, convening in Addis Ababa in May, 1963, further requested that Britain should not only transfer to a foreign racial minority in the colony the "attributes of sovereignty."

Far from making every effort to abort the growth of minority, racialist and unrepresentative government in Rhodesia, the British Government made, on the contrary substantial concessions to the latter, and of such a nature, as to make Rhodesia's power and policies all the more formidable and uncompromising.

Foremost among these concessions was the transfer of powerful armed forces including 18 Canberra bombers 14 Vampire fighter-bombers and 13 Supersonic Hawker Hunter fighters, previously under British command, to the settler government of Southern Rhodesia at the time of the Federation's dissolution on December 31, 1963.

In reply to the United Nations' appeals to the effect that fully representative government be established on a "one man, one vote" basis, the British Government has argued that a parliamentary convention prevents it exercising to the full its legal authority over Southern Rhodesia.

The convention is said to derive from the fact that for 40 years successive British Governments did not use their powers to safeguard the interests of the African inhabitants, and that, in effect, these powers became obsolete.

The bare bones of this idea is that, because Britain has not interfered with the internal machinery of Southern Rhodesia's government, it therefore cannot do so in law. This contention has no juridical justification.

For the first thirty years of its colonial history, Southern Rhodesia was ruled by the British South Africa Company, a private trading concern.

This company was nevertheless subject to the overriding control of

the British Government, which has granted the concern a Royal Charter setting out the broad lines of governmental policy.

The company was established to prospect for gold, and as there was little of it, proceeded to sell to European settlers, at profit, farmland which had been wrested from Africans.

It was to satisfy these settlers that the company set up a Legislative Council over which they, the settlers ultimately acquired control.

Finally, during the first World War, the company surrendered its rights of administering the protectorate in exchange for compensation paid by Britain and the settler government.

The small group of Europeans then living in Rhodesia were offered the choice either of affiliating the colony with South Africa or of becoming self-governing.

They opted for the latter by a vote of 8,774 to 5,989. This referendum, which occurred in 1923, did not, of course, reflect the wishes, interests or participation of an African populace which, by contrast with the European, was numerically vast.

Nevertheless, British representatives at the United Nations have argued that this referendum constituted the prime democratic event of Southern Rhodesian history, legitimately determining the future of British non-interference and withdrawal.

Still, despite these histories, and despite the granting of self-government to the settlers, the British government imposed by law the same control over their activities as it had over the activities of the company.

Further to this, the notion that Southern Rhodesia had enjoyed control of its own internal affairs for forty years is false. For the United Kingdom appointed the governor whose official instructions gave him express and lawful authority to refuse to accept the advice of his colonial ministers.

A convention, legally, is one only if it is recognised as such. If its recognition is essentially unilateral in given case, that recognition may be unilaterally withdrawn without prejudice to the law.

The history of the recognition of the Southern Rhodesian convention only goes back to 1957. It is contained in a joint announcement of the United Kingdom's Government and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and does not actually refer to Southern Rhodesia as a separate political entity.

The substance of the announcement reads to the effect that "The United Kingdom recognises the existence of a convention... whereby the United Kingdom in practice does not initiate any legislation to amend or to repeal any Federal Act or to deal with any matter included within the competence of the Federal Legislature except at the request of the Federal Government".

Subsequently, the Southern Rhodesian Government be sought of the United Kingdom some such similar recognition in its own regard; and this would constitute little other than a plea that the United Kingdom undertake, unilaterally in respect of Southern Rhodesia, to follow a policy of domestic non-interference.

The British Government at no time introduced legislation to this effect. But in June, 1961, a British White Paper, relating to constitutional proposals for Southern Rhodesia, declared that such a convention as spoken of above did exist.

What was essentially involved, however, was not the 'recognitor' but the creation of a convention. Such recognition, in short, rested upon little other than the creation of a policy, a political policy, primarily intended to extricate the British Government from its responsibilities in Southern Rhodesia.

This policy, in effect, requires that the United Kingdom treat Southern Rhodesia as a fully sovereign government except in so far as this government agreed to any United Kingdom legislation which was sought to enact in its regard.

What happened therefore, was that the United Kingdom, in lawfully sovereign over Southern Rhodesia, would in practice abdicate from sovereignty on the principle that in practice it had already abdicated.

However, the British Attorney-General, Sir John Hobson in reply

to questions during a parliamentary debate on July 16, 1963; stated that it was not quite accurate to say "that the convention had existed for 40 years."

He argued instead that it had "coalesced or congealed into the formality of a convention much more recently" . . . so recently, in fact as 1961, vention much more recently".

Finally, in regard to British parliamentary authority over Southern Rhodesia, he suggested that "the convention and its relevance to the powers of this parliament and whether they should be exercised may be subject to discussion hereafter".

In this last statement the Attorney-General is, in effect, asserting that the Southern Rhodesian convention is actually subject, even now, to Parliamentary review.

Thus it highlights a basic contradiction in the entire British position. For, either the convention establishes the juridical independence of Southern Rhodesia, which can be infringed only on its express agreement, and thus, in that event not "infringed" at all; or the convention merely attests to an internal redistribution of authority under a sovereign power, there being no irreversible derogation of control such that Parliamentary review of the convention is always juridically in order. But it becomes in any event impossible to argue that in practice Rhodesia is independent, while arguing too, that more ultimately she is not. But of course she is not.

The Monckton Commission (including the Chief Justice of Southern Rhodesia and the Attorney-General of the Federation) which was appointed by the British Government in July of 1959 was in unanimous agreement that the Federation and, consequently Southern Rhodesia, "falls short of the status of a full international person", that "it is not an independent sovereign state" and that "it is the United Kingdom who remains ultimately responsible in international law".

The commissioners found, further that "the United Kingdom Parliament has inherent power to legislate for any part of Her Majesty's dominions except in so far as this has been qualified by the Statute of Westminster" and in regard to Southern Rhodesia there was and is no such qualification.

As affecting the joint announcement of 1957 the commissioners categorically stated that it referred 'only to powers conferred upon the Federal Legislature' without affecting "the legislative authority of the United Kingdom Parliament to provide for the future constitutional development of the Federation and for this purpose, to make any necessary amendments to the constitution itself".

The Monckton Commission, therefore set up by the British Government to review the constitutional position in the federation, clearly took the view that British sovereignty remained even so far as to entail the right to amend the Southern Rhodesian Constitution, and indeed, that it was "is essential that this right should be retained".

If the interpretation of parliamentary convention as laid down by the Monckton Commission is correct then even if such a convention did exist in regard to Southern Rhodesia it should it could not diminish Parliament's right to legislate for the colony without reference to the colonial government.

And even though the British Parliament has not for the last 40 years exercised its undoubted right to legislate for Southern Rhodesia without the agreement of its government, all British constitutional authorities are agreed that it is not in this manner that parliamentary conventions are established.

In fact, many examples are to be found in British constitutional history if a Parliament legislating without the consent of the government of a self-governing colony in order to correct colonial injustices or to act aside a colonial constitution unsuitable for the conditions of its time.

In this respect the Maltese and Southern Rhodesian constitutions were enacted by Britain by the same process shortly after each other—in 1921 and 1923 respectively.

All leading British constitutional authorities (e.g. Sir Arthur Brierley, Keith Minty and Lord Hailsham) regarded them for all practical purposes as identical. Yet, in 1936, the British Parliament revoked the Maltese constitution, without regard to 'convention'.

In conclusion, Britain's legal authority over Southern Rhodesia remains intact. And that authority imposes the need to accept certain responsibilities.

One of the most basic of Britain's responsibilities must be to establish secure conditions for representative government in the colony. And government cannot be truly representative if political expression and power are denied to a majority on grounds of race.

European settlers have an undoubted stake in the future of Southern Rhodesia. The stake of the African majority however, cannot reasonably be conceived as less than theirs.

There is necessary conflict of interests between these communications. In so far as serious conflict overt and latent exists, it is essentially attributable to the present political and economic structure of racial favouritism.

Kenya's example of racial peace, and co-operation since independence points the way forward. The basis for progress does not lie in minority rule. And ultimately, the security of the European community cannot be built upon it.

If this community cannot or chooses not to understand, there is no legal or moral reason for the Government of the United Kingdom to accede to its folly.

Britain can act. She must act. She has the right and, therefore the duty.

*Continued from page 23*

handful of the African population has been favourably affected. Dictator Salazar, with brutal candour says as much: "A law recognizing citizenship takes minutes to draft and can be made right away: a citizen—that is a man fully and consciously integrated into a civilised political society—takes centuries to achieve."

In order that the decadent ruling elite of Portugal may cling to their fond "vice of history", the helpless peoples in the colony must live for countless centuries in political serfdom and cultural thralldom—and such is the prospect offered us. Such is the prospect the agents of the imperialists are striving to perpetuate.

For 465 years the relationship of oppressed Mozambique African with the Portuguese has remained the same—of a servant; and 465 years, of variations on the persistent theme—that of a servant—demands, not further involvement in embroidery on the variation, but destruction of the theme itself, its perpetuators, and its agents. It is not necessary for us to recapitulate here the picture, dismal and disturbing, that prevails in Mozambique. That picture was drawn with precision and power by UDENAMO in its petition to other United Nations in November 1963.

Who does not know of the overwhelming illiteracy, the grinding poverty of the African people there? Who does not resent the constant surveillance under which the humblest African lives, where any African who changes his residence, in all innocence, from one district to another, is forthwith captured and penalised? Need one repeat in detail the story of repressive exploitation of the African by the ruling white minority elite? Furthermore, dare we forget the many thousands of Africans killed by the Portuguese forces, the many freedom fighters arrested and imprisoned, the stench of the concentration camps, the situation whereby the innocent and freedom-loving African has been turned into an export commodity, a domestic slave, a forced labourer?

Let us frankly and decisively recognise that what UDENAMO is involved in—the struggle for the li-

beration of Mozambique,—is something elemental, irrepressible and irreversible. UDENAMO knows that the African of Mozambique must emerge not only politically but psychologically and economically.

This assertion of the African personality, this determined quest for national identity, by us for whom the dominant Portugal has fixed boundaries, is of fundamental, world-shaking importance. The Mozambican African for many generations was warned against aspiring for excellence; he was asked to make peace, not only with mediocrity, but with meanness. Today he is unbound; he is resolute in face of the most stubborn and sustained brutality of the colonial powers. As the weight of the white man lifts in the African continent, and as the horizon of political freedom widens, his deeper and fuller assertion seeks unfettered expression. It is easy to wipe away tears: it takes, however, deeper sympathy to wipe away the invisible tears which continue to haunt laughter and speech and song. These inner tears will dry only when cultural continuity is regained, thus assuring identity and renewal at the foundation of our own lives.

Today UDENAMO is engaged in that miracle of rebirth: the joyous and triumphant reassertion of the individuality of the Mozambican, and the unfolding of the African personality. In the presence of that miracle of re-birth we of UDENAMO warn the world that the problem of Mozambique is deeper than political freedom. It is one of cultural emancipation.

It is the strife-torn confrontation between the Portuguese colonials and the Africans that make the situation in Mozambique so eminently fateful. The sheath of decadence cannot muffle or obstruct the expression of the awakened Mozambican. Either the scales are removed willingly, or they must be violently cast aside. The latter is our alternative.

It is futile to hope for a change of heart or of purpose among the Portuguese rulers. Only determined men, united in the pursuit of freedom, can solve the problem. The facts of life and the lessons of his-

tory brand these truths on our consciousness. To be with unlit lamps and ungirt loins at this critical hour in the history and conscience of the Mozambique people is to ignore our own peril.

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**Voice of Africa**

**Supports**

**Union**

**Government**

**For**

**Africa**

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*Jaime M. A. Khamba  
(Mozambique)*

Mozambique, an oppressed colony of Portugal in South East Africa, has an area of 302,000 sq. miles. This vast country is very rich in mineral and natural resources, such as Iron-Ore, coal, manganese, gold, bauxite, paraffin, Sugar cane, Tea, Copra, Cashew Nuts, Timber, Sisal, cotton and some other precious meals. With their eyes on the natural resources, the Portuguese imperialists and financial oligarchy, who are the most vicious, barbaric and ruthless colonialists history has ever recorded in our time, have refused to leave Mozambique, to which they are uninvited.

The "civilizing mission" the bourgeois vocabulary for exploitation and domination, which brought Vasco da Gama to Inhambane, South of Mozambique in 1498, on his way to India, marked the beginning of the present colonial domination of the die-hard and shameless Portuguese in Mozambique.

Da Gama, who exposed the country to Portugal, on his way to the Northern part of Mozambique, tortured and killed many innocent citizens, in order to facilitate his forced entry into the country. He also noticed that the country was

# Historical Background to the National Liberation Struggle in Mozambique

by *J.M.A. Khamba*

rich in mineral resources. This he reported to the then King of Portugal, who immediately assigned him with the responsibility of capturing the country and the wealth by all means.

In 1502, he came back on a mission of permanent strangulation and life-long exploitation. Since then the Portuguese refused to leave the country.

In 1505, the Portuguese occupation became effective, after the captain Pedro de Anaia, with Francisco de Almeida, then Governor had landed at the Island of Mozambique. The Africans smelt rat, and began the campaign for the emancipation of their country.

In 1531, in order to expand the exportation of gold which he stole from the country, the captain of Portuguese founded a market at Sena. This transformed Sena into Commercial centre. A few years later, the city of Tete was constructed and the first colonial Governor General of Mozambique, Francisco de Melo Castro, was appointed.

In 1561, Antonio Caiado, a Portuguese settler who was living in the court of Emperor Monomotapa when Goncalo da Silveira, a Catholic priest went there with an expedition, led by Francisco de Barreto, from Sofala to Inhanga and Penhalonga, with an intention to destroy the Africa Empires.

In the April of 1569, three vessels manned by 1,000 Portuguese soldiers under the command of D. Francisco de Barreto, then Governor of India, left Lisbon for Mozambique, with an order to seize mines of Emperor Monomotapa, and his people. Barreto and his men landed at the Island of Mozambique. On

their arrival, when the African people saw that these henchmen from Portugal were provoking war, replied them in the same voice and many of them lost their lives.

In 1571, after various battles, and uncompleted negotiations with the Emperor Monomotapa. Barreto evacuated his two hundred men who were fortunate to remain alive.

In 1573, Barreto died, and was succeeded by his aide-de-camp Vasco Fernandes de Hommen, who returned to Sena with four hundred men in search of the gold mines. After various clashes with African people, he penetrated into the land of Manica.

There they found gold, but did not have competent men to explore it. From Sofala, he went to the North of Zambezia and then to Sena, where he tried to explore the silver mines of Chicoa, and was attacked by Africans who destroyed him together with his remaining two hundred men.

The King of Portugal easily forgot the lesson that Vasco de Hommen and his men wanted to dominate every aspect of trade as well as Africans. In a few years a great number of Portuguese settlers wanted to impose their laws upon the Africans, and were resisted by African people.

The number of conflicts increased in 1628, in the Region of Zambezia. Emperor Monomotapa was by then converted into christianity and therefore easily exploited. The vandals disseminated, the seeds of misunderstanding with other Chiefs through the Emperor and tribal dispute started. They dominated the whole Zambezia. The main reason of dispute was the refusal by other



*From left to right are: Mr. F. Milinga, Secretary-General of M.A.N.U.; Mr. Hlomido Chitofo Gwambe, President of UNDENAMO; Mr. George Ivan Smith, chief of the U.N. Technical Assistance Board; Mr. Nsilo Swai, Tanganyika's Minister without Portfolio and special representative at the United Nations; and Mr. Achkar Marof, Acting Chairman of the U.N. Committee on Portuguese Territories.*

chiefs to be baptized. It was a great struggle, known in history as the dispute of 1628.

After Emperor Monomotapa's death, he was succeeded on the throne by his son Manuza. In the same year of 1628, Manuza declared war against the Portuguese domination, and then Portuguese garrison surrendered and retreated to the Island of Mozambique leaving the new King in peace.

The battle of Tete and Sena in 1628, and 1629 respectively ensued, in which 1,000 troops of Emperor Monomotapa's army were smashed by the two hundred and fifty Portuguese powerfully armed soldiers, including the shooting of the paramount chiefs. From that time, the resistance against Portuguese impe-

rialism and colonialism has been waged, up till the present time.

In 1630, the Portuguese Governor in Mozambique D.Nuno Alvers Pereira imposed division upon the old Monomotapa Empire, thereby creating the provinces of Butonga and Nacurangua. On finishing this, he commenced the permanent settlement of Portuguese in Mozambique. Portuguese miners and engineers were posted to all parts of the country for exploration and exploitation.

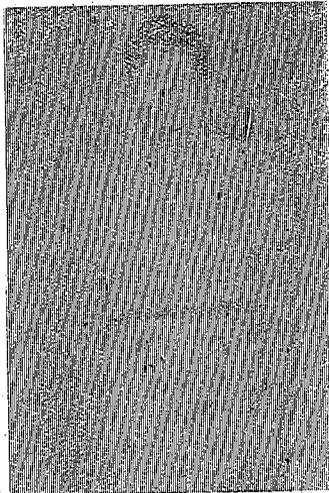
As far back as 1569, these colonial rogues and spivs, recruited about 1,000 Africans in the Portuguese controlled army of Mozambique, in order to use these Africans against their own people who were fighting against Portuguese imperia-

lism and colonialism.

In 1677, a garrison of six hundred military officials, administrators, engineers, miners, gold-smiths, Women and missionaries were imported into the country from Portugal. The Portuguese imperialists and colonialists were enjoying themselves exclusively.

They also traded in slavery. Between 1780 to 1800, more than 15,000 Africans were exported yearly as slaves to America, a number which rose to 25,000 until slave trade was abolished in 1836.

The Portuguese colonialists, in pursuit of their usual divide-and-rule policy, attempted several times to destroy the Vatuwa Empire under a powerful King named Ngunguni-



*Mrs. Y. Modesta, arrested in 1960 not been heard of since.*

hana, the Empire from Inhacomi to Luabo, which was founded in 1810 by his grandfather King Manicuse, and was shared by his two sons Maucue and Munzila after a series of resistance against the Portuguese colonialists and exploiters.

When Munzila became Chief, he inherited a vast Kingdom stretching from the Zambezia to South of the Limpopo. The Portuguese later claimed that in 1861, he had accepted a treaty with Portugal in return for help in defeating his rival and half-brother Chief Mawerewere.

In 1867, Manuel de Sousa, a Goan helped the Portuguese colonialists in their abortive campaign against then Chief Bonga, while resisting colonialists in his aringa at Massangano near the Zambezia. One of Sousa's contemporaries, captain Almedia de Queiroz, also a Goan, was captured by the powerful Matekenya. His two sons were roasted like sucking-pigs before his eyes and he was then decapitated. And he took the action against Matekenya.

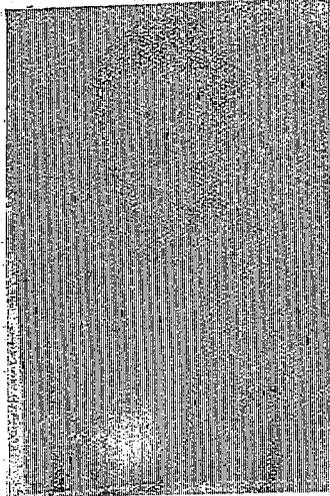
His so-called greatest success however, was affording great assistance to the colonial Governor General of Mozambique, who personally led his forces against the indomitable Chief Bonga. Although Chief Bonga, remained unconquered, Sousa went to Lisbon where

he was feted and rewarded for his services. He was received by then King of Portugal himself.

In 1894, Chief Marrakuene, declared war against the Portuguese imperialists and colonialists at the battle of Marrakuene where the Portuguese suffered a great defeat. In the same year, a column under the command of captain Mouzinho de Albuquerque, landed at Inhambane. De Albuquerque succeeded to subordinate the chiefs of Inhambane and Muchopes through false promises, in order to permit him on his way to invade the King Ngungunihana at his Palace Manjakazi, meant (power of blood).

On his arrival at Manjakazi, Mouzinho de Albuquerque found the King in a company of Queen and Prince Godide. The King's commander General Maguanguane, attempted to revenge in vain to safeguard his King at the battles of Chamite and Khulela, where the General lost his life. At the same time, King Ngungunihana was engaged in a war with King Chipenianyane of Muchopes.

On the 8th of September 1895, the Portuguese armed soldiers, two hundred and seventy five in number, defeated the 6,000 strong army of King Ngungunihana led by his able commander Matibejani. On the 7th



*Foustinio Banomba, arrested in 1960, not been heard of since.*

November of the same year, at Khulela, nine hundred Portuguese troops clashed with more than 8,000 soldiers of King Ngungunihana's army which had been reorganized by that time. The King was arrested by the Portuguese colonialists at Chamite on the 28th December 1895, on the instruction of the most savage then Governor Mouzinho de Albuquerque, from where he was later deported to Portugal where he finally died.

When the news spread that King Ngungunihana was arrested the King Makombe I, of Barue, assumed power and in the following year he declared war against Portuguese imperialists and colonialists and invaded their fortresses.

In 1912, Charles Domingo, an African from central province of Mozambique, attempted to resist Portuguese colonialists and was forced to leave his country of birth to Malawi. In Malawi, Domingo met a great fighter, John Chilembwe, who was then fighting against British imperialism and colonialism. And later on, a joint statement was issued by these two leaders, which was to unite their forces to fight British and Portuguese colonialists in their respective countries.

The most memorable battle occurred in 1917, where a large number of Portuguese troops lost their lives in Barue Manica e Sofala province. The battle lasted for ten months. The African troops were once overtaken, and their Chief Makombe III, fled to Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia). The war lasted many years as it was only the end of 1917, when a little peace was restored and other African leaders were murdered while Portuguese were engaged with the Germans in the first World war.

From this period there had been several, clashes between African people and Portuguese colonialists. As in 1942, the chiefs and people of the Southern province, revolted against colonial laws which were imposed upon them by Portuguese colonialists.

In 1944, a similar incident occurred in the Southwest of Mozambique against forced labour system, resulted the clash with the colonial authority and Africans.

*Continued on next page*

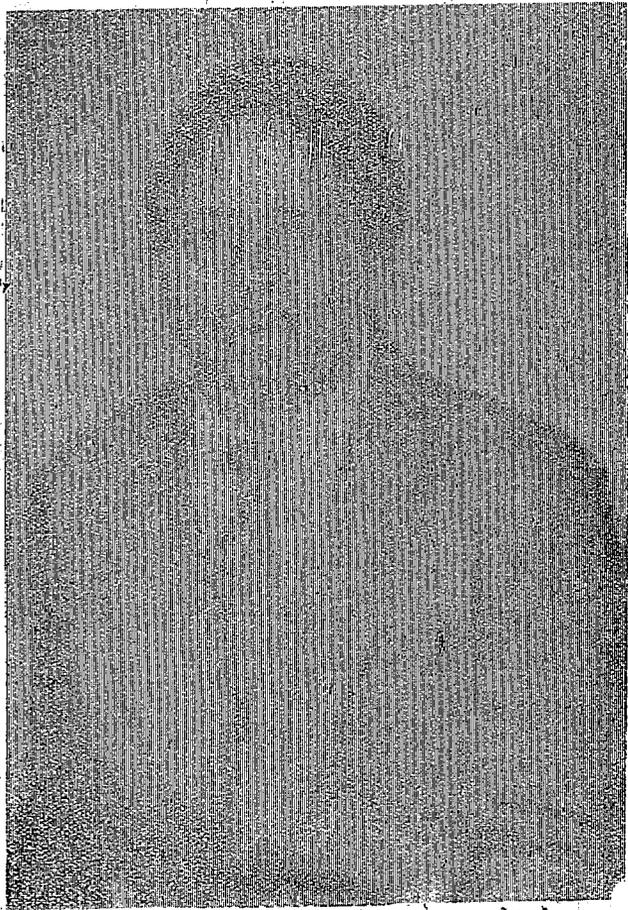
In 1956, the arbitrary arrest of the President of the Neucleu Negrofico de Manica e Sofala, S. Simango, and his associates sparked a clash of which the Portuguese colonialists were once more attacked by Africans.

In 1960, June 16th, due to the suppression by the Portuguese fascists, the Africans organized themselves a peaceful demonstration in Mueda, North of Mozambique demanding the end of Portuguese rule in Mozambique. This peaceful demonstration was under the command of Kibiriti Diwani and Foustino Banomba.

The Portuguese colonialists and fascists faced heavy blow. And later on, the colonialists called a contingent of colonial troops from Porto Amélia to Mueda, in order to suppress the demonstrators and killing six hundred people. And Diwani Banomba was sent to the undisclosed concentration Camp.

Since then after a long protracted battles and campaign, the Portuguese imperialists, colonialists and fascists have overtaken the territory of Mozambique and set up their fascists regime throughout the country and declared "we will never surrender until the death of the last Portuguese man".

This declaration must be short-lived now due to the current drive of National liberation struggle throughout the continent of Africa. The anti-imperialist and colonialist struggle in Mozambique must triumph.



*Kibiriti Diwani, arrested in 1960, whereabouts not known*

## SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

*Continued from page 44*

### THE REACTION OF OTHER COUNTRIES

From the following table the role played by the great capitalist countries in preserving the Herrenvolk regime in South Africa is quite clear:

### SOUTH AFRICA'S TRADE WITH CERTAIN WESTERN COUNTRIES OF THE "FREE WORLD"

(in £ millions)

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

### UNITED STATES DIRECT INVESTMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Imports to South Africa	Exports from S.A.
January to August	January to August

# Oil Sanctions Against South Africa

**THIS** paper by Brian Lapping of "The Guardian", with the assistance of a group of Young Fabians, is designed to offer a brief idea of the feasibility of an oil embargo against South Africa, since the withholding of oil is the one action which might be expected to be as damaging as total sanctions. Its conclusions may be summarised:

1. No embargo would be effective without the support of the United States, Britain, and other Western powers.

2. South Africa's present oil stocks would last four to six months, at her present rate of consumption, and could probably be extended.

3. Agriculture in South Africa would be severely affected by an oil embargo; industry much less so.

4. An oil embargo, to have a reasonable expectation of effectiveness, would need to be enforced by blockade.

The paper begins by examining the use to which oil is put in South Africa, it then reviews likely sources of supply during an embargo, and finally discusses how an embargo might be run. The final section sketches out an international oil-rationing scheme designed to enforce an oil embargo without the use of a military blockade. The complexity and doubtful effectiveness of such a scheme suggest, however, that a blockade would be the only way.

South Africa is less dependent on oil than most industrialised countries. Of the Republic's fuel consumption, oil provides only about 10%—compared with about 35% in Europe. South Africa's coal reserves seem to be inexhaustible (recently estimated at some 70,000 million tons) and she enjoys the lowest pit-head prices in the world.

She is the only country which extracts oil from coal. This process, which would be hopelessly uneconomic elsewhere, is just able to pay in South Africa, thanks to a duty on imported natural oil, and exceptionally cheap coal, even by South African standards, which has been made available to the oil-from-coal organisation.

The average price of coal per ton at the pit-head in South Africa is 12 shillings; at the huge coal-mines owned by the government's oil-from-coal corporation (SASOL) it is 5 shillings; in England it is 91 shillings

and ninepence. Nevertheless oil extracted from coal can provide only a small part even of the 10% of the Republic's fuel need which is met by oil.

Most factories in South Africa are powered by electricity extracted from coal, or by coal itself. The South African railways in 1960 ran 2,669 steam locomotives, 472 electric driven, and 76 diesel-driven. These latter were mostly used where there is a shortage of water for the steam engines, i.e. South West Africa, and for shunting.

The railways in 1961 carried 284 million passengers and 76 million tons of freight. It is difficult to assess precisely how much freight and how many passengers were carried by road, but some figures are available and from them a tolerable guess can be made: the Road Motor Services, run by the South African railways, carried 9 million passengers and 2 million

tons of goods.

Since the motor services possessed 1,505 vehicles, while motor carrier certificates were issued to other operators in respect of 63,916 vehicles, private organisations may have carried about 40 passengers and tons of freight for every one carried by the Road Motor Services. In the year to March 31, 1962 the South African government gave £638,636 in subsidies to operators of bus services for Bantu in towns.

When motor cars and aeroplanes are added to these figures, it appears that rather more than half the transport system is dependent on oil.

The railways are narrow-gauge and slow, and fairly extensive internal air services are run, joining Johannesburg and Durban by four flights each way daily, Johannesburg and Capetown by three flights each way daily, and several other centres.

On January 1, 1962 there were 675 civil aeroplanes in South Africa,

of which 60 were twin-engined and 20 had four engines.

Roughly half the oil consumed in South Africa is in the form of petrol, which is mainly for the propulsion of private cars. These are the normal means of transportation of the white population, and the South African government is proud of the Republic's high car ownership.

*When the effects of an oil embargo begin to be felt, the inevitable petrol rationing for motor cars will strike at one of the props of the white South African way of life.*

Even more, however, it will strike at agriculture. In 1959 there were 106,000 tractors in use, 45,000 lorries, and 80,000 other vehicles on farms in South Africa. Road transport is the farmer's normal means of contact with the railways, by which he despatched his products for sale. The white farmer's extensive holdings are substantially mechanised, and here oil is the main source of power, both for production and transport.

Some diamond mines in South-West Africa and the fishing fleet, which has been a steady source of exports based on canning in recent years, are also dependent on oil.

A growing chemical industry has developed following the establishment of oil refineries in South Africa, and would be severely hit if the oil flow stopped.

Motor-car assembly, which has become a large industry in South Africa, would presumably suffer, as would the complete motor car production plants which are being built by Ford, General Motors, Dyana-Panhard and the Daihatsu Kogyu Company.

The defence forces are, of course, dependent on oil for mobility.

It seems unlikely that oil deposits will be found in South Africa. Oil explorers have searched in South and South-West Africa intermittently for the past 60 years, finding oil traces but no commercial deposits. Hopeful noises have been made by geologists as recently as November 1962; some half dozen organisations are reported to be sinking large sums of money into oil prospecting, especially in South-West Africa. but

according to the Southern Africa *Financial Mail*, none of the oil companies with refineries in South Africa has any expeditions under way in the Republic. Several prospecting leases were issued by the S.A. Department of Mines in 1963, and one consortium announced that it would spend £13 million of foreign capital on exploration.

At present the only local oil in South Africa comes from SASOL (S.A. Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation), the organisation set up by the government in 1950 to extract oil and chemicals from coal. According to a recent report in the *Financial Times*, SASOL for a while produced 15 per cent. of South Africa's petrol requirements, but this has since been allowed to fall to 10 per cent as the Corporation is now concentrating investment of roughly £15 million a year on major chemical projects (for gas, rubber, fertilisers, and polyethylene).

An English oil expert who has made a study of the oil-from-coal process considers that SASOL could easily adjust its equipment at short notice to change the bulk of its output from chemicals to oil. A second SASOL plant could, he says, be set up without difficulty, given 18 months.

Since the cost of the existing SASOL plant was about £40 million, it may be assumed that the cost of further plant to double its output would be roughly another £40 million.

This must be compared with the Republic's 1964-5 defence budget of £105 million, out of a total budget of £506 million and net annual investment of more than £300 million.

According to the expert, even an early decision to refuse to sell the machinery necessary for building further SASOL plants (as part, perhaps, of an arms and war materials embargo) would be ineffective.

German and American manufacturers have developed techniques of production, but if their products were withheld South African engineers could probably build another SASOL plant themselves. They have the first plant to copy, and they are the only source of experience of how this particular type of plant runs. If they had to build it themselves,

the expert thought, the job should take a maximum of two years.

SASOL's total production (of oil, chemicals, etc) is about 300,000 tons per annum. South Africa's total oil consumption in 1962 was about 3,500,000 tons. Thus, even if SASOL were able to use its entire productive capacity for oil, it could still supply only 10 per cent or so of the Republic's present need. To achieve this, it would have to withdraw chemical intermediates which it supplies to a large number of South African firms. Even if these chemicals could be imported, some industrial dislocation would result.

The £15 million a year which SASOL is now investing to diversify chemical production is not likely to increase its oil production capacity. For the present, therefore, SASOL is not able to remove South Africa's vulnerability to an oil embargo, merely significantly to diminish it.

Roughly South Africa's oil needs can be met by local at a cost of £40 million for the machinery to satisfy every 10 per cent of the present need. This expenditure would have to be regarded as a pure defence does not see economic sense in in-cost, since at the moment SASOL is creating oil production, and has in fact slightly diminished it.

Apart from SASOL's production all South Africa's oil comes from overseas, the bulk being imported in crude form and refined in the Republic. Of this, a small part is refined by another government undertaking, SATMAR (S.A. Torbanite Mining and Refining Co.). The SATMAR refinery is not comparable in size with the refineries of the major oil companies, as the table shows. But a South African Government-owned body which employs men who know how to run an oil refinery.

The fact that the Iranian Government was able, in 1951, notwithstanding opposition and withdrawal of personnel the Iranian Petroleum Company to operate the Abadan Refinery—needs—suggests that the South African Government should have no difficulty in operating the refineries of the big oil companies.

in the event of a boycott.

It is the policy of the oil companies to train and employ local personnel in their installations.

The problem for the South African government will be how to get the crude oil to refine.

The refining capacity indicated on Table A exceeds the annual need includes fuel oils, which are inevitable (3½ m. tons approx) partly because it is produced in the refining process, are not wanted—coal being so cheap—and are therefore exported, and partly because oil companies usually build refineries to cater for the expanding future market.

The obvious way of getting crude oil to feed the refineries during an embargo would be to buy it beforehand and store it. This will be done in part by the oil companies, which keep up to three months normal requirements of refined products in stock in South Africa, in addition to their stocks of crude.

Such large stocks may be explained on commercial or political grounds: the large refinery of Shell-BP has only recently come on stream, and oil companies in the Republic have previously been accustomed to waiting for tanker-loads of particular refined products.

With a large refinery on the spot, companies would normally make their stocks of refined products smaller. On the other hand, oil companies' stock policies are greatly influenced by government suggestions. The South African government, after discussion with the oil companies, seems to think that they will give it their full co-operation in the resisting an oil boycott.

Additionally, storage capacity could be built by those government in the form of steel tanks like those used by the oil companies.

In England these cost roughly £2,000 for every 1,000 tons capacity (storage for 1,000 tons of oil requires 25 tons of steel). The South African steel industry, which is largely state-owned, could probably produce tanks to hold one month's supply of crude oil for roughly £600,000.

To build tanks capable of holding a year's supply would cost, at this reckoning, £7.2 million, a sum which

South Africa could comfortably afford. Her steel industry is probably capable of producing the necessary steel plate.

About 75,000 tons would be required, compared with the Republic's total production of plate in 1962 of 355,000 tons (out of a total production of all types of steel of 2,350,000 ingot tons).

Thus the building of storage tanks to hold a year's oil would require a quarter of the total 1962 production of plate in the Republic. This is less serious for South African than it might appear because with SASOL's production, the oil companies' stocks, and the likelihood of oil getting in through the embargo, the government will probably not think it necessary to build a full year's storage capacity, and steel could be imported from the Common market or a number of other areas where there is excess capacity; also it is possible that disused mines can be adapted for storing crude oil (since it has to be refined it does not matter if it gets dirty if non-porous mines can be found reasonably near to the refineries).

Since there is a glut of oil throughout the world and South Africa would have fairly long notice of a proposed embargo, it seems certain that she could accumulate large stocks. Only an embargo with the clear prospect of outlasting South Africa's stocks would be worth attempting.

Assuming an embargo capable of lasting that long, South Africa's reaction will be to try to keep open a flow of oil. Angola would appear to be the most obvious source. Luanda, her oil exporting harbour, is only 1,80 miles from Capetown and 3,000 miles from Durban by sea, nearer than any other source of crude oil. Her Portuguese government is likely to be South Africa's staunchest ally in defending white supremacy, although the political question of whether Portugal would dare support South Africa against an almost united world is an open one.

Angola's oil is being extracted and sold in joint harness by the Portuguese government and a Belgian oil company, Petrofina, which predicts that an output that an out-

put of 1½ million tons will be achieved in 1964, of which ½ million will be used locally, and the rest exported.

Angola is not likely to increase her output much beyond 1½ million tons per annum from the sources which have so far been discovered. Known reserves at the end of 1963 were 28 million tons, which places Angola on a level with minor oil producers like Austria, the Netherlands, and Bahrein. By comparison, known reserves in Algeria and Libya at the end of 1963 were over 900 million tons each. However, exploration continues, both by Petrofina and by the U.S. company, Gulf.

Thus Angola, with exports of a million tons a year, would appear to be able to supply almost a third of South Africa's oil needs. She seems unlikely to do so. Petrofina, although a Belgian company, has a large distribution chain in the United States (also in Britain) and would be responsive to U.S. government pressure not to sell to South Africa.

Would the Portuguese government confiscate Petrofina's share of the Angolan oil holdings and herself export to South Africa? This too seems unlikely. Portugal possesses her own refinery at Lisbon, making her to some extent independent of the oil companies, but Angola's exports of a million tons a year would not cover even Portugal's own needs (1.9 million tons in 1962) let alone those of South Africa (3.5 million tons).

Thus if Angola is to supply a significant quantity of oil to South Africa, Portugal will have to supplement her own resources by buying from the oil companies either directly or through independent companies acting as intermediaries. She would thus be dependent on the oil companies, which would themselves be under the orders of their governments to assist the embargo.

On the question of oil getting to South Africa from consumer countries, the boycott organisers' task will be made more difficult by the fact that half of South Africa's demand for oil is in the form of petrol to drive internal combustion engines.

In Western Europe and most areas of comparable economic con-

dition, petrol for internal combustion engines is produced to excess. This is in addition to the present world surplus of crude oil in general: all crude has to be refined, by processes which include heating to draw off products of different boiling points, so that the most volatile, like petrol, rise first, with heavier oils, like diesel oil and paraffin, rising next, and fuel oil being among the later substance remaining.

Fuel oil is a cheap product to burn in industrial furnaces, power stations, etc. and is greatly in demand in Europe. When crude oil is refined, heavy oils of one kind or another will account for 40% or more of the output, but in Europe and Japan the need to supply fuel oil to their customers has driven the oil companies to over production of petrol and other light oil products. So great is the pressure on them to get rid of these light oils that all the big oil companies now sell petrol in bulk to small independent companies which market it at cut prices, competing with the majors' own retail chains.

South Africa during an oil embargo would need more than 1½ million tons a year of petrol, the product which major refiners are today selling even to their competitors. This is an economic situation in which it is difficult to erect barriers: the sellers eager to dispose of their goods to anybody at cut prices; the buyer, in the case of South Africa, probably prepared to pay exceptionally high prices. In such conditions shrewd businessmen—and no-one can predict their nationality—rapidly become millionaires.

No boycott can expect to seal this type of gap completely, particularly when there are too many oil tankers in the world, dozens laid up and probably available to be bought cheaply.

Some minor sources are likely to supply South Africa during an embargo. A refinery is being set up by Shell and BP at Umtali in Southern Rhodesia, due to be completed late in 1965. Its capacity will be half a million tons a year, and if Southern Rhodesia is still white ruled by the time of a boycott, oil may be expected to flow South.

Shell and BP would try to prevent this, at the request of Western governments, but Umtali is only 250 miles from the northern border of Transvaal, and some oil would certainly get through by road. (The railway line from Bulawayo to South Africa involves a journey through Bechuanaland Protectorate; whether the British Government there would dare stop oil travelling by train is an interesting question).

Similar leakage, probably on a larger scale, should be expected from the refinery at Matola in Mozambique, since this is Portuguese-owned and would not have the presence of the oil companies to restrain its exports to the Republic. However, both these refineries could have their supplies of crude restricted during an embargo.

It is worth considering substitutes for oil to drive vehicles, if only to dismiss them as potentially significant contributions to South Africa's boycott-resistance.

Producer-gas was made in Britain during the war, and can be used to drive internal combustion engines if a small coal furnace is carried on a trailer, the producer gas from the furnace being piped into the engine. This method undoubtedly works, and South Africa has plenty of coal, but the cost of trailer, furnace, piping to engine and modifications to carburettors would probably be £200 or more, a sum which motorists are unlikely to spend on a short-term measure, especially as the measure would involve stoking up a fire to get the car going.

Some firms using lorries might find this a useful way of keeping them on the road, although it might be seriously uneconomic for what would be looked upon as a short emergency period.

Methane from sewage is the second substitute for petrol which might make a small contribution to relieving the effects of an embargo. Large communities can easily produce methane, and may do it accidentally when treating their sewage to remove its smell. This gas can be compressed, and cylinders of it used to drive vehicles.

The compressor is an expensive piece of equipment, but, unlike the producer gas furnace, would conti-

ne to be useful after the boycott was over. West Middlesex sewage plant claims to be the only one in Britain today running its vehicles on methane from sewage. Its population of 1½ million provides enough sewage gas to save the county council a maximum of £100,000 a year on fuel. This is only £2,000 a week, which would not buy much fuel, but a few of the larger South African towns might try it.

Ordinary coal-gas, which could be used to fill cylinders under pressure and thus drive cars, is produced at only five works in South Africa, in addition to SASOL. Vehicles run on gas cylinders have a limited journey-range, so that this method could be used only in the locality of gas works (i.e. in towns).

South Africa imported 34 million barrels of oil in 1962. World exports were 4,998 million barrels.

More than 20 countries could each significantly diminish the effectiveness of an oil embargo by diverting to South Africa only a small proportion of their present exports.

Table B shows something of the difficulty. It lists countries whose exports exceeded South Africa's imports in 1962. The countries printed in capital letters may, to judge from their voting at the United Nations, be disinclined at present to assist an oil boycott.

**TABLE B  
SIGNIFICANT OIL  
EXPORTERS, 1962**

(figures in thousands of barrels)

1. CRUDE	
CANADA	91,580
Colombia	24,312
Venezuela	810,485
Iran	340,748
Iraq	349,174
Kuwait	599,630
Neutral Zone	63,047
Katar	67,728
Saudi Arabia	462,609
Algeria	157,995
Egypt	19,715
Libya	65,511
Nigeria	24,553
British Borneo	14,195
Indonesia	92,202
Sino-Soviet bloc	124,000

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## COMMENTARY

# Africa - The Road to Freedom

AFRICA is becoming a question of destiny for Western Europe. In the last three centuries the development of Africa was determined directly by events in Europe; today, each stirring on the "Dark Continent" becomes of decisive importance for the future of Europe. The European stock exchanges and presses take note of these occurrences and react on them according to standpoints or interests of the various political parties. With an inexorable dialectic, Africa—which had to suffer for centuries under the yoke of imperialism (of European origin)—has become an unpleasant reality for Europe.

In 1954, when the European capitalistic powers were bankrupt, with no capital for reconstruction, then Africa almost automatically was rushed to the rescue. Impatiently, yet ingeniously, the financial circles in the European metropolitan cities worked out a plan to sell the raw materials and minerals exploited from the British, French, Belgian and Portuguese colonies to America, in order to enlarge the dollar-stock of the "mother countries" again.

Of course, the African "pack-animal" had been promised "freedom and independence" for his help and solidarity against Fascism in defence of "Democracy"; now, however, after the one imperialism was defeated, all the promises during the first years of the war had been forgotten conveniently by these powers.

In the European Recovery Programme (Marshall Plan), under the direction of the Economic Co-operation Administration (ECA) in Washington, assisted by the Organi-

sation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), the whole capitalistic strategy against Africa was worked out. Very accurately it was established now much capital, when and where, has to be invested, in order to satisfy the enormous American requirements and to save or gain dollars for the West European powers.

The over two hundred million "natives" of Africa, however have not forgotten the promises made during the war; in the fight against the fascist barbarism, the abominations of imperialistic oppression and exploitation become more clear to them: in the face of the dying oppressor, in his last hour in fear of death, with the sure instinct of fighting human beings, they perceived and realised that their bonds of slavery can also be broken. Despite many ebb-tides, the waves of the African Revolution cannot be kept back. The flood has at present already reached Southern Africa.

The same soldiers who fought in the second World War against Hitler's armies for the ostensible "freedom" of Europe emulated with each other (even today still) in brutality against people, Africans, to whom "Freedom" after centuries of unbelievable and indescribable tyranny and servitude has become an immediate necessity. In order to justify their colonial wars, the European financial circles and power-mad administrators encourage their press, radio television and film-industry to propagate fata morganas and "fairy tales" about the primitiveness and sub-humanity of the Africans in the "underdeveloped countries" and the necessity of "Foreign Aid."

The liberatory struggle of the

Africans, breaking through the barb wire entanglements of oppression, has already spread into Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, British Protectorates, South West Africa and South Africa. This revolutionary wave, in its progress towards the South, and the liberation of the Asiatic countries force the colonial powers to abandon direct rule. Making sure that their "economic and foreign political interests" are guaranteed, the mother countries are now offering independence to their colonies.

By means of the European Economic Community (Common Market), the French Community and NATO, a neo-colonial system is constructed lately, aimed at preserving the status quo as far as possible in the former colonies and giving privileges to certain strata (the treacherous Africans, eager to collaborate with the oppressors at the expense of their brothers and sisters) without bringing any noticeable relief or benefit to the toiling masses.

Being driven into the present state of affairs, what can and should the African do in future, to serve human history? Concretely, what is the objective-real possible road to take? Only tolerance, patience and renunciation of revenge can wipe the "writing on the wall"—the apocalyptic picture of coming murderous massacres of millions of whites and blacks—and clear the way for a future when all nations will live peacefully together.

# SOUTH - WEST AFRICA

by Solomon Mifima,  
representative of the South West  
African People's Organization  
(SWAPO) and member of its  
National Executive Committee

**S**OUTH West Africa is governed under the mandate given to the Government of the Union of South Africa by the League of Nations immediately after the First World War.

The aim of this was to promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being and social progress of the indigenous people until such time that they would be able to govern themselves as free people in a free country. The South African Government agreed to carry out these objectives accordingly.

During the formation of the United Nations the fascist Government of South Africa refused to transfer her Mandated Territory under the United Nations Trusteeship system.

In 1946 the fascist regime of South Africa under General Smuts, the Prime Minister, claimed that a referendum designed to test South West African opinion on this question had produced a majority in favour of incorporation with South Africa. But the evidence produced before the Fourth Trusteeship Committee by the Reverend Michael Scott on behalf of the Africans stated very clearly that the African people had not been consulted, and the idea of incorporation failed.

In 1950, the status of South West Africa was placed before the International Court of Justice, where the unanimous decision was reached that the South African regime was not competent to modify the International Mandate of South West Africa without the consent of the United Nations. In the same year, the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization (UNO) appointed a temporary Committee on

South West Africa to confer with the South African Government and to examine reports and petitions.

In defiance of the decision of the Court and the resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the South African Government totally refused to recognise the Committee on South West Africa. She further ignored with contempt the order to submit reports and petitions, as stated by the General Assembly's resolutions.

On the 4th November 1960, the Governments of Liberia and Ethiopia filed applications with the International Court of Justice against the unjust law of the Verwoerd regime, for violating Article 2 of the Mandate and Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. They stated that the Verwoerd regime with its Headquarters in Pretoria had not promoted to the utmost the material and moral well-being and social progress of the African people of our country; and also that the South African Government had not only failed to adopt measures necessary and appropriate for the implementation of Article 22 of the Covenant, but had taken positive action preventing their carrying out.

The white Settler Regime under the leadership of diehard Verwoerd arbitrary adopted a policy of APARTHEID according to which people are classified on the basis of race, colour and tribal origin. It furthermore introduced the system of pass laws, which is the greatest method of oppression, persecution and exploitation of African labour in our country, and control the freedom of movement of our peoples in their own country.

The African people were deprived of their land and removed from their original places by force, to the so-called African Reserves, and they cannot leave the area without a permit from the South African Government, thus officially forming a cor-

pulsory and forced labour pool from where the Africans are recruited to go and work in mines, farms and elsewhere for the benefit of the white man, at starvation wages, and subjected to inhuman treatment.

The people are sent to jail if they have no money to pay the fine for failing to carry their pass. In other words, South Africa is still violating the Mandate Agreement which states in Article 3 that "The Mandatory shall see that the slave trade is prohibited and that no forced labour is permitted" in the territory.

Furthermore the Pretoria Regime agreed that no military bases would be established in South West Africa. Defying all the laws of the International Organisation and violating the Mandate Treaty, the Settler Regime of South Africa has established military bases in the country. The military base at Walvis Bay alone has more than a hundred and fifty officers and about four to five thousand men. In addition to this, there are already other bases at Caprivi Strip on the border of South West Africa and Northern Rhodesia, a secret air strip at Swakopmund, the Windoek training camp and the Ondangua Air Strip for emergency service. New police stations and jails have also been built recently.

## VIOLENCE OUR LAST WEAPON

Ever since the formation of the South West Africa Peoples' Organisation (SWAPO) under the leadership of Comrade Nujoma, its followers have persistently and consistently striven to bring an essential change in our political life by demanding independence, improvement in the living conditions, the development of our national economy, the abolishing of all unjust laws, and the forming of a democratic government where all people of our country are represented. Failing this violence is the last weapon.

The people of South West Africa are determined to fight for their freedom and to end exploitation of their lives. It must be made clear that the peoples' forces cannot be stopped by anti-tanks, anti-aircraft or rockets. We shall fight to the last man until we achieve our goal.

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For comparison, South Africa's imports of crude in 1962 were 12,107

## 2. REFINED PRODUCTS

Mexico	11,230
UNITED STATES	59,511
DUTCH ANTILLES	263,203
Trinidad	89,824
Venezuela	291,364
FRANCE	55,400
W. Germany	30,966
ITALY	62,170
NETHERLANDS	88,166
UNITED KINGDOM	72,316
ADEN	24,571
BAHREIN	76,480
Iran	82,559
Kuwait	33,452
Saudi Arabia	62,507
Indonesia	36,378
Malaya & Singapore	29,535
Sino-Soviet bloc	94,900

For comparison South Africa's imports of refined products in 1962 were 21,814

The countries listed in capital letters have been selected by going through the voting list of the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations General Assembly which has on recent occasion voted on the subject of oil sanctions.

The occasion was a somewhat obscure one: in a lengthy resolution on South-West Africa which the Committee was preparing for the Assembly, a clause urged all states to "Refrain from the supply in any manner or form of any petroleum or petroleum products to South Africa."

The United States delegate proposed that this clause should be deleted, and had the support of 21 other countries—Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

The delegates of 67 countries voted for the retention of the clause, and the resolutions containing the clause was adopted by the General Assembly in a plenary session on 13 November 1963.

There may be 22 good reasons to explain why 22 states which voted against the clause can be expected to

support an oil embargo.

Indeed, the Iranian delegate said that he voted against the resolution because 10 per cent of Iran's petroleum exports went to South Africa and Iran was not prepared to stop these sales so long as South Africa was certain to get the petrol from another source.

He added: "To find a practical and realistic solution, this problem must be dealt with not on the level of one country but on a global scale which would make it an effective and real embargo." Collective measures, he said, would willingly be accepted by Iran. He also said that he thought that the organisation of an embargo might be worked out by the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

The Venezuelan delegate said that his country agreed with Iran. When the vote was taken he abstained.

There may be other exceptions like Iran. Denmark expressed sympathy with the resolution, adding that she thought it was not in the jurisdiction of the General Assembly.

But it is reasonable to suppose that the majority of the 22 countries which voted against sanctions on that occasion have still to be converted.

The countries that voted against the delegation and may therefore be assumed to be in favour of an oil boycott are: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bulgaria, Burma, Burundi, Byelorussia S.S.R., Cambodia, Camerouns, C.A.R., Ceylon, Chad, Colombia, Congo (Braz), Congo (Eliz), Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Israel, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Malaysia, Mauritania, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Philippines, Poland, Rumania, Ruanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tanganyika, Thailand, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.A.R., Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia.

Abstentions were: Argentine, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, China, Cyprus, Ecuador, Guatemala, Laos,

Lebanon, Mexico, Peru, Trinidad, Tobago, Venezuela.

They include the parent countries of all the world's major oil companies. U.S. companies control 58 per cent of world oil production and British and British-Dutch companies control 16.3 per cent. The U.S.S.R. bloc produces 16.4 per cent of the world's oil, leaving 9.3 per cent shared between the control of France (about 2.5 per cent), Western Germany, Mexico, Brazil, Indonesia, Argentine, Austria, Japan and some even smaller producers, including Portugal. The 22 also include most of the world's largest oil consumers, all of which export some surplus products.

The large oil-consuming countries, especially the United States and those in Western Europe, are the ones we need to worry about, and no party with a prospect of power in any of these countries, let alone a government, has yet made an oil embargo against South Africa part of its policy.

Unless it is backed by a blockade, an embargo could be rendered ineffective if one Western Government decided not to break it, not even to encourage companies to break it, but merely to allow some trifling inefficiencies of administration occasionally hamper the free movement of the embargo inspectors sent by the United Nations, are regularly, but always accidentally, to fail to stop sales of oil to independent businessmen, for whose subsequent use of the oil the government really could not be held responsible.

Britain appears to have practiced similar duplicity over the U.N. military operation in the Congo without suffering for it.

Thus it can be seen that an oil embargo requires the active co-operation of the powerful countries of the West, and probably their military support. Such co-operation will never be obtained by exhortation, but only by convincing the governments concerned that supporting an embargo is in their own national interest.

One way to attempt this would be to apply concerted pressure on oil companies. If the many oil producing and oil consuming countries

which favour economic sanctions threatened simultaneously to levy some form of charge against any company known to apply South Africa, the big oil companies would stand to lose more by continuing to supply South Africa than by withdrawing from her market.

On the other hand, if the big companies gave up the South African market, smaller companies would be able to supply South Africa without penalty. The present suppliers of South Africa, Shell and B.P. Mobil, Caltex and to a lesser extent Esso and Total, would not wish to lose the South African market to minor competitors, and might therefore be expected to ask their governments—the U.S., Britain, Holland and France—to try to stop the sanctioning countries from carrying out their threats.

If the sanctioning countries made it clear that they could be stopped only by an undertaking of the governments concerned to support wide economic sanctions against South Africa, the countries which support a boycott might be getting somewhere.

Such pressure would work in this way only if it coincided in timing with the conversion of the U.S. government to sanctions. If the U.S. government were strongly opposed to sanctioning at a time when a large body of producers and consumers was making threats against the oil companies, it could advise the oil companies concerned to stop supplying South Africa and could encourage some of the large U.S. companies which have no present interests outside the U.S. to fill the gap.

The other ways of attempting to put pressure on the Western governments, including flirting with Communism, trade union pressure, and diplomatic pressure while all worth examining, do not belong properly in a paper on oil sanctions.

Once the persuasion of the Western powers is accomplished the problem of organising the embargo will have to be faced.

A blockade by ships of war off the South African coast looks like the simplest answer. If the United States and Britain are persuaded to support an embargo, why should

they not lend ships to enforce it? The answer may be that this could involve them in threatening to sink ships of third parties with whom they have no quarrel.

Possibly, if an embargo can be organised without recourse to blockade, the Western powers will be more easily brought to agree with it. In this case, mere diplomatic undertakings will not be enough: countries cannot be recalled upon to punish their own citizens who are found to be breaking the embargo.

International inspection and sanctions will be needed and these may be based on an oil-rationing scheme, under which no country is allowed more oil than her previous year's consumption plus a reasonable allowance for growth.

A vast team of U.N. inspectors will have to be appointed, performing to some extent the function of Lloyds agents—that is, reporting on movements of ships, as well as advising on individual application for authority to make bulk purchases of oil, and seeing that the rationing scheme is obeyed.

All oil-exporting ports will need surveillance. More important than the inspectorate, however, will be the sanctions machinery. If a U.N. inspector reports to the government of a country that a purchaser of oil who lacks the U.N. rationing authorisation is being supplied, and the government takes no action, what follows? Clearly the correct answer is that the country accused shall be given an immediate hearing to inquire whether it supplied South Africa, and, if it is found guilty and is an oil-importing country, it should have its ration reduced.

If it is an oil-exporting country its sales will be curtailed. On the other hand, if it is found that the sales to South Africa were made by an international oil company without the consent of any government, the company will have to face some similar form of sanction. The tribunals looking into such cases will have to be ready to sit at very short notice and reach findings quickly.

If this system worked, South Africa could be supplied by a producing country only in the event of an unlikely coincidence—that the

supplying country produced just enough oil to satisfy her own needs and South Africa's without having to import or export oil, or in any other way to be dependent on international oil companies.

To prevent oil from being sold to South Africa through independent businessmen, nations and international oil companies would bear the responsibility of selling only to holders of a U.N. rationing permit.

To attempt to catch the fly-by-night speculator would involve an impossibly large international police operation. For oil companies or countries which sold oil to an unauthorised person to be effectively sanctioned, companies and countries with the power to effect oil sanctions would have to place this power, for the period of the embargo, in the hands of the U.N. sanctions authority.

**BOYCOTT**

**SOUTH**

**AFRICAN**

**GOODS**

# PRAISE FOR AFRICA'S HERITAGE AND VALUES

This is an excerpt from an address by Dr. P. SHINAR, Director of the Institute of Asian and African Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, at the African Freedom Day rally organised by the Israel Branch of the Convention People's Party (C.P.P.) of Ghana.

NATIONAL liberation has been and still is the watchword and Prime motive force in Africa, even though in most parts of the Continent it has become a reality with the speed inconceivable even a decade before. The demand for African unity has followed in its wake. Foreshadowed by the pan-African

movement of the late Dr. Du Bois and others forty-five years ago and spearheaded in recent years by the President of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the idea was in a way institutionalized at the Addis Ababa Conference a year ago.

It has, however, been generally recognised that political indepen-

## STRUGGLE IN MOZAMBIQUE

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The British and American imperialists hold a 25 per cent interest in the seven mining and financial corporations which together control the whole diamond and gold mining industry; the balance being shared by South African, French, Belgian and West German monopolists. These corporations employ over 500,000 cheap African labourers.

70 per cent of the £1,600 million foreign capital invested in South Africa is owned by Britain and the United States. Foreign capital absorbs about 10 per cent of the country's national income, or about R480 million a year. Britain's share in profits, dividends and interest or other returns on capital amount to £45 million (290 million R.) The overseas investors have, virtually a stake in every engineering agricultural implements, textiles, chemicals, motor assembly, shipping etc.

According to the United States Department of Commerce, the 700 million of US investments has produced goods and services to

twice the value of US direct exports to South Africa. In 1960 the value of the production of manufactured goods (excluding mining products and services) by US direct-investment enterprises amount to 305 million dollar in South Africa. In the same year the total US exports to South Africa amounted to 200 million dollar.

It is not necessary to analyse all the sabotage, intrigue and subterfuge of imperialism aimed at blocking all the international and national efforts to deal effectively with the South African question. It is quite clear who Verwoerd's collaborators are, and they will support and protect their economic interests to the bitter end.

The South African revolution threatens to become another Algerian revolution at the opposite end of Africa, and may develop over quite a number of years. However, having learned from their past mistakes, the real revolutionary forces in South Africa are preparing a radical socio-economic transformation of the present status quo, which most necessarily result in a revolution that will effectively sweep away "white minority rule", and due to the latent tendency of our time, perhaps even imperialism and capitalism out of South Africa.

dence and even a generous measure of unity, essential though they obviously are for the generation of Africa, cannot by themselves ensure the solution of the tremendous problems besetting the new nations in the economic, social technological, educational and cultural spheres. In the light of this realization, most African States have resolutely embarked on vast programmes of overall development and have enlisted or accepted the assistance of the United Nations Organisation and that of friendly nations.

There is no need for me here to dwell upon this global co-operative efforts, being, as it is, uppermost in the minds and acts of those concerned in a practical way with the future of Africa. I wish, however, to take this opportunity to discuss one aspect which has only in recent years begun to draw the attention of the African elite: It is the question of cultural emancipation and intergration or, as put by the President of Ghana in his opening address to the First International Congress of Africanists, held at Accra, December 1962: "Re-discovering and re-vitalizing our cultural heritage and values".

### WHAT VALUES ?

The heritage and values of sub-Saharan Africa have in the past been often belittled or simply ignored. Thanks to the exertions of cultural anthropologists, linguists, sociologists, historians, and others, they have revealed themselves to be of surprising richness and complexity, as well as of high relevancy to the contemporary world.

What are these values? Naturally, there can be no question of listing them here even in a summary fashion. Permit me only to single out few of them which have appeared to Africanists as particularly significant.

There is, to begin with, sphere of religious experience. Here we find a profoundly theistic attitude which, though recognizing local supernatural powers comprising objects and natural phenomena yet never identified them with those objects and, in addition, believes in a supreme unitary principle, creator and sus-

tainer of the Universe. It is religion, perhaps no less than economic links, accounts for the attachment of the African peasant to his native soil, as has been convincingly shown by Labouret and Levy-Bruhl.

In the domain of the arts, the African achievement goes back to a millenary tradition of dancing, singing and music, distinguished by an innate sense of rhythm. There are the world-famous sculptures of the Benin and other regions, displaying remarkable finesse, expressiveness and symbolism. There is a tradition of African painting, which beginning with the famed rock-paintings of South Africa and the Sahara, has found in our days new and original forms of expression, as exemplified by that inspired artist, Kofi Antubam, who has with love and understanding painted the life and culture of his own Akan people.

### DRAMATIC ART

Dramatic art, too, reached a high level of development, of which the most curious example is the Mandingo theatre, described by Labouret. It comprises an amazing variety of basic human types, depicted and acted with a fidelity that betrays rare powers of observation, mimicry and a strong comic sense. In the literary domain, again, we can point to the cosmogonic and totemic myth, the legend and the epic, the chronicles of states and dynasties, the tale which sometimes, in the disguise of a fable, freely criticizes the shortcomings of chieftains, priests and the rich, thus bearing testimony to be basically democratic character or those societies.

Another original feature is the system of age group education devised by various African societies, it comprises a strict moral code and line of behaviour, tests of endurance, and a program of studies that ranges from religion, historical traditions and customary laws to agriculture and fishing without skipping the arts of dancing, singing and ornamentation, with complimentary courses thrown in periodically for good measure.

In the field of linguistics, the prin-

cipal African languages, according to Westermann, Greenberg and others, have shown a great absorptive capacity of foreign elements, as well as an ability of adaptation to the needs of modern civilization. The latter has been proved at least in principles by Cheikh Anta Diop of Senegal, who has published in Wolof word lists of modern mathematical concepts and a text book on the principles of the Theory of Relativity. Some Africans have invented new system of writing, of which the best known is that of the Wai in Liberia, employing syllabic script.

The assimilative power of the African has not been confined to language alone. Ever since the dawn of history, Africa South of the Sahara has been in touch with the Mediterranean world, and, through a variety of channels, Phoenician, Hebrew, Greco-roman, Arabo-islamic and Christian impulses have reached the shores of the Niger and Senegal.

Yet these contacts, contrary to what has been asserted by the adherents of the so-called Himitic Hypothesis, do not seem to have been as a rule a one-way affair, nor do the successive contributions from without appear to have obliterated the distinctive features of the African travellers and chronicles—a fact which testifies to its remarkable vitality and resilience.

### HUMAN RELATIONS

But perhaps the most precious possession which the African has preserved to the present day, seems to me to lie in the realm of human relations. Simplicity, sincerity, friendliness, tolerance open-mindedness, a basic optimism, honesty in business dealings (exemplified in the days of old by the famous Silent Trade)—all these are qualities still abundantly in evidence in Africa South of the Sahara, which, unfortunately, have become all too rare in modern society East and West, and which, if generalized, could make for a better and a happier world.

Yet it can be reasonably assumed that what has become known of the African heritage and values, is but

a fraction of what remains to be uncovered. In the past, this task was shouldered almost exclusively by scholars of European extraction. With Africa's coming of age, the realization is gaining ground that this will no longer do.

At the Congress of Accra already referred to, this conviction was given forceful expression by the President of Ghana and also by the Chairman of the Congress Dr. Dike of Nigeria. While they freely admitted the debt Africa owes to Western scholarship and emphasised the important role the latter has still to play in the bringing to light of Africa's past, they felt that Africanist studies have been too much centered on Europe, too engrossed with colonial history and too insistent on literary documentation and hence, tended to neglect the African angle of vision, the pre-colonial history and the oral tradition as a source of historical information.

### AFRICANISTS

It thus devolved upon the African scholar, working in Africa, to assess the findings of the Africanists, in addition to his own, and re-interpret them in the light of his African experience.

It was further recognized that to make the best and fullest possible use of the available material, an inter-disciplinary approach was of the essence, so as to supplement the scarcity of written records by the evidence of social and cultural anthropology, linguistics, archaeology and other branches of learning.

To effect such co-operation and to co-ordinate the endeavours of Africanists everywhere, an independent organisation, the International Congress of Africanists, was set up at Accra, paralleled to, but separate from, its parent body, International Congress of Orientalists, based upon written statutes and operated through a Bureau a Council and an Organising Committee.

At the same time there was launched in Ghana an ambitious scheme for an Encyclopaedia Africana, which is to represent the sum-total of present day knowledge on Africa

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# Sanctions against South Africa

by Franz J. T. Lee

IN December, 1958, the All-African Peoples' Conference in Accra called for a world-wide trade and diplomatic boycott of South Africa.

In April, 1960, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference in Conakry, attended by 50 delegates from various African and Asian countries, including China, the Soviet Union and other socialistic states, renewed this call. Although the liberation of the masses of South Africa will ultimately be achieved by the South African people themselves, yet such outside demonstration of solidarity and support, when they are sincere, are welcomed by the African freedom fighters.

## THE REACTIONS OF THE AFRICAN STATES

In June 1960, Ministers from ten political-independent African states met at Addis Ababa and adopted a 10-point programme for sanctions against South Africa. This programme went further, and called

for the closing of air and sea ports to South Africa, for the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth, for the stopping of the "sale of Arab oil to South Africa" and for an intensification of UN action in the form of direct intervention.

Verwoerd retaliated swiftly with a massive build-up of his military power. Since 1960, military expenditure for the armed forces increased from R80 million to R208 million. The all-white Permanent Force was increased from 9,000 to 15,000 within four years. A Citizen Force of 40,000 and a Commando network, in which every white male had to serve for four consecutive years, were called into existence. The forces received modern arms, and armament factories were built in South Africa. Air-to ground missiles, saracens, troop-carriers, pistols, ammunition, etc. were bought from England, the United States, France, West Germany and Switzerland. Further and closer ties of alliance were developed with the fascist governments in Angola,

Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia.

Thus in April, 1963, various African ministers again held a Conference at Addis Ababa. They called for the immediate implementation and enforcement of their own trade and diplomatic boycotts. They further decided to launch a campaign for the expulsion of South Africa from all international organisations, including those concerned with cultural and sport exchanges.

In February, 1963, the African members of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa forced the legislation of South Africa. In July Kenya, which was host to the UN Conference on Cartography, refused to admit the South African delegates into the country. In August, due to pressure from the African delegations, the South African delegation was "invited" to withdraw from the UN Conference on Tourism.

South Africa was excluded from the 13th Session of the African Regional Conference of the World Health Organisation. In September, the delegates from the African countries walked out of the Conference of the Food and Agricultural Organisation, when they failed to exclude South Africa. In the same month, at a meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Washington, the African delegates protested against the presence of the South African Finance Minister. In October, a similar walk-out resulted at the International Air Transport Association meeting. South African participation in the coming Olympic Games in Tokyo has been made conditional, due to pressure, that South Africa should abandon apartheid in sport.

## THE AFRICAN BOYCOTT

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

Cameroon closed its sea and air-ports to South Africa on July 12.

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

Ivory Coast closed her sea and

## Africa's Heritage and Values

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and to come into being through the co-operation of Africanist scholars from all over the world.

The Institute of Asian and African Studies of the Hebrew University had its modest share in the proceedings of the Accra Congress. It subscribes to its objectives and is using its best endeavours to foster an interest in, and increase the facilities for, African studies in this country.

Our collection of Africana is being systematically expanded. This year some twenty course dealing partly or exclusively with African subjects, including seven language courses, are being offered on this campus.

A number of our graduates are working for their doctorates in Ghana and other African countries

and their on-the-spot experience of things African should go long way towards making our students aware of the realities of the emerging Continent. Likewise, efforts are under way to pool the precious fund of knowledge and experience accumulated by the scores of Israeli experts who have worked in Africa in one capacity or another, and make it available to a wider public.

In exerting ourselves for a better knowledge of Africa, we are prompted, I am sure, not merely by scientific curiosity, but by the conviction that co-operation and friendship between the African nations and Israel, to be truly fruitful and enduring, must be based not only on mutual interests of a material nature, but also on a correct understanding and appreciation of each other's ways of thinking and feeling, histories and present aspirations, on a give-and-take basis, and with a view to mutual enrichment in the spiritual and cultural spheres.

airports on July 16 to South African aircraft.

Libya closed her air and seaports on August 31 and refused overflying rights to South Africa.

Mauritania also closed her air and seaports and announced a trade boycott of South Africa.

Sudan had already broken off trade relations with South Africa in 1962, and she now closed her air and seaports.

Tanganyika announced a total direct and indirect trade boycott of South Africa on September 30.

Uganda boycotted South African goods in November, 1962, and has now banned all Uganda exports (to South Africa).

United Arab Republic refused overflying rights to South Africa on August 7 and announced the

breaking off of all economic relations on September 23. It further banned South African ships from calling at UAR ports and instructed UAR vessels not to enter South African ports. South Africa can still use the Suez canal, but is refused all facilities.

By September 30, 1963, Congo (Leopoldville) Dahomey, Ghana, Somalia, Tunisia, Guinea, Liberia, Madagascar, Mali, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria, all informed U Thant that they had fully complied with the November 1962 resolution of the General Assembly.

Kenya announced a total ban on trade with South Africa on November 13, to be effective as from December, 12.

To the rest of Africa, South Africa exports about 11 per cent of her total exports.

ban on strategic materials. The supply of hardwoods to South Africa valued at R4 million annually was abandoned. Malaya also took definite boycotting steps.

Japan, Ceylon, Pakistan and the oil-producing countries of the Middle East have taken no action. Ceylon's exports—mainly tea and rubber—increased between 1962 and 1963. Japan takes well over 7 per cent of South Africa's exports. South Africa imports oil worth R36 million a year from Iran. In addition to certain countries in Latin America and Europe, South Africa imports oil from Aden, the Bahrein Islands and Saudi Arabia.

In November, 1963, Yugoslavia imposed a total ban on trade with the South African Republic; and before that she had closed her Consular Office in Johannesburg.

In 1961, the Soviet Union was a big purchaser of South African wool. In the following year the Soviet trade organisations were instructed not to buy any South African products. All Soviet political and diplomatic relations with South Africa have long been broken off.

In 1961, the Chinese People's Republic broke all trade relations with South Africa. Early in 1963, South Africa exported R2 million worth of maize to China. Recently the Chinese Government explained that these imports were made through Hong Kong and British intermediaries. At present there is complete Chinese trade ban on all products from South Africa.

In July, 1963, Czechoslovakia closed its consular offices in Johannesburg and broke off all trade relations with South Africa.

On July 12, Hungary cut off all economic relations with South Africa. Similarly Bulgaria, Albania, Mongolia, Ukrainian, SSR, Rumania and Cuba complied with the November UN Resolution. In June the socialist German Democratic Republic severed trade relations with South Africa and since October 20 has expelled South African ships from its ports.

### SOUTH AFRICA'S TRADE WITH NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

(in £ millions) 1£—pound sterling—2 Rand.

	Imports to S.A.		Exports from S.A.	
	January to August	1962	1963	January to August
Congo	7.9	6.5	2.9	2.7
The Rhodesias and Nyasaland	9.0	10.5	32.3	28.2
Mozambique	0.8	2.0	5.0	5.8
Total	17.7	19.0	40.2	36.7

### THE ASIAN BOYCOTT

In May, 1963, Burma failed to renew her contract for the purchase of 300,000 tons of coal from South Africa. On July 13, India refused landing and passage facilities to South African aircraft, hence cutting off all the remaining links with

South Africa. Indonesia cut off all commercial and diplomatic relations with South Africa and closed her seaports. In October, the Kuwaiti Government broke off diplomatic relations with South Africa, announced a trade boycott, and closed its sea and airports. In August, the Philippine Government announced

### SOUTH AFRICA'S TRADE WITH CERTAIN ASIAN COUNTRIES

(in £ millions) 1£—one pound sterling—2 Rand.

	1962	1963	1962	1963
Ceylon	3.9	4.2	1.2	0.4
Japan	14.0	18.5	23.5	21.7
Hong Kong	1.6	2.6	2.7	2.6
Iran	12.1	10.9	0.9	0.2
Pakistan	6.7	4.1	0.6	0.2
Philippines	0.3	0.3	1.7	1.5
Saudi Arabia	1.3	0.8	—	—
Aden	3.3	3.3	—	—

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