

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

PT (11)

VOL 2, No. 1 OCT/DEC 1962

Published quarterly in the interests of African solidarity, and as a forum for Marxist-Leninist thought throughout our Continent, by the **SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY**

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

is published four times a year by the South African Communist Party and distributed by ELLIS BOWLES, 52 PALMERSTON ROAD, EAST SHEEN, LONDON, S.W.14, ENGLAND, to whom all articles for publication and correspondence should be addressed.

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Price per issue:

AFRICA (except South Africa)	1s. 0d.
All other countries	1s. 6d.

Yearly Subscription:

AFRICA (except South Africa)	4s. 0d.
All other countries	6s. 0d.

(or 15s. by airmail, post free)

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HOW STRONG IS VERWOERD?

The demonstrations in South Africa itself, and especially the scene in the Johannesburg court when Nelson Mandela first appeared for formal remand, were a reminder that our people are still confident, strong and determined. It is their jailers who are the frightened men, fearful of the future. This is the truth about the South African scene, however much the surface appearance of things may seem to differ. Minister Fouché's £60-million-a-year army, Minister Vorster's death penalties for 'sabotage', his bans and gags and deportations have given some casual observers the impression that the South African government is strong, entrenched and virtually unassailable. It would be more correct to say that they reveal the fears of the Nationalist government for its own stability and future.

The appearance of strength derives from this, that the government controls a formidable army, police force and state apparatus; that it is backed from abroad by powerful interests who have invested hundreds of millions of pounds in the regime of white supremacy; that it is supported, actively or passively, by the overwhelming majority of the three million white citizens, whose white skins entitle them to political privileges, sheltered employment and economic benefits once reserved for hereditary noblemen; that this white aristocracy controls a highly developed industrial society.

But behind this show-window of strength is the reality of weakness. The South African government has not a single reliable friend in the world. Its millionaire backers from abroad will turn tail and run when the era of low wages and high profits nears its end. But the freedom movement has genuine friends and supporters through-

out the world, anxious and willing to assist it as soon as, *and to the extent that* it enters into a serious struggle for power. Without foreign support, no government can survive unless it rules with the confidence and consent of the majority of its people. But here is the fatal weakness of Verwoerd. And it is to overcome this fatal weakness that the Government desperately enters into all manner of absurd deceptions to attempt to gain support from at least a section of the non-white people—into fraudulent talk of ‘self-government in Bantustans’, into establishment of bogus ‘Bantu Authorities’, and into frenzied efforts to multiply its own propaganda machinery while suppressing the voice of the democratic opposition.

They have, from the very outset, excluded the only possible peaceful solution to the country’s problems—the solution of testing the people’s will in free election. They exclude rigorously all serious public debate, by gagging their opponents, and censoring their press. Thus, step by step, they force the country closer and closer to the only other possible solution to the real problem of South Africa—and that is: who must rule? They are driving the country steadily towards a solution determined by force.

But looked at realistically, weighing all the political and military factors involved in a ‘solution by force’, the prospects from the Government point of view are fatal and disastrous. As perhaps they themselves realise in their moments of sanity when they speak of the dark, imponderable future, when everyone is against them and they can do no more than fight to the death—an increasingly common refrain. Only in their moments of megalomania do they convince themselves that a violent solution can be of any possible advantage to them.

True, at the beginning of any hostilities which may break out, the state could field infinitely better trained and equipped forces than any their opponents, the people, can muster. In a modern war between states, this might be of crucial moment. Not here, in an essentially different type of war, a war of colonial liberation of the type which is now familiar in Asia and Africa. In such wars, as all experience—notably that of Algeria—shows, the key factor is *not* which side can initially command the better trained and better equipped force. Such wars are not wars of head-on clash of field force against field force. They are, invariably, prolonged wars of attrition, in which the key factors are political and moral—popular support, endurance, determination.

The South African government’s military resources, and the

industrial-economic base behind them appear tremendously strong, when juxtaposed to the present forces of the South African people. But compared with the vast military resources of a great imperial power like France with its advanced industrial-technological base, the resources of the South African government are puny indeed. If the experience of Algeria has not yet been a sobering influence on the Verwoerd government, it has certainly been quietly assessed and measured by the people.

The French ruling classes were as determined to hold Algeria as the white supremacists are to hold South Africa. They were as ready to spill blood recklessly, as ruthlessly prepared to unleash OAS terror. The De Gaulle government was brought into power by the most reactionary forces in France—and above all by the fanatical white-supremacist two million in Algeria—precisely for the purpose of holding Algeria. To do so, he made sweeping concessions throughout the French Empire, 'cutting his losses' in order to concentrate his army and his resources on the battle for Algeria.

The French forces in Algeria were the bulk of the entire French imperial might. They received the most advanced weapons and equipment which French industry was capable of producing, together with equipment from the United States and all the advanced NATO countries; they were backed with the almost unlimited financial resources of the French Empire. Against this massive force, the Algerian FLN could reply only on its own meagre resources—which included no industrial rear, no financial reserves, no vast military reserve to draw upon—together with the comparatively small aid received from neighbouring North African states and from the socialist countries.

Yet, despite all these enormous initial advantages, the French had to give way to the stubborn, heroic fight of the Algerian people, just as they had to give way in Viet Nam, and just as Britain, Holland and Belgium have been forced to give way throughout Asia and Africa, the United States in China, Korea and Cuba.

Militarily, strategically, the South African government starts off infinitely weaker than the French in Algeria. Its armed forces are smaller; the exclusively white pool from which it can draw further recruits is minute by comparison with the French 'reserves' of population; its armaments are inferior; its industrial base is infinitely smaller, incapable of producing an internal combustion engine, a tank or an airplane. It is isolated. Not a single supporter—neither British reactionaries with fascist leanings nor millionaires with heavy investments in 'Kaffirs'—would dare raise a hand to

support Verwoerd in civil war. The drastic and sudden flight of capital from the country and the catastrophic stock-exchange slump after the Sharpeville events were a warning of the even more drastic repercussions which will afflict the South African government if, finally, its oppression precipitates a civil war in this country.

If the South African government wishes to fight, it will have to go it alone—despite the Unholy Alliance with Salazar and Welensky, both of whom only cling precariously to power in their own territories. And the Nationalists know it! Minister Fouché, in a moment of sanity, whines that “. . . world opinion cannot be fought.” Dr. Verwoerd whines that he is really in favour of “. . . self determination and equality”—at the very time when the principled advocates of self-determination and equality are in jail, exiled and gagged, and their organisations suppressed. These are the symptoms of a government on the edge of crisis.

Despite the surface appearance, South Africa is a country on the brink of a democratic revolution. The people are closer than they imagine to the realisation of the dreams of liberation which have inspired the patriots and leaders of the people for many years. There is only one thing that now stands between the dream and its realisation.

The people have not yet realised their own strength, nor the fatal weakness and sickness of their oppressors.

■ **RELEASE NELSON MANDELA!**

The arrest of Nelson Mandela by the Verwoerd government has roused widespread protests at home and abroad, as well as significant demonstrations of solidarity with Mandela and his cause—the liberation of the people of South Africa from white domination. Mandela is one of the most respected and talented of the younger leaders of the African National Congress; in the stirring post-war years of struggle in South Africa, he has grown in stature through every major campaign, until today he stands alongside ‘the chief’, Albert J. Luthuli, as a symbol of the people’s struggle against Verwoerd and against white supremacy. The slogan ‘Release Mandela’ has been painted up overnight on walls and hoardings throughout the country—though slogan painting in Verwoerd’s South Africa now carries a minimum penalty of six months imprisonment. The political battle for his future has only begun; the courtroom where he will stand trial together with the former Secretary-General of the African National Congress, Walter Sisulu,

will be the scene of further struggle, fought in the way Mandela has always fought—boldly, courageously, and on the basis of unswerving political faith in the cause of his people. Though the precise legal charge against these two leaders has still to be preferred, there can be little doubt that this case will not be fought in a legalistic fashion—although Mandela is by profession a lawyer—but as trial of political faith, of Mandela, Sisulu and the ANC against Verwoerd and his white supremacists.

For Mandela is a leader of a new type in South Africa. He symbolises in the popular mind the inescapable conclusions which the people have drawn from the state of South African affairs—that is, that the struggle for liberation of the people can no longer be fought out only in legal channels or even only by non-violent means. The limits of legality have closed down to minute proportions under Dr. Verwoerd's hand; the prospects of peaceable, non-violent advance have been submerged in the flood of panic-driven government arming and military preparations against the people. Those who will not face the harsh realities of South African life have no role to play in the present era, whatever their contribution in the easier, less hostile and ferocious days before. Mandela has proved equal to the challenge which the times have placed before South Africa.

Some eighteen months ago, on the eve of the exclusively white "referendum" for the proclamation of a Verwoerd republic, Mandela emerged as the spokesman of the African opposition, and the main proponent of the convening of a national convention of elected representatives of all races to draw a new, democratic and non-racial constitution. In the Verwoerd fashion devised in the face of a threatened general strike of 1959, and perfected in the State of Emergency after Sharpeville in 1960, the government answered with the only answer it knows, massive force, military mobilisation, reckless arrests, imprisonments and persecutions of its opponents, banning of meetings, and gagging of newspapers. Terror and the threat of terror did not wholly succeed. Under Mandela's name as leader of the National Action Council formed for the purpose, the call for a national general strike on May 31st—the day of proclamation of the republic—went out. Men and women of courage worked to carry out that patriotic call under a steady barrage of persecution and slanderous 'go-to-work' scabbing calls by the otherwise dormant Pan-Africanist Congress. Mandela worked heroically from underground—inspiring the work, leading it, directing its attacks from underground.

Thus, the leader of a new type emerged in South Africa—the leader who would neither surrender tamely to Verwoerd terrorism, nor submit to arrest nor flee the country, but chose instead the life of an outlaw, living in the struggle, hunted, underground and yet in the midst of his people. The May 31st strike failed before superior force. But in the contradictory manner of history, it was Mandela, the leader of the strike movement, who grew into a national hero whose underground participation in his people's movement has raised a new crop of young, unwavering fighters, ready and equipped to meet the new illegal and often violent phases of the South African struggle.

Mandela's arrest has provided the opportunity for a new crop of slanderous attacks against the African National Congress, designed to split its own ranks, to sow dissension and distrust amongst its members, and to drive a wedge between the ANC and its allies. Newspapers of the government and the so-called white "opposition" owned by the mining interests, have had a hey-day with slander. They have said that Mandela was "betrayed" to the police by some of his colleagues in the ANC leadership, and that the ANC has been split into factions as a result. They have said—alternatively—that he was "betrayed" by the Communists, because he threatened their "domination" of the ANC. These manoeuvres will not succeed; the South African freedom fighters have had too long an experience to succumb to these baited traps, and to turn on each other to the joy of the government. Mandela's rise to prominence in South Africa has been by way of united struggle of the people—unity of all Africans, unity of all national groups, unity of Communists and non-Communists in the fight for freedom. His life has been lived in that atmosphere. His successful eighteen months of underground work have been carried through under such conditions. There is not likely to be any turning aside from that position now, neither by Mandela nor by the stalwarts who still carry on the good fight under the banners of the ANC, nor by the Communists who have worked for the united front despite the fierce persecution which has fallen on them during *their* twelve years of illegal activity.

The capture of Mandela and his trial together with Walter Sisulu has not daunted the spirit and determination of South Africa's freedom fighters. Rather has it redoubled our resolve to win freedom for Mandela and all our leaders, on the road to the liberation of our country.

■ ALGERIA—VICTORY AND UNITY

The rejoicing of the people of Africa over the victory won over French imperialism by our Algerian brothers is tempered by two unhappy circumstances. Firstly, the Evian Agreements reached between the De Gaulle government and the Algerian Provisional government represent a great *but by no means a complete* victory for the heroic Algerian people. They are full of clauses and conditions which infringe upon the sovereignty, integrity, independence and dignity of Algeria. In the words of the Algerian Communist Party *

“Our Party considers that the Evian agreements were a positive compromise wrung from the French colonialists, thanks to the heroic struggle of the Army of National Liberation and of our people. These agreements must be regarded as a means to advance towards complete independence. Their application will create a new situation and new conditions in which it will be possible, through struggle, to liquidate the obstacles which the colonialists seek to maintain.”

Secondly, the people of Africa are disturbed and mystified by the fact that, on the eve of the victory celebrations, and with the enemy, French imperialism, still maintaining military forces on Algerian soil and ready to take advantage of weaknesses, serious divisions and even armed clashes have appeared within the ranks of the Algerian people, the Army of Liberation and the National Liberation Front (the FLN).

These divisions are more difficult to understand since for the most part we learn about them through imperialist press agencies which do their best to magnify and distort the differences so as to make them appear merely the result of a clash between ambitious rival personalities.

Clearly if the Algerian people are to reap the harvest of their seven-year-long armed struggle and their many long years of sacrifice, if they are to move forward from Evian towards complete independence and a new life, it is essential to restore and maintain the *unity in action of all patriotic forces* which has distinguished their struggle until now and inspired our people everywhere.

WHO ARE THE SPLITTERS?

But in order to assert the people's will for unity it is essential to *identify* and *isolate* the splitters who are responsible for dis-

*Letter to the National Council of the Algerian Revolution, Algiers, May 14, 1962.

rupting the united front on the eve of its triumphant advance to power in Algeria. The more we study this position, the more we become convinced that the responsibility for division must be placed fairly and squarely upon the right-wing, capitalist elements of the former leadership, with their anti-Communist obsession and their pro-imperialist leanings.

Let us look at some facts.

It is well-known that the Algerian Communist Party, the Party of the Algerian workers and peasants, played an indispensable and heroic role in the war of national liberation. The Party, forgoing sectarian advantages, gave up its own separate military units and—voluntarily and unconditionally—placed them at the disposal of the FLN. Both in the continuing civilian struggles of the working people and in the military struggle Algerian Communists played an outstanding and distinguished role in the national cause.

Yet, at the Tripoli meeting of the National Council of the Algerian Revolution held immediately after the Evian agreements had been signed, *not a single representative* of the Party was invited. And in the list of election candidates approved by the right-wing leadership, no Algerian Communist was included—and this exclusion was not confined to Communists but extended to other militant anti-imperialist elements supporting vice-Premier Ben Bella.

The right-wing elements say they are “also” for unity—but their conception of “unity” is one which would exclude the representatives of the workers and peasants, which would exclude the scientific socialists basing themselves on the advanced teachings of Marxism-Leninism, and which aim at a capitalist Algeria acting as a junior partner of France and the West in the cold war, an appendage to the European Common Market.

They say they are for a *single party* which would express the unity of all classes of the Algerian people. But their conception of a single party is one based on bourgeois ideology; not one based on agreement, but on coercion of a type which would continue the illegalisation of the Algerian Communist Party imposed by French imperialism.

To this the Algerian Communists have replied that they are ready to take part in discussions of a single party. In fact it favours a single party based upon the ideology of the working class, Marxism-Leninism.

“Such a Party is being realised in Cuba. But political and social conditions must ripen in our country for the creation of such a democratic single party which must express the vital needs of

the masses. For the time being, and in the framework of present political and social conditions, facing the "ultras" who are not yet beaten as well as the neo-colonialists who still hold important military and economic positions, our Party considers it necessary to unite all patriotic and all national organisations in an anti-imperialist and progressive national front—these organisations remaining independent.

"The main thing is a basis of agreement between all patriots for common action. The Algerian Communist Party thinks we must look for everything which unites us and push aside everything which divides us."

THE BASIS OF UNITY

In order to restore and consolidate unity, the Party advances a number of profoundly important practical proposals. The OAS must be crushed; at the same time a campaign must be launched "to draw honest Europeans away from its poisonous influence." A Constituent Assembly must be elected and organs of the Independent Republic installed and set working. The country must be entirely liberated from the after-effects of colonialism, and this means:

- thoroughgoing democracy at all levels;
- far-reaching land reform—involving the dispossession of the French colonialists, big landowners and traitors and free distribution of land to the agricultural workers and poor peasants who formed the basis of the army in the war of liberation;
- nationalisation of the main key sectors of the economy
- the raising of the material and cultural level of the masses.

Finally the Party proposes that the New Algeria embark upon an anti-imperialist foreign policy aimed at safeguarding peace, in line with the principles of the Bandung conference.

There can be no doubt that if all the patriotic forces of Algeria could be brought together on the basis of the above proposals unity would be swiftly restored and the country would move purposefully and effectively towards the consummation of the Algerian Revolution.

What is it, then, that stands in the way?

During the war of liberation, as a result of the correct policy of the Party, close friendly relations developed between Communist and non-Communist patriots, who fought together and died together as brothers. But unfortunately these relations were not always reflected among sections of the upper leadership, influenced still by

colonialist propaganda and ways of thought. As the "Letter" correctly concludes.

"All remaining anti-Communist prejudices should be liquidated as it can only harm the social aims of the Revolution.

"Indeed, given the immensity of our tasks, all the people's forces in the country are not sufficient to meet them."

■ SPLITS IN THE PROTECTORATES

It is disturbing to notice the marked tendency towards splits and quarrels within the patriotic liberation movements in the three British Protectorates bordering on or enclosed inside the Republic—Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland. To some extent this feature may be ascribed to the comparative youth and inexperience of these movements. The Lekhotla la Bafo of Basutoland fought for the people's rights for very many years, but it was a rurally-based peasant type of organisation, rather than the sort of modern national liberationist movement which has developed so strongly throughout Africa in recent times. The Basutoland Congress Party, like the Bechuanaland People's Party and the Swaziland Progressive Party, is only a few years old. Yet already serious splits have developed in all three of them, apart from the mushroom development of several smaller, separate organisations.

It is impossible to remain indifferent to these splits, or to treat them as a natural result of political growth and development. In the first place, all African—and for that matter all colonial—experience shows that the progress towards national independence is direct and rapid only where the people are united in action behind a single leading organisation or a united front leadership. In the second, political life of all three territories is tending to become dominated by feuding, by intrigue and personalities, to the detriment of the people and their cause.

What is behind these splits? Is it merely inexperience in politics, or are there more sinister forces at work?

It should be noted here that the divisions we are speaking of are not over matters of policy arising out of differences between various classes in society. The overwhelming majority of the people in all three areas are semi-proletarians and peasants, with no real hard-and-fast dividing lines between them, since peasants migrate to contract labour in the Republic and return to the land between contracts; there are few even petty bourgeois elements—a handful of professional men, doctors, lawyers, and a handful of traders.

There are no big bourgeoisie amongst the Africans; there are only the chiefs, many of them petty heads of small tribal groups, all on the colonial administration payroll, deriving very little cash benefit and very little power or privilege from their position—and the African civil servants of the colonial administration, who have interests of a sort which are not entirely those of the workers and peasants. But it is not this class interest with which we are concerned; for these groups have in every case formed their own political party as rival to the national organisations we are here concerned with—Chief Jonathans' 'National Party' in Basutoland, Seretse Khama's Party in Bechuanaland, Sobhuza with his royalist faction at the Swazi National Council. These 'royal' parties, inherently more conservative than the peoples' parties, have attracted to themselves all the conservative forces of their respective countries, white settlers (where there are white settlers in any numbers), the Catholic Church—a formidable force in Basutoland—and local white officialdom. Yet everywhere it is apparent that these conservative parties cannot attract the majority support of the people, because they do not represent their interests and their national aspirations.

It is to be hoped that even these "conservative" forces will be compelled to realise that their real interests lie in aligning themselves with the masses of their own people, against the threat to their small countries from British and South African imperialism. Sooner or later they must bow to the will of the people.

But the splits we are referring to do not spring out of this type of "opposition" by dying and reactionary class forces; they arise within the people's movements themselves, which started so promisingly under the inspiration of the African National Congress of South Africa.

The splits which have rent the Bechuanaland People's Party and the Swaziland Progressive Party (where in each case there are now several groups claiming to *be* the Party, all with identical statements of policy)—and which at an earlier stage led to the breakaway of a group from the Basutoland Congress Party to found a new Freedom Party—if these were class alignments they would take place on the basis of policies suitable to a class. These splits do not. They take place on the basis first and foremost of personalities, on rivalries over leading positions, on jockeying for key positions in constitutional talks and possibly future constitutional arrangements of government, on unprincipled careerism, and equally unprincipled

strivings to corner the funds, delegations and scholarships which come in these organisations' coffers from abroad.

Take the case of the Basutoland Congress Party split. The issue at stake was this: should Mr. Khaketla, a leader of the organisation and by virtue of this fact elected to the Executive Council, reveal to the BCP matters discussed in the Executive Council which he is sworn by security regulations and the Official Secrets Act to keep to himself? This is a triviality. The real issue for Basutoland was this: Should any Basuto patriot take a seat on this British-dominated and controlled institution at a time when his people were struggling for self-government on the road to independence? On this neither the majority Mokhehle group nor the minority Khaketla had any stand of principle; both were equally prepared to accept office even under the most unsatisfactory terms for their people.

Similarly, in Swaziland until recently (the latest, welcome news, is that unity has been restored under the leadership of Dr. Zwane) there were no less than three groups each calling itself the Swaziland Progressive Party, each adhering to the identical policy and programme, the only difference being the personalities of the leading group of each "Party".

And again, in the Bechuanaland People's Party we have the identical pattern. The former vice-President Mr. Matante—using the authority of President Motsete whom everyone knows is merely clay in his hands—announced that he had "expelled" Mr. Mpho, the general secretary, and other militants. Naturally the secretary could not accept this arbitrary decision; supported by a majority of branches and executive members a conference was held and a new executive elected, excluding Messrs. Matante and Motsete. But these two do not accept the conference decision and claim that *they* are the leaders of the Party. The result now is that we find in fact two parties. Each has the same name. Each claims to adhere to the same programme, constitution and policy.

WHO IS BEHIND IT?

It is impossible to imagine that this strikingly similar pattern is a mere coincidence. Behind these splits which can only harm the people of the Protectorates, sinister forces are at work.

Chief of these is British imperialism.

All three territories stand on the eve of advance towards some measure of self-government, when constitutional revisions are under discussion and there are the beginnings of mass pressure for full independence. It must be remembered that the British retreat from

straight Colonial Administration does not come about in any of these territories purely as a result of victorious struggle by the people. It comes about as an offshoot of British imperialism's "New Look" which it is busy advertising elsewhere in Africa, as a by-product of British imperialism's desire to present itself as the leader of "orderly constitutional advance" and the trustee of liberty and democracy in Africa. These three territories are perhaps the poorest in the imperialist ledgers; they have virtually no known deposits of mineral wealth (except iron ore now being developed in Swaziland, and small alluvial diamond mining in Basutoland); they are uniformly unsuitable for vast plantation farming; their strategic value in the age of air warfare surrounded as they are by South African or Portuguese territory, landlocked, is negligible. They are all expendable to "prove" to the rest of colonial Africa that partnership with imperialism is more up-to-date, more rewarding and more rapid than struggle against it. These three territories receive their constitutional advances without a background of immediate mass struggles.

From which two consequences flow. First, there are men of talent, energy and ability who have not come up the hard way to lead their people through struggle and sacrifice and steadfast devotion to principle, ambitious men for whom politics is the stairway to office, power and authority and even wealth. Such men are battenning on the easy pickings through unprincipled ambitious struggle for personal prestige, leadership and office. Second, that the very substantial imperialist influence in the territories will be—and is being used to ensure that "constitutional developments" stop short of real independence; to frustrate the development of mass political unity and a single national organisation. In this neo-colonialism, nothing serves imperialist interests better than the repeated splitting and re-splitting of every serious national organisation, and the incitement of internal hostility and strife between leading members of those organisations.

It is easy to see the British influence at work, even in the similarity of methods and techniques used. In Basutoland, the BCP which was itself founded by the African National Congress of South Africa, has found new favour and respectability by violent attacks on the ANC and equally violent and hysterical anti-Communist outbursts—even though the Communist Party of Lesotho calls constantly for national unity of all liberation forces, including the BCP, for real independence. This pattern has been followed out in Bechuanaland, where identical anti-ANC, anti-Communist slander has been

let loose against the group of BPP members headed by Motsamai Mpho who organised the party originally under the inspiration of and along the lines of the ANC of which they were formerly members. And in Swaziland wild allegations and abuse are levelled against "Communism" by some elements in the S.P.P.

WILLING TOOLS

No one but the British colonialists and their partners in oppression, the Verwoerd government across the borders in the Republic, benefits from these unprincipled acts of disruption of people's liberation movements. But by themselves the Colonial Office officials could not have split these movements; nor is it they who have invented the all-too-familiar mixture of "nationalistic" demagoguery and anti-Communist raving which accompanies these splits. The imperialists have found willing tools for their anti-national disruption.

Not the least of these has been the embittered, ambitious and utterly unscrupulous members of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa, who have carried their capacity for slander, abuse, distortion and splitting into the Protectorates (where political activity is legal and painless, unlike South Africa where they and their fellows have been unable to stand up to the persecution and have mostly either emigrated or retired from politics). Mokhehle, formerly of the ANC is now one of its main slanderers, and welcomes and boosts the racialistic and anti-Communist PAC disruptionists. Matante of Bechuanaland is himself a member of PAC, wildly accusing members of his own executive of Communist activity, of "ANC white-anting".

Money pours forth for these disruptive activities, to pay full-time organisers, to open offices, to buy land-rovers. The question is: where does it come from?

There is a strong and persistent rumour in South Africa that the PAC has been heavily subsidised by the U.S. government. It would not be surprising if this were true, for the State Department clearly envisages U.S. imperialism as the lawful inheritor of British "spheres of influence" in Africa, and the frenzied Red-baiting of PAC has the true "un-American Activities" ring. Recently the U.S.-financed "International Confederation of Trade Unions" opened an office with a full-time organiser in Maseru, its object being to build up a so-called labour federation under Mr. Mokhehle's younger brother as a counterblast to the Basutoland Congress of Trade Unions.

What is more surprising and indeed disturbing is that in some measure encouragement and financing of such disruptionist activity comes from the Africa Bureau of the government of Ghana. Whether this Bureau has been changed in the recent shake-up following the attempt on President Nkrumah's life we do not, at the time of writing, know. We sincerely hope it has been. For the activities of this Bureau, in promoting divisions and disruptions in Southern Africa must undermine the role which Ghana's government has taken upon itself, the role of champion and assistant in the liberation of Africa from the toils of imperialism.

The people of the Protectorates cannot afford these unprincipled splits in their national movements on the eve of their independence. Independence can only be won, maintained and invested with reality if all the patriotic forces in these territories are united and devoted to their people's cause. There is no room for careerists, adventurers and place-seekers. The new proposals of the Lekhotla la Bafo of Lesotho for a national united front of all patriotic governments shows the way to victory and freedom, not only for the Basuto people but for the Bechuana and Swazi as well.

■ NO COLLABORATION WITH APARTHEID

All over Africa the hallmark of a patriot has become his attitude towards the scandalous South African regime, his refusal to collaborate in any way with the detested Apartheid Republic. It is regrettable that there are still leaders on our Continent who shame themselves and embarrass their people by toadying to Verwoerd, Welensky and their kind.

We would take the case, for example, of Paramount Chief Moshoeshoe II of Basutoland—the bearer of one of the proudest names in Southern African history. Moshoeshoe was the African statesman of genius who united scattered and separate sections of tribes into the Basuto nation; who led them in battle against the invading forces of both Boer and British imperialism; who maintained an island of unconquered territory in Southern Africa, and thus laid the foundations for the independent state of Basutoland which is now emerging. Such a tradition should not be sullied by kow-towing association with the South African government.

Yet Moshoeshoe II saw fit to invite a representative of the South African government to attend his wedding as a formal representative of state. Correctly, the Basutoland Congress Party announced

that it would boycott the wedding festivities. In doing so it was showing the wholesome contempt and opposition for Verwoerdism which is one of the strong unifying threads running through all free men in Africa. Moshoeshoe II remained apparently unmoved. And in typical contemptuous apartheid fashion, the South African government nominated its representative not—as would be normal diplomatic usage—from its diplomatic corps, but rather from its native commissioner staff, in the person of Mr. Simon Papanfus, Commissioner General for the South Sotho Tribal Region. In short, the white man boss of the latest Bantustan. It was an insult and a national humiliation not only for Moshoeshoe but for the entire Basuto nation.

Again, the Verwoerd government recently announced that it was entering negotiations with “Swaziland” for the exchange of bits of Swaziland with areas of the Republic. We do not know with whom these “negotiations” are being conducted, whether with the British High Commissioner or with Chief Sobhuza and his advisers. But we know that neither has any right whatever to hand over any Swazi territory whatsoever, and the people who live on it to the fascists of Pretoria. The Swazi people should have only one answer to this disgraceful proposition—“Verwoerd—Hands off Swaziland!”

Doubtless Moshoeshoe and Sobhuza will say that they were not personally responsible for these unbecoming events and, no doubt pressure was put on them to conform to the “let’s-be-friendly-to-Verwoerd” policy of the British High Commission for the Protectorates. But the time is past when African leaders and would-be leaders can hunt with the hounds of imperialism and yet hope to run with the hares of the people. Perhaps this same thought might be presented to the Nigerian Federal Prime Minister, Sir Abubakar Tawfawa Balewa who—perhaps under British pressure to do the proper thing—told reporters (according to the Johannesburg Star, August 28, 1962) that “. . . he did not believe that Sir Roy Welensky fostered racial policies like those of South Africa. . . . He did not give me the impression of following any racial policies. . . . In the Rhodesias Africans are in the government and have their own political parties, meetings and campaigns.” Comment from Mr. Nkomo would doubtless be sharp. Sir Abubakar has been previously reported to have said that, despite the all-African boycott of South Africa sponsored by the oppressed people of South Africa itself, he “. . . would like to visit South Africa if invited.”

But if these statements are the result of diplomatic pressure—which does not in our view in any way justify them—what possible

excuse can there be for the outrageous statements of Dr. Hastings Banda, also reported in the South African press, in which he states that he is ". . . sick of all these South African freedom fighters", and that no such people need look to Nyasaland for refuge when that country is independent." Dr. Banda adds this piece of gratuitous advice to the freedom fighters of South Africa—they should stay and fight at home. He should know of course, having spent all the bitter, toiling years of the twenties, thirties, forties and much of the fifties in the comfort of London, while South African (and for that matter some Nyasa) freedom fighters laid the foundations for the anti-imperialist, liberationist advances of the African people today. Dr. Banda has swept easily on the crest of a wave to a position of power and authority. He should perhaps have a little humility in speaking of those who have fought a longer fight than him, a harder fight, have suffered worse for it and who have faced a more formidable enemy. And if he is sincerely interested in stopping migrations of people from their homelands, we would make two suggestions to him. First, that he turn his attention to the thousands of Nyasa men who come annually to work in the South African gold mines, where they have no trade union or democratic rights, and that he take steps to implement the decisions of the All-African Solidarity Committee to cut off this stream of cheap labour on which the white state of South Africa relies. And second, that he do something effective to cut off the traffic between Nyasaland and Mozambique, which provides some of the revenue for Salazar's war against the people of that territory and of Angola.

◼ THE LIBERAL PARTY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The South African Liberal Party came into existence as a rival of the Congress of Democrats which now, like the African National Congress and the Communist Party has been outlawed by the fascist Verwoerd government.

The Liberal Party at its inception rejected the African National Congress demand for universal suffrage and committed itself to a policy of qualified franchise. Only after a long process of political education did the Liberal Party ultimately realise that one man, one vote, was the only franchise demand acceptable to the people. When the Liberal Party started it confined itself to parliamentary forms of struggle, and declared that it could free the Africans by winning at the polls; it criticised the Congress movement for engaging in extraparliamentary activity. After losing many election contests the

Party decided to engage in extraparliamentary activity—but on such a small scale and with so many reservations that its contribution has not been worth much. It has for instance not supported a single strike of the many called and carried out in recent years. Every time the Congress movement has called for mass action, the Liberal Party has stood aloof. It seems to fear mass action.

The fear of the Party for mass action is combined with a pathological hostility to Communism. Its hostility to Communism is the common factor between it and all the other white Parties in the country, including the Nationalist Party. It shares with these parties the same tendencies of smelling out and witchhunting Communists in the liberation movement. The Liberal Party studiously avoids forming a united front with the Congress movement because they regard it as “Communist influenced”. They prefer to flirt with the P.A.C. even though they are aware that it is racialistic and without much influence—they share with it one thing and one thing only and that is anti-Communism. The Liberal Party represents the ideas of a section of small industrial bourgeoisie in the country. It concedes that change must come, but it wants a change strictly within the limits of a capitalist society and not accompanied by any radical economic changes. The Party is violently opposed to a revolution in the country as are all the other white Parties.

This explains Liberal opposition to the Freedom Charter, and their reservations in supporting the Congress movement, their fear of mass action and hostility to Communism.

It is also in this context that its resolutions at the last Conference should be seen. The main political resolution of the Party was a condemnation of acts of sabotage in the following terms,

“The Liberal Party firmly rejects violence as a means of attaining political aims, and dedicates itself to the task of giving positive meaning to non-violent resistance in the coming year.

“The acts of sabotage which some people had thought fit to use in recent months had damaged the constructive work of the Party. Everything possible should be done to prevent a reign of terror in which the only distinguishing mark between the opponents would be colour.”

The Liberal Party must be blind if it cannot see the reign of terror which exists now in the country in the name of white domination. In that terrorism the terrorists are a white elected government with the police and military force, its licensed private armies, the women’s pistol clubs, organised thugs and some fat-bellied chiefs.

And the victims? They are by and large the non-white people. This is an armed terrorism of a fully equipped government against an unarmed people, and the terrorism is either supported or connived at by the majority of the whites. All the people's heroic efforts to rid themselves of their living death has evoked more brutal and naked terrorism. What must the people do in this situation—abandon the struggle and submit and allow the Liberal Party to do its “constructive work”?

The people have seen no “constructive” and effective work from the Liberal Party which can save them from the grinding oppression and exploitation. What is this constructive work on which the people must rely for their political salvation? Well, a few months ago the Liberal Party organised a meeting at the Johannesburg City Hall to demonstrate against the notorious sabotage act. A few thugs organised by the Nationalist Party and supported by the police threatened to disrupt the meeting through acts of violence. True to its “positive meaning of non-violence” the Liberal Party called the meeting off, and announced that it was not prepared to expose the public to violence. In doing so they enabled the fascists to do what they wanted: to intimidate and muzzle a legitimate protest. If this is an example of constructive work and the “positive meaning of non-violence” then we know exactly what the Liberal Party stands for: that the people should allow the fascists to have their own way rather than revolt. The Liberal Party did not really fear that the masses of the people would be injured by a few thugs at the meeting. What they feared more was that the people would retaliate. And who knows what that would spark off? It is the spark of revolution that the Liberals fear, the acts of the people, not the acts of the thugs. That is why the Liberal Party is more concerned with the violence by the people rather than the terrorism of the government and its thugs.

Let us not be misunderstood. We are not suggesting that the Liberal Party should carry out acts of sabotage. It can continue to carry on its programme of positive non-violence, and what it considers to be its constructive work. It can continue to put up candidates for municipal elections and educate the whites to see that they can save themselves and the country a lot of bloodshed and chaos by supporting the demand for one man one vote and a national convention. They will be given their credit for what they achieve in this field. What we do say is that the Liberal Party has no right if it cannot stop the violence and terrorism of the government against the people, to condemn acts of self-defence and

retaliation by the people, particularly at a time when the Nationalists are openly boasting that violence against the people and their organisations will be the order of the day. What is the attitude of the Liberal Party to the resistance movements which existed in many countries during the last war? Or to the French Revolution for that matter?

The situation is fast developing in this country when it will be impossible for any political movement to sit on the fence. Either with the people or with their oppressors—the Liberal Party must choose or disintegrate.



PARTITIONING SOUTH AFRICA

Some aspects of
the "Bantusan"
Scheme

by L. Legwa

"In South Africa, colonialism has taken a special form. . . . On one level, that of "white South Africa", there are all the features of an advanced capitalist state in its final stage of imperialism. . . . But on another level, that of "non-white South Africa", there are all the features of a colony. There is extreme national oppression of the native population, extreme poverty and gross exploitation, complete lack of self-government, and political domination by a group which does everything it can to emphasise and perpetuate its alien "European" character. The African Reserves show the complete lack of industry, communications, transport and power resources which are characteristic of African territories under colonial rule throughout the Continent. Typical, too, of imperialist rule, is the reliance by the State upon brute force and terror and upon the most backward feudal elements among the indigenous population, which they deliberately preserve, in order to maintain their rule. Non-White South Africa is the colony of White South Africa itself.

"It is this co-existence of the worst features both of imperialism and of colonialism, within a single national frontier, which determine the special nature of South Africa's state system. . . ."

*—from the "Draft Programme of the
South African Communist Party"*

At the beginning of 1962 Dr. Verwoerd made a dramatic announcement. The Transkei area of the Eastern Cape was about to be granted independence as a self-governing African territory. This would soon be followed by similar concessions in each of the seven other "Bantu Homelands" so designated by the Nationalist

government. Africans in these "homelands" would enjoy full citizenship rights; their Governments would be conceded sovereignty, even including the right to enter into diplomatic relations and treaties with foreign countries. On the other hand, elsewhere in South Africa only Whites would enjoy citizenship; Africans would be regarded as migrant labourers, temporary residents and aliens.

With this magic formula Verwoerd, master-mind of the Nationalist Party, intended to solve a number of pressing problems.

By presenting South Africa as following the path of conceding formal independence taken by the European colonial powers in Africa, he hopes to soften the chorus of world criticism of apartheid which has become a serious embarrassment to the Government and its friends and supporters in the "West".

He intends to sharpen tribal, linguistic and other differences among the African people in this country, and to allay and divert the violent hostility which Nationalist policy has called forth among them.

At the same time the Nationalist Party leadership has embarked on a massive programme of militarisation and suppression of democratic opposition, of inculcating a spirit of emergency and hysteria among the European population designed to rally the majority of them, both English and Afrikaans speaking, around the government as the implacable defenders of White domination, White privilege and ownership in South Africa.

But, after all the shouting of slogans and propaganda have died away, one is still left with the fundamental realities, the real questions: Will the partition of South Africa into White and African States really help the country? Will it really solve a single one of the problems of the government and of South Africa itself?

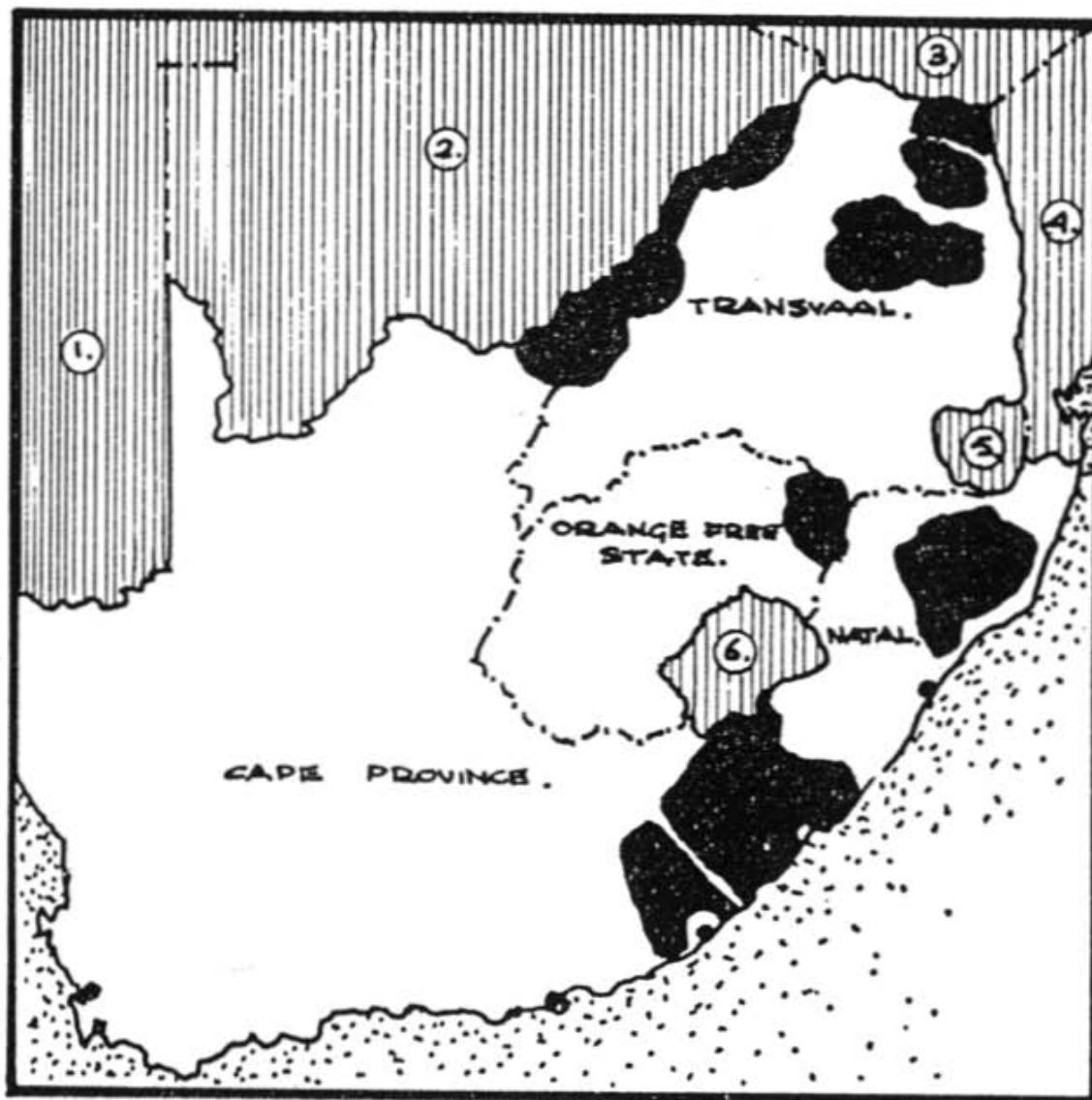
In order to answer these questions we shall have to examine Verwoerd's scheme as it actually is, not as it is presented by the State Information Department, the South African Foundation, and other apologists for apartheid. We shall also have to discuss the probable effects of this scheme on the political and other developments in the country and abroad.

SOME QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLE

Before we enter into details, it will be convenient briefly to touch on certain matters of principle.

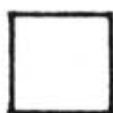
It should be emphasised that the "Bantustan" scheme has nothing

in common with the principles of national self-determination. The African people, who form the majority of the population, have consistently rejected any scheme for partitioning South Africa. Although divided into two main language groups, the Nguni and the Sotho-Tswana, the languages show close affinities, and the people themselves share a community of culture and tradition and have a common progressive aim of building a single nation in a single national home—South Africa, whole and indivisible. The Bantustan scheme has its origin in the Report of the Tomlinson Commission,



NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

1. South-West Africa
2. Bechuanaland
3. Southern Rhodesia
4. Mozambique
5. Swaziland
6. Basutoland



'WHITE' SOUTH AFRICA



'BANTUSTANS'

appointed by the Nationalist Government. When the Report was published it was unanimously rejected by the most representative gathering of Africans ever known at that time—the 1956 Conference convened by the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation, at Bloemfontein. The African National Congress, together with the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the Congress of Trade Unions expressly rejected the principle of partition in approving the Freedom Charter, which declared that South Africa as a whole belongs by right to all its people.

The African people are opposed to balkanisation. The whole modern trend is towards larger, not smaller, communities and states. It has been repeatedly emphasised at all-African Conferences that in closer union and integration, not in Katanga-like splinterings, lies the future of Africa and the aspirations of its peoples to bridge the time-lag which colonialism has imposed upon us, and rapidly to advance our living standards to equal the highest in the world.

In spite of these powerful considerations, which mean that we can never, *in principle*, agree to or accept the alienation of a single inch of South Africa, it may be argued that in practice it is sometimes necessary to accept a compromise in order to carry on the struggle more effectively in future. That it is better to free even a part of South Africa from White domination so that we have at least a base from which to advance our legitimate claims in future.

People may point to the example of India, where the All-India National Congress, though opposed in principle to partition, accepted it in the end as the price of emancipation from British rule; or of Ireland, where the Republic has been compelled for the time being to accept British domination over the Northern part of the island. Even the brave Algerians, after seven years of warfare, had to accept the Evian Agreement which, though a real victory, contains many clauses which infringe Algerian sovereignty, independence and national dignity.

However, such arguments and comparisons are quite wrong in relation to South Africa, and especially in relation to the partition scheme of the Nationalists.

THEY DON'T MEAN INDEPENDENCE

Dr. Verwoerd and his colleagues keep on exposing themselves as the most brazen bunch of liars in the world. And this is not because they are stupid or incompetent, but because of the hopeless contradictions of the position they have been forced into. They keep saying that their Bantustan scheme is one for genuine self-govern-

ment and independence. They say it in the all-white Parliament; they publish it all over the world; their stooge Matanzima repeats it day and night in the Transkei. What happens? Some of their own supporters begin to believe it and take fright. They have horrible nightmares about a Nyerere or Nkrumah coming into power in a piece of land, however small, right in the middle of the holy White Man's Republic, seeking aid, making alliances, calling in UNO. To soothe these nightmares and restore confidence in the Nationalist Party among the Whites, Verwoerd and Co. are compelled to explain that they don't really mean independence and self-government as commonly understood, but a special kind of self-government, suitable for "Bantu". That is how they expose themselves as liars.

Thus, Dr. Eiselen, Secretary of the Bantu Affairs Department and Verwoerd's right-hand man admitted openly in an article that has never been repudiated:

"The utmost degree of autonomy in administrative matters which Parliament is likely to be prepared to concede to these areas (the "Bantu" areas) will stop short of actual surrender of sovereignty by the European trustee."

And Verwoerd himself, defending his plan in the House of Assembly, explained that the only alternative was one man, one vote, whereas his scheme "would ensure that the Europeans in the Republic will continue to dominate".

It is clear that, in the view of the Nationalists, the function of the "Bantu Authorities" in the "Bantustans" will not be to legislate and to govern but to administer the laws passed by the all-White Parliament in Cape Town, which will continue to be the supreme power.

It is also clear that the Nationalists have no intention of allowing the "independent Bantustans" to be presided over by genuinely representative bodies elected by and accountable to the people. In the proposed "Constitution" for the Transkei which was dictated by the Government to Matanzima and his clique, provision is made for a majority of nominated chiefs as against a minority of elected members in the "Transkei Parliament". The Government is relying on the fact that for a long time chiefs who have showed any independence have been deposed and removed, and hopes those who still remain will continue to be loyal supporters of apartheid. (These hopes have already suffered some rude shocks, and more are to be expected in the future—but we shall deal with this theme below.)

Finally, the Nationalists are fully aware that the Bantustans are

incapable of independent *economic* existence. These areas are quite incapable of supporting their present population, and even the highly optimistic Tomlinson Commission could only claim that after "well-planned agricultural development" they could at most feed two million Africans.

This, then, is the Nationalist concept of "independent Bantustans"—a facade of self-determination and democracy behind which, for many years to come, the Matanzimas, Cyprians and Makapans will be in office as their obedient instruments, through whom they will dominate the Bantustans by remote control, using them, as they do now, as reservoirs of cheap labour for the White man's farms, his mines, his factories and his kitchens.

However, the most careful plans of bourgeois politicians usually come to grief because they leave the most important historical factors out of their calculations—because of their narrow class outlook and greed, because of their contempt for the intelligence and power of the people, because they are incapable of grasping the basic laws of social development.

That is why Verwoerd's Bantustan plans will not turn out as he expects; they will solve none of his problems, but only create new and more serious ones.

THE BASIS OF PARTITION

Partition of a country necessarily involves the drawing of frontiers.

Now let us suppose we are told that, for the sake of peace and harmony, it is necessary to draw a frontier between two nations or groups of people. History and common sense would tell us that if the frontier were to result in enduring peace and harmony, certain essential conditions would have to be fulfilled. For example:

- Both parties must agree on the principle of separation, of having a frontier;
- The frontier must be decided on either by an impartial judge or by negotiations between both parties on an equal basis;
- The frontier must correspond, at least approximately, to the actual division of territory occupied by each group;
- The demarcation must be accepted by both parties as being fair, equitable and in accordance with historical claims and national aspirations.

It stands to reason that if these conditions are not met the frontier will not be a line of peace and harmony but a bone of

contention; that it will not solve any problems but merely create much worse ones for the future.

Verwoerd's partition plan meets none of these conditions.

The principle of dividing up South Africa has never been accepted by the Africans—or for that matter by any population group, even the Whites.

The “frontiers” have been decided one-sidedly by representatives of the Whites alone, acting as judges in their own case.

The areas “allocated” to the Africans do not correspond even remotely to the territories inhabited by them either historically or at the present time.

The proposed partition is grotesquely unjust and unfair. The all-White “frontier-drawers”, acting as judges in their own case, have been so ridiculously biased and greedy that no one in his sane senses could possibly take them seriously.

Look at some of the facts.

The total land area of South Africa is 143 million morgen.*

The area “conceded” to 10 million Africans amounts to 17½ million morgen—just under 13 per cent. of the total.

The area “awarded” to themselves by 3 million Whites amounts to 125½ million morgen—over 87 per cent.

This proposed “White State” is a contiguous land area, containing practically all the natural resources and the advanced development created by the labour and skill of the South African people, of whom a majority are Africans.

It contains *all* the fabulous mineral wealth famous throughout the world, the Witwatersrand and other goldfields, the Kimberley and other diamondfields, the coal mines and other resources which are the birthright of all our people.

It includes *all* the best and most fertile farmlands which have been pioneered and cultivated by generations of Africans, watered by our sweat and enriched with the graves of our ancestors.

It includes *all* the main industries of our country, which were built up and are still maintained largely by African workers without whom these industries could not operate for a single day.

It includes *all* the big cities which we have built; *all* the seaports and harbours and airfields; *all* the areas which are well served by railways, main roads, power lines, big irrigation schemes.

By contrast, the so-called “Bantu Homelands” by no means form a contiguous area, but consist of “islands” mostly scattered here and

* A “morgen” is approximately two and one-ninth acres.

there in the Eastern and Northern parts of the country, in the most poverty-stricken, barren and overcrowded places. There are eight of these so-called Homelands. They are

- (1) and (2) The Transkei and Ciskei, occupied mainly by the Xhosa-speaking people in the Eastern part of the Cape Province. Unlike most of the other designated areas, these are contiguous and occupy a larger territory.
- (3) The Zulus—occupying scattered reserves in Natal and Zululand.
- (4) The Swazis—a small area adjoining the British colony of Swaziland.
- (5) The Venda and Tsonga—separate reserves in the Sibasa district of the North Transvaal.
- (6) The Southern Sotho—the Herschel district of the Eastern Cape.
- (7) The Tswana—presumably the very scattered reserves in the Free State, Northern Cape and Western Transvaal.
- (8) The Northern Sotho—scattered reserves in the Northern Transvaal.

The “Bantu Homelands” comprise about 260 separate areas—some amounting to no more than farms.

Almost without exception these areas are barren and eroded rural slums, without power resources or proper communications, without irrigation schemes, without cities, industry, mineral resources, harbours, or any sources of employment and self-support. They are so poor that most of the adult male inhabitants are ALWAYS away from home working for their bread on white-owned farms, mines and industries, leaving women, children and old people to carry on the primitive agriculture of the Reserves on a level below that essential for human subsistence.

Striking proof of the draining of the Reserves of their menfolk and their inability to sustain their population can be seen in the official population figures relating to African men living in these areas, and the extraordinary change which has taken place over the last forty years.

In 1920 no less than forty per cent. of African men were in the reserves. In 1960 this figure had fallen to THREE PER CENT.

Such are the “Homelands” which the Verwoerd government (so it tells the world) proposes “generously to award” to the “Bantu”.

THEY ARE GIVING NOTHING!

In fact they are giving, as we shall see, nothing at all.

Upon what does Verwoerd base this preposterous claim to 87 per cent. of the country for three million Whites—while ten million Africans are told to go and “rule themselves”—and starve—in the few barren corners that are left over?

Have the White minority any *historical* claim to exclusive rights over the territory they have, through Verwoerd, awarded themselves?

To answer this, we must briefly review the historical origin of the Reserves—newly-christened “Homelands”.

Just over three hundred years ago a party of Hollanders arrived at the Cape of Good Hope. It was not their purpose to colonise the country, but to set up for the Dutch East India Company, whose employees they were, a victualling station for the company's ships at the Cape, the half-way house to India. For a long time the Dutch (from whom are descended the Afrikaners who form the majority of the present-day White population) confined themselves to the area immediately around Cape Town, but gradually they took to extensive cattle farming and spread out far into the interior.

This penetration was not, as it is depicted by colonialist historians, a peaceful expansion into unoccupied territory. On the contrary, everywhere they went the “Trekks” came into conflict, usually violent, with the indigenous Africans whom they found in possession of the land, farming, herding cattle and hunting game. Often they were tolerated and granted pieces of land for their use by the African communities who lived in various parts of this country. But nearly always these friendly relations soon ended because the Africans found that the Trekks abused their hospitality, stole their cattle, molested their women, and, worst of all, claimed as a permanent right what they had been permitted as a temporary privilege. They had been granted the *use* of a certain part of land, land which, according to African custom and tradition, remained the property of the community as a whole. But they demanded private property and the right to dispose of the whole of the land—something completely foreign to this part of Africa. It was as though the guest to whom you had given shelter in a room of your house now demanded that he be master—and not only of his room but of the whole house!

The Boers never succeeded either in conquering the African people or in expelling them from the land. True, the Republican Volksraads passed *laws* declaring themselves owners of the Trans-

vaal and the Orange Free State, and in terms of these laws title deeds were issued to various van der Merwes, van Tonders and so on. But the Africans recognised neither Volksraad nor title deeds, and in practice they remained farming where they had farmed before, in more or less uneasy co-existence with their Boer neighbours.

Britain's capitalists wanted the fabulous Rand goldmines for themselves, so British imperialism conquered and annexed the Boer republics. But they left the Boers in secure possession of their "legal" title deeds and rights to "their" stolen land; indeed the process of land-speculation, of dispossession of Africans by force or by fraud from land-ownership, went on apace under British occupation and under the Union of South Africa, established in 1910 as an alliance of British and Boers for the common purpose of robbing and exploiting the majority of the people.

By 1913 the process had gone so far that only about 13 per cent. of the land remained legally under traditional African common land tenure. Then the Land Act of 1913 was passed which made it *illegal for Africans to own or even rent land anywhere in the country outside those few areas, which were designated as "Native Reserves"*.

It is those very "Reserves" which today form the so-called "Homelands" which Verwoerd tells the world he is "giving" to the Africans. *He is giving nothing at all.*

There is nothing new in the "frontiers" which the Nationalist government is fixing. The African people never recognised the laws and title deeds of the various colonialist authorities and parliaments in which they had no say and which legalised the theft of their land. They do not recognise either the right of the all-White Cape Town Parliament to perpetuate this theft by partition.

FALSE IN REALITY

Thus the claim of the White minority to monopolise South Africa is proved false in the light of historical events. It is equally false in practice.

Less than a third of the African population of this country lives or comes from the alleged "Bantu Homelands".

The remainder lives, was born, and works *either* in the cities which their hard work has helped so greatly to build up, *or on the farms of so-called White South Africa where their forefathers lived before them.*

It is true that, where their forefathers farmed under tribal tenure, their modern descendants farm as agricultural labourers for White

owners under terrible conditions, or as semi-feudal tenants, paying the White owners the tribute of labour-rent.

But the fact remains that throughout South Africa, both urban and rural, the indigenous African people form the majority of the basic permanent population, the backbone of the economy and the society.

It is this great majority of our people, over six million, whom Verwoerd's Bantustan plan will declare to be rightless foreigners and temporary residents.

Over vast stretches of our countryside, in the heart of the so-called "White" area, you can find thousands upon thousands of square miles populated exclusively by Africans, with never a White man to be seen. Certainly, some White farmer owns the title deeds. But he is not on his farm, he is living far away in some town, leaving the management of his farm to an African foreman. All he does is to pocket the profits.

In all the big South African cities live hundreds of thousands of Africans—workers, housewives, teachers, clergymen, small businessmen. They and their fathers were born and have lived all their lives in these cities. Most have never seen or been to the country, still less to the reserves.

But Verwoerd wants to tell them that they are "foreigners", citizens of some remote and unknown homeland.

One does not have to be a clever or a learned man to see that this is nonsense. Anyone who looks around South Africa and uses his ordinary common sense sees and knows it is nonsense.

All of South Africa is the African's Homeland.

PLAYING WITH DYNAMITE

From everything which we have written so far it will be plain that Verwoerd's "Bantu Homeland" Partition Plan is a gigantic swindle, intended only to deceive the people of this country and the outside world without making a single genuine concession.

However, it should not be overlooked that in putting forward this plan, Verwoerd is acting not out of strength but out of weakness; that he is embarking on a gamble which is fraught with danger for his whole regime.

He and his friends are in a very difficult position. They are faced with the anger and hostility of the great majority of the people in South Africa, in Africa as a whole, and throughout the world.

Some years ago when the European colonial powers like Britain and France were forced to make concessions in the form of political

independence to Asian and African countries, the South African Nationalist Party was bitterly critical of these concessions. They shouted that these powers were "betraying White civilisation" and "handing over power to barbarians". But now the Nationalists are attempting to get out of their difficulties by *pretending* to make the very concessions which they criticised. Without any sincerity or good intentions they are merely *playing* with the conceptions of self-determination and independence in the hope of satisfying their critics with empty gestures.

But the Nationalists have forgotten that independence and self-determination are very explosive concepts in Africa today. In playing with these concepts they are playing with dynamite.

When Britain and France began making paper concessions to colonial leaders they hoped that the new Constitutions would merely be a toy for them to play with, a facade behind which the colonialists would continue to wield all the levers of power. The franchise was restricted to chiefs and feudal elements under the sway of imperialism. All sorts of powers were "reserved" by the imperialists, such as foreign policy, defence, economic policy, etc.

But the colonialists quickly discovered they had started a process which could not be stopped. The former subject peoples used the concessions they had won as levers and springboards to demand and obtain full independence, democracy and sovereignty in every field of home and foreign policy. Each country which won independence made it its duty, through UNO and in many other ways, to help their brothers and sisters still under colonial slavery to win freedom. Under the watchful eye of the socialist countries, powerful friend and ally of national independence, the imperialists could not resist these pressures.

Verwoerd and his White Supremacy state are essentially in the same position as the European colonialists were, elsewhere in Africa, their position described in the new *Draft Programme of the South African Communist Party* as "colonialism of a special type".

The White colonialists of South Africa grossly underestimated the spirit and understanding of the rural people in the Reserves. Like the colonialists everywhere they are being forced to realise that they simply cannot play with the people's demands and aspirations for freedom.

RURAL REVOLT

Some years ago the government began to prepare the way for its conception of "Bantu Homelands" by introducing the Bantu

Authorities Act, which was held up as a means of restoring the authority of the traditional African tribal rulers, the chiefs. The chiefs were told that their powers were to be increased in the reserves, and extended to the urban areas through the appointment of their representatives or ambassadors in the towns through whom they would control workers of their language-group in each urban area.

At first, many of the chiefs took the government very seriously and believed that this would mean restoration of their sovereignty and a return to the position which existed before the arrival of the White man. But they were soon disillusioned. Chiefs and councillors who advanced demands in line with the restoration of sovereignty were deposed and exiled. The government made it clear that it had no intention of surrendering any of its powers, even to the chiefs and even in their own areas. What was required was that the chiefs and their councillors should carry out the wishes of the government and administer the hated laws of Dr. Verwoerd.

Traditionally, tribal chieftainship was not a despotic but a consultative system of rule with deep-rooted democratic elements. Ignoring these elements, the government demanded that the chiefs implement apartheid policies with the utmost brutality, riding rough-shod over the objections of the people. Those who refused were removed and punished.

The implementation of this concept called forth a wave of protest and resistance in the rural areas. Within three years of the introduction of Bantu Authorities there was unprecedented unrest and revolt in almost all the reserves. Outstanding battles were waged by the peasants in Zeerust, Sekukuniland, Zululand, Tembuland and Pondoland. In Zeerust, freedom fighters set up people's courts and sentenced traitors, and this example was followed in Tembuland and Zululand. As a result of these struggles, many peasant leaders were deported from home or sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. In Sekukuniland, in addition to many people being given long terms of imprisonment, sixteen, including one woman, were sentenced to death.

Particularly bitter struggles took place in *Pondoland*, a portion of the Transkei which retained independence until 1894, when the British government forced its annexation to the Cape by coercion and fraud. It was Pondoland perhaps more than any other area which made the government realise that its Bantu Authorities

scheme in its original form had collapsed and was unworkable. Here, the whole district of Bizana fell into the hands of the "*mountain men*"—the freedom fighters. They set up people's courts and imposed taxes on Black and White in the area.

The government resorted to extensive military actions. A state of emergency—which has still not been lifted—was declared over the whole area of the Transkeian Territory. More than 5,000 peasant leaders were arrested and detained. Hundreds were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Thirty-two leaders were sentenced to death, of whom 11 have already been hanged while the others are still in the condemned cells.

This was the background for the great Maritzburg Conference of 1961 where, led by the revolutionary people's leader Nelson Mandela, 1500 delegates pledged themselves to fight to the end to compel the Nationalist regime to submit to the will of the people; for a constituent assembly to promulgate a democratic, non-racial constitution for South Africa.

It was also the background for Verwoerd's greatest gamble to prolong White rule through partition, and in the first place, through the promise of self-government for the Transkei. "The Transkei is the first Bantu homeland which, in accordance with the principle of self-determination, approached the Government of the Republic to aid it on the road to independence," declared Dr. Verwoerd.

THE TRANSKEI

Indeed, the Transkei, the largest by far of the proposed "Homelands", is the crucial area in the Nationalists' partition plan. It extends from the Great Kei River in the Cape Province to the southern boundary of Natal, and comprises an area of 4,944,517 morgen. Its population is variously estimated at 1½ to 2 million.

The proposed self-government scheme for the Transkei is described in what is known as the "Matanzima Constitution", supposedly drawn up by the 27 members of the Recess Committee of the Territorial Authority of Transkeian chiefs. But even the most naive know that the constitution is the work of Dr. Verwoerd and his right-hand man, de Wet Nel, presented by their stooge Matanzima to the Recess Committee and the Territorial Authority.

The constitution provides for a Legislative Assembly of 109 members; 45 elected, 64 nominated chiefs. It proposes a cabinet of 9 headed by a chief minister and providing for portfolios of justice,

interior, finance, land, agriculture and forestry, education, welfare and labour.

Laws passed by this parliament will be subject to veto by the Republic, in terms of the following clause:

“All laws passed by the Transkeian Legislative Assembly shall be submitted through the offices of the Commissioner-General for the Transkei to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development for submission to the State President who shall have the power to assent thereto or refer it back to the Legislative Assembly.”

The 20,000 Whites who live in the territory will *not* be subject to the Transkei Parliament. The Coloured population will be uprooted by the government and ejected, although the Africans welcome the Coloured people as their brothers and would like them to stay in the Transkei. A number of small towns and villages, such as McClear, Elliot, Mount Currie, though they fall geographically within the Transkei, are to be excluded as “White areas”, and there is even talk of excluding Port St. John’s, the only place on the coastline which has a small, rudimentary harbour.

The terms of this “Matanzima Constitution” make it clear that what was being proposed was very limited in extent; the “parliament” would be neither representative nor sovereign; it is a travesty of self-rule. The constitution was not submitted to the people or their elected representatives, but to the “Territorial Authority”, consisting of government-approved chiefs.

Every precaution was taken by the government to see that the constitution had a smooth passage. The debating chamber at Umtata was surrounded by armed police and special branch men. The whole atmosphere was saturated with intimidation and threats. And this, be it remembered, in a Transkei where a “state of emergency” is still in full force, where thousands languish in jail without charge or trial, where death sentences have been passed for political reasons, where the huts of peasants who dare question pro-government chiefs are burnt to the ground, where terror reigns.

All this did not prevent Verwoerd’s spokesman Kaiser Mantanzima being powerfully and courageously challenged by the important paramount chief Sabata Dalindyebo and others. Chief Sabata has become a popular hero in the Transkei because he spoke out for a Constitution which would provide for genuine democracy and genuine independence. He demanded that the Whites of the Transkei be both given the franchise and subjected to the laws of the parliament, which should be a sovereign authority.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE PEOPLE

The stand of Chief Sabata was fully supported at meetings of his Tembu people, and there can be no doubt that this fully reflects the attitude of most of the people who live in the Reserves.

It is important to understand this attitude and the reasons for it. The people of the Transkei, the Ciskei and other proposed "homelands" are not cutting themselves off from the rest of South Africa and their brothers and sisters living on White-owned farms and in the cities. They are not agreeing—and they have no right or mandate to agree, even if they wanted to—to the partitioning of our country or to the territorial frontiers of the "Bantustans".

But what the Reserves people are doing—and in a most practical way—is to *call Verwoerd's bluff*. The government tells them its new policy is "*Uzibuse*" (rule yourselves). And for the people concerned, groaning under the intolerable oppression of Nationalist laws and government-appointed dictators, White and African, this seems to offer a chance to get rid of some of the things they hate most—the army of police and Bantu Affairs Department officials, the pass laws, Bantu Education, and other hated aspects of apartheid. *Uzibuse* can only have meaning if it implies "We shall not be ruled by the Verwoerd Government".

That is why, more and more, the people (even while rejecting the absurd territorial limits prescribed by the government, and rejecting indeed the whole principle of partition) are more and more demanding that the parliaments and constitutions promised by Verwoerd shall not be mere dummies, but that they shall provide *all the attributes and characteristics of genuine independence*.

- These attributes and characteristics include:
- the right to choose their own leaders, not stooges of Verwoerd;
 - the right to make their own laws, regardless of the laws of the Republic, and without any veto powers by Verwoerd's government;
 - the right to their own independent state services, including police, armed forces, etc.;
 - the right to an independent foreign policy, to representation at UNO, to enter diplomatic relations for foreign countries and seek aid abroad, and enter alliances and agreements;
 - the right to secede from the Republic or to join with any other country or group of countries.

It may be said that Verwoerd and his Nationalist Party will never agree to such demands. They may have no choice. They did not promise independence and self-government to the Transkei because

they wanted to do so, but because they were forced into this position by the pressure of the people's struggle in South Africa and the pressure of world opinion. The same pressures will force them into honouring their false promises if the people maintain a united and courageous struggle for their demands.

The government cannot rely on the obedience of stooge chiefs, any more than those chiefs can rely forever on the support and effective backing of the government. The chiefs are subjected to constant pressure from the people among whom they live and move, while Pretoria is thousands of miles away.

Once the people decide to call Verwoerd's bluff, once they move into organised and militant struggle for genuine independent self-government, there is nothing that can stop them gaining their demands.

THE GOVERNMENT HAS NO REPLY

This is the terrible dilemma into which Verwoerd's "clever" scheme of partition has thrust him and his government. They have offered this scheme as an *alternative* to the people's demand for a democratic, non-racial, united South Africa. True, they meant even this "concession" only as a bluff. But once their bluff is called, once the people win their demands for the ending of emergency and the holding of democratic elections for a sovereign local government, there is nothing they can do to stop it.

The Nationalists are aware of this danger. That is why they are building up their military forces to the utmost. But they cannot enforce a military solution of this problem. If, having promised independence before the watchful eyes of the whole world, they then attempt forcibly to invade the Transkei or any other territory, they will invite international intervention on a scale which will undoubtedly not only lead to rapid and complete military defeat, but also spark off a revolution which will bring the whole structure of White colonialism in South Africa toppling to destruction.

There is no contradiction between the struggle of the people for genuine rights of independence and self-government, even in the mean areas set aside for them by the Nationalists, and the overall struggle of all the South African people for the overthrow of Nationalist rule and the establishment of a united, democratic South Africa, independent of White colonialism.

It is true that, seen in the abstract as a long-term solution, "independence" for the so-called "Homelands", these poverty-stricken distressed areas, is a mirage. But seen in the context of *struggle*, from the *revolutionary* point of view, as part of the overall struggle

of the African people, merging with and inseparable from that struggle—then the fight of the Transkeian and other rural people for independent self-government is filled with dynamic potential.

Even if all the demands referred to above were unwillingly conceded by the Nationalist Party government, it may be said, the people of South Africa, or even of the Transkei and other "Homelands" would not have solved their vital problems or achieved their fundamental demands and aspirations. That is true. We demand all of South Africa for all of its people—no less. And we shall never rest satisfied until we have won it.

But properly understood the winning of democratic self-government in the Transkei and other areas is a step forward in the general struggle of which it is a part; the liberation of even a small island of territory from the grasp and domination of White colonialism is an advance in the long, drawn-out battle to liberate the whole; a springboard for further advances.

The apparent contradiction is an apt illustration of the dialectics of history. The partition plan of the Nationalist Party is designed to divide the people and to perpetuate White domination. But it will end, instead, with the unity of South Africa and the downfall of minority White domination.

The people will achieve that end, not by supporting the Nationalists and their partition plans, but by fighting them with all their might.

AFRICA LOOKS AT THE COMMON MARKET

By Jalang Kwena

“Of course *temporary* agreements between capitalists and between the powers are possible. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between the *European* capitalists . . . but what for? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty *against* Japan and America. . . .”

V. I. Lenin: “The National-Liberation Movement in the East.”

WHAT IS “EUROMART”?

The European Common Market is an economic and trading bloc of the major west European capitalist powers, set up with the blessing of the United States of America. At present it excludes Britain—which is now negotiating to enter it—but nevertheless it comprises a big land area with a combined population of 170 million souls.

The Market was established by the European Economic Community, an economic and trading association consisting of six European nations: West Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. The Community and its Market were set up under the Treaty of Paris, April 1951, and the Treaty of Rome, 25th March, 1957.

The structure of the European Common Market consists of the following organs:

- **An assembly composed of 142 members from the Parliaments of the six countries constituting the Market.** “Its functions are to exercise a general control over the work of the Community, based on the annual report submitted by the commission.”¹

- **A Council of Ministers consisting of one member from each of the Six Governments.** The Council is “responsible for co-ordinating the economic policies of the Community and for ensuring that decisions are carried out in each country. . . . It acts mainly on proposals submitted to it by the European Commission.”¹ It can only reject, approve or amend the Commission’s proposals by unanimous vote.
- **“A European Commission—the executive organ of the Community—composed of nine independent members appointed by the governments of the Six.”**¹ It has wide powers in the running of the Community. It issues decisions binding on the parties concerned, “regulations, the application of which is compulsory in all member States,” directives and recommendations which are necessarily binding. “All its decisions are taken by a simple majority.”
- **“A court of justice composed of seven judges.”** The court serves the Common Market, Euratom and the Coal and Steel Community. . . . It gives rulings on violations of the Treaty of Rome or abuse of discretionary powers. Its rulings are binding on member Governments.
- **An economic and social committee** consisting of all sections of economic and social life within the Community such as employers’ organisations, trade unions and others. Its function is merely consultative.
- **A European Investment Bank.** “It finances projects designed to assist the less developed areas of the Community. It also promotes modernisation and nationalisation schemes which would be beyond the means of individual members.”
- **An Overseas Development Fund.** The fund “finances schemes for improved education, public health and transport and industrial development in the overseas territories of member-countries. Main contributors are France and the Federal German Republic. . . . It is of special interest to Africa.”
- **A European social fund.** This fund “finances projects designed to facilitate the employment and mobility of labour within the Community. It irons out any dislocation and hardships caused to employers and employees by the reorganisation of industry under the overall plan for economic efficiency of the Community as a whole.”

WHY THE COMMON MARKET?

Europe was in an appalling state when the German armed forces collapsed at the end of the Second World War. With many of her cities and towns destroyed or badly damaged, her economy shattered, her political and social institutions shaken to their foundations, her peoples underfed, scantily clothed and poorly housed, and demanding justice, peace and security, Western Europe faced a social and political crisis of the greatest magnitude.

To add to this crisis, the West European monopoly capitalists were finding it more difficult to collect the vast sums in tribute and loot which they had been accustomed to extract from their "possessions"—the densely populated countries of Asia and Africa which they had shared out as colonies. Vigorous national liberation movements were leading the people of these countries in revolt for national independence; to maintain the colonial system involved costly, unpopular and unprofitable military adventures, ending in one defeat and retreat after another.

Historically what should have happened in that situation was that the working class should have seized political power and established peoples' governments, as was the case in the eastern part of Europe and also in many countries of Asia.

The revolutions did not take place because of several reasons among which are—

- the destruction by Hitler's Gestapo of working class political and trade union organisations;
- the counter-revolutionary policies pursued by American imperialists who instituted the so-called Marshall Aid and poured enormous sums of money into all the countries of Western Europe in the form of loans, aid and investments, opening the way to political interference in the internal affairs of these countries, and to intrigues as well as military occupation; and
- the actions of the national bourgeoisie at the instigations of and heavily backed by the American ruling class and Government.

But economically the position remained more or less stagnant and the threat of social revolutions ever present. European recovery and the prevention of revolution became the major problems for the imperialist powers. It was quite obvious that something radical had to be done if capitalist Europe was to regain its past greatness. Bourgeois economists and theoreticians agreed that the solution lay in the economic and political unity.

"Political unification seemed out of the question in the days

immediately following victory, when passions ran high and bitter memories ruled the thoughts of men. But economic unification seemed not only plausible but indispensable. How else could Europe hope to compete with those two economic giants—Soviet Russia and the United States of America?”¹

In pursuance of this objective many feverish attempts were made such as the Council of Europe, the European Payments Union, the Western European Union, the Free Trade Area, the North Atlantic Alliance, the European Defence Community, the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, the European Conference of Ministers of Transport, the General Agreement on Tariff and Trade, etc. But none of these proved satisfactory. Eventually the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Atomic Energy Community, the European Economic Community and the European Common Market were organised by six nations under the leadership of West Germany and France.

Britain could not join this bloc on her own terms. Instead, she was forced to organise her own rival community, the “European Free Trade Association” consisting of Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland. From the point of view of importance as a market, this group with a population of 89 million (37 million excluding Britain) could not be compared with that of the European Economic Community. Britain went ahead nevertheless and organised it to use as a lever in her negotiations with the leaders of the European Economic Community. Beyond this, the “European Free Trade Association” was as good as dead even before it came into being. British imperialism stood to lose in the capitalist rat-race, as against the superior economic resources of the combined West European industrial powers. That is why Britain did her best to sabotage the Euromart plan.

The question remains: why, then, did Britain not join “the Six” from the start? The answer must be sought in the essential fact that Britain remains by far the greatest colony-owner of all the European powers. The conceding of formal political independence to huge Asian and African territories, which formerly formed part of the British Empire, has not destroyed the essence of the *economic* relationship between those countries which have now been “promoted” to “partnership in the Commonwealth”. It is an uneven partnership by which British imperialism continues to plunder the people and the resources of less developed nations.

But the essence of the European Common Market scheme is that

the countries involved have each agreed to give up their "special" position in relation to "their own" colonies and former colonies—in order that they may more efficiently and profitably exploit these countries collectively.

With brilliant foresight, V. I. Lenin pin-pointed *exactly* this aspect as long ago as 1915, when dealing with the plan for a "United States of Europe"—an uncannily similar forerunner of "Euromart".

"*A United States of Europe under capitalism,*" he wrote, "*is tantamount to an agreement to divide up the colonies.*"²

It was Britain's reluctance to sacrifice her special position in regard to the "Commonwealth"—i.e. to share her neo-colonialist plunder—which led to British hostility to Euromart.

Only now, when the obvious fact is that she is being outstripped, out-produced and outsold by her European rivals, is Britain reluctantly being compelled to drop her opposition and come in—on the principle "if you can't lick them, join them!"

Will she be allowed in? Yes she will—but the price is steep. It amounts to the final liquidation *as such* of the British Commonwealth and Empire. For that there should be no tears shed, either in the victim-countries of the Commonwealth or among the British workers and democrats. But the plan is *not* to end colonial exploitation; it is rather to intensify it; to replace the plundering of Africa and Asia by a single imperialist country with the collective plunder of a whole gang of bloodsuckers.

HOW IT WORKS

The essence of the publicly-expressed theory behind Euromart and the European Economic Community is, roughly, as follows: Big states are more efficient and powerful than small ones. But it is impossible at present to achieve political union in Europe. Therefore let us, at any rate, achieve an economic "United States of Europe". To that end, it has been agreed between "the Six":

To abolish "the obstacles to the free movement of persons, services and capital."³

To abolish quantitative restrictions on imports and exports and all measures with equivalent effect.³

"To do away with all customs duties and other barriers to trade as between themselves as a bloc."¹

"To establish a common external tariff (as low as possible) between themselves and the outside world."¹

To devise "common policies for agriculture, for transport, for labour mobility, and for important sectors of the economy."¹

To establish "common institutions for economic development."¹

To do everything necessary to enable the European Economic Community to move "forward as a compact bloc of nations ready to meet all political and economic challenges from whatever source."¹

"To bring into association with the Community the non-European countries and territories which have special relations with Belgium, France, Italy and the Netherlands."¹

To delegate "many of their powers to a commission, which, under the Treaty, enjoys a considerable measure of independence and can take decisions and issue regulations which are binding on the signatory governments."¹ Members of the Community have agreed to subordinate their sovereignty to the interests and requirements of the Community as a whole.

To achieve these objectives the E.E.C. has to engage in all types of economic and political activities including trade agreements, financial transactions, the creation of commercial mergers, business tie-ups, monopolies and cartels, bribery and blackmail, and at times, military actions.

AN ASSOCIATION OF MONOPOLISTS

In this article we are more concerned with the policy of the European Economic Community towards the under-developed countries, particularly towards the independent African States, and the effects of that policy upon the economies of these countries and states. As far as Europe is concerned we do not intend to deal with many of the objectives which the Community set itself to attain. We may, however, make certain observations:

This so-called European Economic Community is not an organisation formed by the general populations of the six countries of the European Common Market—the working classes, intellectuals, middle classes, peasants, farmers and lower levels of the capitalist class. It is *an association of big mine owners, industrialists, businessmen and bankers of the six nations*. It is only they who have agreed to combine for the purpose of pooling their own financial resources, and the material and human resources of their countries in order to amass more wealth for themselves.

Under the pretext of economic planning, efficiency and raising labour productivity, they are introducing automation, retrenching

staff, eliminating small independent undertakings and businesses, and *creating giant industrial, commercial and transport combines and monopolies.*

Though, on the face of it France, West Germany and Italy are the joint leaders or three equal senior partners, in fact the real leaders of the European Economic Community are the big industrialists—bankers—militarists of *West Germany*. They have set themselves the task of achieving what Germany failed to achieve in two destructive world wars—*economic and political domination of Western Europe*, exploitation of the wealth and peoples of the less developed countries, and suppression of working class political and trade union organisations.

West Germany today is not only an expression of revived German imperialism, and of all those sinister forces which unleashed two world wars and the monster of Hitlerism. It is also the spearhead and instrument of the most reactionary elements of United States imperialism, heavily backed and penetrated by American monopolists in their reckless plans to plunge the world into a third war of unimaginable frightfulness.

To the masses of people in the countries of the Six, the European Economic Community means economic ruin, unemployment and lower standards of living.

In the process of economic competition and concentration large firms with huge financial resources fare better than small ones. Less efficient undertakings are absorbed by bigger ones. Efficiency becomes the acid test of survival. "Survival in some cases may come through specialisation. In others it may come through tie-ups"¹ with other firms in the Common Market. "Rationalisation through mergers and take-overs has produced some giants in the industrial world,"¹ such as August Thyssen, Alfred Krupp, Siemens, Badische, Bayer and Hoechst in West Germany. The merger of four steel companies in France has produced the "Compagnie des Ateliers et Forges de la Loire", a formidable power in steel. "Two groups," the Rhône-Poulanc-Celtex group and the Pechinery-Saint-Gobian group, "dominate the French chemical industry where considerable concentration was needed and has taken place in order to face increased competition."¹

"Commercial tie-ups between French and Belgian firms and between Belgian and Dutch firms have been particularly noticeable in chain-stores and 'supermarkets'."¹ Other com-

bines have been formed in other branches of industry in all the countries of the Common Market. "On the air side, five major European companies *have formed an 'Air Union'*. They are Alitalia of Italy, Lufthansa of Germany, Sabena of Belgium and Air France and T.A.I. both of France. This 'Union' goes far beyond the pooling of agreements which have long been a feature of international air transport. It entails the pooling of output and the sharing of profits according to agreed quotas, the joint purchase of aircraft, joint overhaul and maintenance arrangements, and, most important of all, joint negotiation of international traffic rights and fare adjustments."¹

The European Economic Community is itself an efficient body run by men who know what they want, and will leave no stone unturned and spare no money in their efforts to get it. Apart from the private financial resources of its members and the strong backing of the United States of America, the Community has the capital of the European Investment Bank, something like 1,000 million American dollars, with which to finance its development schemes and projects in Europe.

Yet the Community faces many fundamental and difficult problems, problems which in the long run will prove its undoing. Some of these are:

The basic question of the very essence and character of capitalism, the chaotic and competitive nature of the system, its inherent incapability of proper planning.

The glaring contradiction between the social nature of production and the private appropriation of the products, the utter injustice of it all.

That in the long run the making of "European industry more efficient and therefore competitive" will not be beneficial to the population. It will only increase the insatiate demand everywhere within the Market for the lowering of costs: cheap labour, cheap power, cheap water, cheap rents, cheap raw materials, cheap transport and cheap rates and taxes. And with labour now more or less conscripted, workers will be called upon to give up the "luxury" of collective bargaining, go-slows and strikes.

The complicated issue of agricultural products from each of the Common Market countries, and from other countries of Europe, as well as those from the countries of Africa, Asia, Latin America and North America.

The free entry of goods into the limited market will lead to big influx into and the flooding of the market, and sooner or later a saturation point will be reached, raising again the demand for more and more markets.

The economic and industrial development of the under-developed countries.

Leftward trends in countries of the Common Market or associated with the Common Market.

AFRICA AND "THE WEST"

Capitalists and imperialists regard all undeveloped, under-developed and dependent countries, territories and areas as important spheres for capital investment, for economic exploitation and as markets for manufactured goods. Though this is the general position, those of Africa and the continent of Africa itself are today regarded and treated as of special importance. That this is so may be seen from the policies of the United States of America and of the European Economic Community. The United States which possesses no territories in Africa, has already invested close on \$1,000 million in the continent since the end of the Second World War, and important representatives of the American Government and of big business concerns and financial institutions are in and out of the continent, promising all kinds of aid wherever they go.

The United States is the leader of a conglomerate bloc of Western capitalist and imperialist powers which calls itself "the free world". America is the most highly industrialised and economically developed country in the world, with powerful financial resources and huge investments throughout the capitalist and colonial world, as well as vast military potential. To safeguard her investments and the unjust system of national and class oppression, plunder and exploitation, to check the advance of the colonial and socialist revolutions she has assumed the unenviable role of defender of the interests of the bloc and of all reactionary and oppressive social institutions and regimes everywhere in the world. In this role she has built military bases in many parts of the world, and she is using her enormous wealth lavishly to get weaker nations and young independent states to join her in her aggressive schemes against socialist and progressive countries.

“AID” TO AFRICA

Europe has for many years been the centre of trade from which came industrial goods of all kinds and finance. The European Economic Community, apart from its other activities, aims at retaining this position. A fund of \$581,250,000 to which West Germany and France contributed \$200 million each; Belgium and the Netherlands \$70 million each, Italy \$40 million and Luxembourg \$1,250,000, was established in 1958. The fund “is being used for technical and economic aid to Africa”.¹

Representatives from some 16 African States associated with the E.E.C. met in 1961 to lay down what they thought should govern relations between them and the Community. They demanded that—

“No political strings be attached to technical and economic aid from Europe;

“There should be a joint European-African parliamentary body;

“African States should be directly represented at the seat of the European institutions;

“There should be guaranteed prices and markets for their goods;

“Technical assistance should aim primarily at training African technicians and experts;

“Financial aid should be in the shape not only of grants but of long-term loans;

“Stabilisation funds should be created to guarantee prices for certain raw materials exported to Europe (mainly bananas, cocoa, coffee, ginned cotton, ground-nuts, ground-nut oil, palm oil, palm kernel, sisal, phosphates, copper, manganese and chrome ores and concentrates).”¹

It is stated that the E.E.C. fully recognises the fact “that Africa has special needs and that the full trade liberalisation measures of the Common Market could not apply to the African States without causing a considerable upheaval and in some cases considerable hardship and damage to developing industries”.¹ We are however told that the present policy of the Community “is based on price support and planned markets”; that tariffs on African goods have been reduced. But that this “may not last long because Holland and West Germany are against preferences for African goods which discriminate against goods from elsewhere and particularly Latin America. Brazilian coffee is a case in point”.¹

It is interesting to note the types of “aid” given by 1961 and the

amount under each head. Altogether \$129 million was spent as follows:

	<i>In thousands of U.S. dollars</i>
Education, professional training and welfare	16,620
Health Services	18,819
Water purification and irrigation schemes	3,609
Town planning	7,122
Welfare and social research	11,457
Roads, ports and railways	49,487
Agriculture, stock-breeding and fisheries	21,388
Industrial and agricultural research	504
	129,006 ¹

In the first place \$129 million had been paid out from the Fund by 1961, that is in its fourth year of its existence. When divided among 16 States each received about \$8 million, a ridiculously small sum for a state. In the second place the allocation is silent on the most important question of industrial construction and, on the related issue, "industrial and agricultural research", the 16 countries together received an insignificant sum of \$504,000! Of course the amount of "aid" the Community gives is not determined by or dependent on the needs, requirements or size of the country and its population, but on how reactionary, and therefore subservient, its government is.

The "associate" governments wanted to be directly represented in the governing councils of the European Economic Community but were instead told to form their own "Common African Market" or "African Malagasy Union"⁴ which could have its own customs union. They are, however, not allowed to decide "questions relating to the scale of goods in the Common Market countries. At the same time the monopolies of the European Economic Community countries are granted substantial privileges in the sale of goods, the purchase of raw materials and investment of capital in Africa".⁴

While the demand for the stabilisation of prices of raw materials remains unsettled, the E.E.C. is busy exerting pressure on its Associate African members to get them to guarantee investments "against political risk"⁴ and to grant to citizens of its countries the right to settle and trade or work freely in any country of the Associated African States.

It should be quite obvious from what we have already stated so far that there is great danger in any young independent state associating with the European Economic Community. It is encourag-

ing indeed to see that, in spite of some attractive and enticing inducements, bribes, economic and financial pressures and blackmail, several African independent States have refused to associate with the E.E.C. It is likely that many more will also refuse, and that even those which have been tricked into it will soon withdraw from the swindle.

PROBLEMS OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

National oppression—with its deprivation of political rights, denial of economic opportunities, its inequality before the law, its social discrimination, its untold and unnecessary human indignities, sufferings and wastage—is a most humiliating and soul-eroding thing. All oppressed people yearn for national emancipation and independence. They want to be their own masters, to determine their lives and destinies. Those who risked their lives and their all did so in the hope that national liberation and freedom, the people's own rule would be different. The people fought for freedom and national independence because they honestly and sincerely believed that it would radically change living conditions, that it would usher in a new era of prosperity and happiness. If national liberation and independence should merely mean that it replaces the expelled imperialists and colonialists by national exploiters and oppressors, then a question may well be asked: "Was it worth all the anxieties, suffering and sacrifices?" It is very important and essential that national liberation and independence should be made what it really should be. It must fulfil the hopes, expectations and aspirations of the people, it must bring new life to the masses of starving workers and peasants.

Naturally, to be able to do that the new independent states must have the means, they must have sufficient economic and financial resources, as well as the technical know-how. Yet it is notoriously true that practically all African independent states suffer from many weaknesses, some of them very serious indeed. Here are a few of these weaknesses:

Under-developed economy;

Lack of proper knowledge of their mineral and other natural resources;

Shortage of capital;

Not enough trained personnel;

Low productivity;

Undeveloped internal markets; and

Unprogressive social and psychological outlook.

A question may be asked whether, under these circumstances, these poor independent states can do anything except ingratiate themselves with their former masters and accept gratefully any financial and technical help the masters are willing and prepared to give? This line of thinking is very dangerous and should be emphatically rejected. Independent states face a fundamental problem of twofold nature: how to strengthen their national independence and how to abolish backwardness and exorcise the spectre of hunger from their lands and among their peoples. It will therefore not help to look to the imperialists for assistance. Imperialist powers have never been and are not interested in the development of former colonial and dependent countries. They have evil designs upon these countries. Their biggest headache is how to retain Africa, Asia and Latin America as markets for their manufactured goods, sources of raw materials and cheap labour and as areas of capital investments. Economic advancement of the under-developed countries runs counter to their wishes and interests.

However, what the under-developed and dependent countries need to strengthen and ensure their independence is large-scale industrial and agricultural development which will enable each of them to provide for itself and free its economy from the domination of alien and hostile economies which have hitherto subjected it to fluctuations resulting from conditions of supply and demand. Each independent state, especially in Africa, should borrow money and get technical assistance from whichever country is prepared to give technical assistance and loans at reasonable rates of interest, without any political, economic or military strings attached, and embark upon a bold and imaginative programme of

- surveying and tapping its mineral and other natural resources;
- large-scale industrial construction and electrification;
- training skilled personnel to man and manage different branches of the economy;
- mechanising agriculture;
- establishing a high tariff to protect the young national industries and trade;
- modernising transport and communications;
- raising standards of living and, thus, develop the internal market; and raising productivity.

The question will be asked: "Under which social system is this gigantic and revolutionary task to be carried out?" This is, of course, purely a matter for each state or people concerned. There

are two ways to choose from, two ways open to them: the capitalist way and the socialist way. But capitalism has already had its day and it is now in the twilight of its existence. What is more important and significant is the fact that capitalism failed to satisfy the elementary needs of the majority of members of its society . . . even during its heyday. On the other hand socialism is at the threshold of its life, but has already solved many economic and social problems which hitherto appeared to be "the curse of God" and beyond human ingenuity. It has also achieved miracles in the field of science and technology. Whether people want to admit the fact or not, socialism is beyond doubt the system of tomorrow, the forerunner of our future society.

THE CHALLENGE OF COMMUNISM

In addition Africa has also become the show and testing ground for ideologies, for economic, social and political systems: socialism and communism on one hand, capitalism and imperialism on the other. It is very essential and interesting that we should know what the differences are between these social systems. We should know the policies, motives and ultimate objectives of each in connection with the peoples of the undeveloped, under-developed and dependent countries, territories or areas. We should know what each system has to offer to the millions of suffering humanity.

Socialism is the first stage of the Communist society. Communism is the most advanced and humane society that mankind has so far thought of. It is a society in which the political ideas and principles of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" will be fully and truly implemented; where everything will be done in the interest of man and his material and cultural advancement; where national hatred, race discrimination and wars will be unknown and man will live in peace, plenty and happiness. Under Communism the basis and principles of distribution of the necessities of life will be "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". But Communism can only be established when the material basis for it exists and when man has been ideologically prepared for it. With this end in view socialism sets itself the fundamental tasks of—

laying the foundation for the Communist society by creating the material wealth necessary and essential for that kind of society;
and
preparing the people ideologically and psychologically.

Under socialism the means of production—the land, industry, banks, transport and the means of communication—are made social property or the property of society. Socialism is a system of planned economy. First the mineral resources and natural formation of the country concerned are properly and fully surveyed and tapped, and then the State undertakes an economic programme of all round large scale industrialisation in which special attention is paid to heavy industries such as: mining, iron and steel mills, engineering, chemical firms and hydro-electric dams, and to the development of agriculture. By abolishing private property in the means of production a fatal blow is struck at the root of a system of exploitation of man by man. Thus ending the age-old double oppression of economic exploitation and political rightlessness and domination suffered by the working classes and oppressed nations. With the end of private ownership of the means of production and the profit motive in production, will end the urge and demand for foreign markets, acquisition of other people's territories, subjugation and domination of other nations and peoples which acts are the causes of competition, frictions, strifes and wars, as well as hatred among nations and peoples.

The interest which the socialist countries have taken in and the assistance they have given and are giving to the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, therefore, are not motivated by the desires to exploit or colonise these countries. This technical and financial assistance is actuated by the desire to free the economies of these countries from the economic and financial stranglehold of imperialism, to set their peoples on the road to progress and complete and full national independence and freedom.

Capitalist imperialism on the other hand regards, treats and wants these countries and territories as markets for its manufactured goods; sources of raw materials and cheap labour, and fields for capital investments. The prosperity of all imperialist countries depends largely on the exploitation of economically less developed countries and territories. So, it is only natural and understandable for all of them to want to keep this source of prosperity. Of course the best way of ensuring the continuance of such a state of affairs is to keep the local population ignorant, poor and backward. In addition the imperialists also want the people of these countries as allies, allies *not* in the sacred and noble struggle for their economic progress and cultural advancement, but as allies in the fight against their own interests. Through misrepresentations, suppression of the truth and fraudulent propaganda the imperialists

sometimes succeed in getting people on their side to block the progress of their countries, to frustrate policies which would lead to industrial construction, social progress and well-being of the population.

Until the end of the last World War many Western powers owned large areas of colonial possessions and held in subjection millions of people of different national and racial groups. Britain and France owned huge empires in Asia, Africa and the West Indies, while the United States held South America in a state of vassalage. They invested some money to extract required raw materials, built few factories and workshops and the inadequate services which existed in those countries. In some countries larger quantities of gold and diamonds were extracted and sent to Europe as profits.

If the leaders of the new independent African States have taken the trouble to study the modern history of relations between the Western imperialist powers and the small independent countries, they will understand that there can be no real political independence without economic independence, that independence without a solid industrial and economic foundation is nothing but a sham which, as in the South American Republics, Portugal, Spain and the potentates of western Asia, soon degenerates to the position of dependency ruled by reactionary and corrupt military cliques whose policies are dictated and controlled by some foreign imperialist power; while the rulers of these countries live in abundance, millions of their countrymen remain backward and live under conditions of extreme poverty.

From the point of view of the African states the European Common Market is a trap. It is designed to perpetuate their economic dependence, to subordinate their needs for rapid industrial development to the needs of American and European capitalists to retain Africa as a source of cheap raw materials extracted by cheap labour. It is a device to replace existing imperialist relationships with "collective imperialism"—that is the *joint* robbery of Africa by the joint efforts of the imperialist powers. It is a device to draw African countries in, as junior partners of the "West" in the cold war against socialism, which is at the same time a war against national independence of Africa and Asia.

Thus the proposal that the African countries should join the European Common Market is one which should be rejected out-

right by all patriotic Africans. Those leaders who accept should be repudiated by their people.

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LAND ROBBERY IN KENYA

by Idris Cox

Idris Cox is a leading member of the Communist Party of Great Britain. He has made a study of African problems and has written this article specially for "The African Communist".

October 20 this year is the tenth anniversary of the "state of emergency" declared in Kenya by the British Government. In the course of three years (1952-55) nearly 14,000 Africans were killed, more than 82,000 detained in concentration camps, and over 1,000,000 put under curfew in 845 villages surrounded by barbed wire.

The "emergency" was seized upon as a pretext to rob the Africans of more land. Trade unions were illegal, wages and conditions were lowered, and unemployment increased. The rapid growth in the number of African landless families brought more hunger and poverty. The situation in October 1955 was far worse than in October 1952.

After the armed struggle ended early in 1956 the "state of emergency" still continued until January 1960. This was to enable British colonial rule to find new methods to maintain its grip in face of the inevitable advance towards African majority rule. Africans are now the majority in the Legislative Council, and it was expected that Kenya would achieve political independence this year. This would have been the first major step towards solving the land problem, transforming Kenya's backward economy, and raising living standards. But the last act of Mr. Reginald Maudling as Colonial Secretary, after his visit to Kenya early in July, was to destroy these hopes.

On his return to London Mr. Maudling declared that new elections in Kenya would be postponed to 1963. After a period of internal self-government (with real power in the hands of the British Governor) there would be still another constitutional conference. This time-table means that the British Government do not intend to concede independence until 1964.

The second blow delivered by Mr. Maudling was to announce a new plan to purchase one million acres of European mixed-farming land in the White Highlands in the next four years. It is claimed this would provide for 70,000 African landless families. One is entitled to doubt this claim, for the purchase of 250,000 acres in 1962 is not expected to provide for more than 5,000 African families. At this rate only 20,000 will be provided for. Moreover, the existing "land reform" schemes yield a cash income of only £40 a year for the African farmers.

Equally serious is the fact that this free hand-out to the European settlers is the first charge on available funds from the British Government for the economic development of Kenya, so urgently needed to transform its backward economy and raise living standards. As usual the interests of the white settlers come before those of the Africans.

HOW ROBBERY BEGAN

Land robbery is one of the most shameful and sordid aspects of British colonial history. It started with the European annexation of African land sixty years ago. It is now ending with the handing out of huge fortunes to the European robbers at the expense of the African people. So it is worth while at this stage to give a brief history of the colossal land robbery of Kenya.

The British annexation of Kenya took place in 1892. It was done mainly through the medium of the British East Africa Company (later to become the East Africa Syndicate), a vast trading monopoly which was sanctified by a Royal Charter. Within ten years began the process of robbing the Africans of their land—chiefly the Kikuyu people.

The first Crown Lands Ordinance was in 1902, and in the next thirteen years more than 6,000 square miles (nearly four million acres) of Kenya's best land was taken over by the British Government and handed over to British firms and white settlers. By 1934 no less than 16,700 square miles (nearly eleven million acres) had been taken from the Africans and reserved for Europeans—more than half the first-class land in Kenya. But only ten per cent is being cultivated!

Total land area in Kenya is 225,000 square miles. More than 150,000 square miles is described as "unsuitable" for agriculture, being mainly waterless and semi-desert. Apart from this there are still over 5,000 square miles of "Crown Land", not divided either among Africans or Europeans.

Of the remainder, 16,700 square miles are reserved for 2,800 Europeans in the White Highlands, and 52,000 square miles of poorer land for the Africans. For nearly 7,000,000 Africans it works out at one square mile for every 134 Africans. In the White Highlands about 6,000 square miles are mainly forest reserve, not suitable for farming land, but in which Europeans have grazing and timber rights. The remaining farm land of 10,645 square miles (nearly seven million acres) works out at $3\frac{1}{2}$ square miles (or 2,240 acres) for every European farmer—470 times the average for each African!

EXTENSION OF ROBBERY

In 1901 there were only 13 European settlers, but in 1905 there were 886. Among the first recipients of land reserved for Europeans were 350,000 acres for the East Africa Syndicate; 100,000 acres for Lord Delamere ("father" of the white settlers), and 220,000 acres for other European settlers. In 1920 the East African Land and Development Company acquired 310,000 acres. During the next 31 years it sold at highly inflated prices all but 300 acres. It paid dividends of 100 per cent in the years 1947-50, and 33 per cent in 1951.

Before 1914 total land on lease to Europeans was over 5,000 square miles, leased in blocks of between ten and 500 square miles, and at a rental of only $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. an acre. The Crown Lands Ordinance 1915 provided leasehold land for 999 years at a rental of only $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. an acre. This rental was not increased until after 1945, and is now little more than 4s. an acre.

The number of European settlers in the White Highlands rose from 886 in 1905 to 1,183 in 1920, then to 2,107 in 1932. The figure dropped to 1,915 in 1940 but rose again after the second world war to its present level of 2,800.

Of the seven million acres of cultivable land in the White Highlands 3,600,000 acres consist of European ranches and 800,000 acres of European plantations. The remaining 3,600,000 acres are European mixed-farming land, of which 880,000 acres are not being cultivated. In contrast there are 150,000 African landless families in the White Highlands alone. In the year ending June 1961 they increased by 20,000. In Kenya as a whole there were 300,000 unemployed in June 1962, a quarter of the working population, and their numbers are increasing at the rate of 15 per cent every year. (*Financial Times*, 24/7/62).

When the Kenya "emergency" was declared in October 1952

there were 20,000 unemployed in Nairobi, the capital. Now there are over 40,000 unemployed, and nearly as many in Mombasa, the port town on the east coast (London *Times* 7/8/62). This is only part of the price Africans in Kenya have to pay for British colonial rule and European robbery of their land.

KEEPING AFRICANS DOWN

From the beginning of British colonial rule Kenya has been under the domination of white settlers. As early as 1905 Sir Charles Eliot, East Africa Commissioner during 1901-4, declared that: "The interior of the Protectorate is a white man's country". Lord Delamere told the Labour Commission in 1912 that if the African was to become a leaseholder of a sufficient area to establish himself "then the question of obtaining a satisfactory labour supply could never be settled". As recently as 1949 the white settlers published their "Kenya Plan" in which they advocated "a landless African population which would be obliged . . . to earn their living by working for others".

For sixty years everything possible was done by the British Government to increase the economic and political grip of the white settlers. In the early days of European land annexation they advanced no less than £17 million in loans between 1920 and 1930 (when mass unemployment was rife in Britain) to construct railways to transport the produce of the Highland farmers at less than cost, and also constructed trunk roads for this purpose.

After the first world war European syndicates and settlers engaged in wholesale land speculation, the big farmers buying up the small farms and selling them again at inflated prices. In this way the big European settlers exploited not only the Africans but also the small European farmers.

Of the five million acres occupied in 1934 by 2,000 European farmers about 280 (14 per cent of the total) had possession of 40 per cent of the total acreage. Twenty years later the biggest European settlers had an even stronger grip on the White Highlands. The biggest estates are the European ranches and plantations (more than half the White Highlands) and these are left untouched by Maudling's proposals. They are so profitable that even Maudling's inflated valuation will not satisfy the European firms and settlers!

BIG SETTLERS ON TOP

The last agricultural census in 1954 revealed the strong grip of the big settlers in the White Highlands. More than half the

European "commercial" farms (about 1,600) were between 500 and 2,000 acres and many settlers have more than one farm. There were 762 farms of over 2,000 acres and these included ranches and only partly-developed land. The remaining farms were on a much smaller scale—477 between 200 and 500 acres each, and 462 under 200 acres each.

The 1954 census also threw light on the nature of the cultivated and uncultivated land in the White Highlands. More than 46 per cent was classified as "agriculturally unproductive" and 44 per cent used only for grazing, which means that only 10 per cent was used for crops. Of the land classified as "agriculturally unproductive" 24 per cent was forest, 11 per cent undeveloped or unused, and 11 per cent was classified as "waste, buildings, etc."

Of the 3,163 cultivated holdings in the settled area 527 were plantations and 316 were ranches. All these are European-owned, and are excluded from Maudling's latest scheme. The plantations included 351 producing coffee, 60 producing tea, 43 producing sisal, 38 producing wattle, and 35 producing sugar. The remainder (nearly three million acres) is the mixed-farming land, a third of which the British Government now proposes to purchase at highly-inflated prices.

MAUDLING SPEAKS FOR SETTLERS

It may be argued that the Maudling scheme is a genuine attempt to embark upon the first stage of taking over European land to provide farms for the landless Africans. Nothing of the kind! To begin with there is nothing original in the Maudling plan. All that Maudling has done was to borrow the proposals from the European settlers and financial circles in Britain and present them in a revised form as his "solution".

After the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) broke its pledge not to form a government until Jomo Kenyatta was released it joined hands with the Europeans in April 1961 to form a minority government. Soon after it started discussions with the British Government about purchasing European mixed farms for landless Africans, the total value of which was put at £45 million (*Daily Telegraph* 21/11/61).

One of the Tory diehards, Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P. proposed in the House of Commons early in April (three months before Maudling announced his scheme) that the British Government purchase one million acres of European land in Kenya for £30 or £40 million. Early in May *The Times* reported that a sum of £30

million had been mentioned as the purchase price for all European mixed farms, and claimed this "would be between £15 and £25 million short of their theoretical value". Then it revealed the secret that "negotiations were still at a delicate stage, but were understood to have made encouraging progress" (10/5/62). White settlers put forward many varying estimates of the value of their mixed-farming land, from £45 million to £75 million—according to what they expected to get for it!

Nor could Lord Delamere keep this secret for long. At the end of May he made the proposal that 50 per cent of the mixed-farming land should be purchased in the next three years for £30 million. When Lord Delamere welcomed the announcement of the Maudling scheme next day as "an excellent practical start for a solution of the problem" there was an outcry of protest from many European settlers that the price proposed was too low. This led *The Times* and other British newspapers to criticise the European settler "extremists".

It was not long before the European settler "extremists" made a sharp rejoinder, and in doing so revealed that the Maudling scheme was under discussion as early as last March. In their letter to *The Times* (6/8/62) they pointed out that:

"The plan for a really large settlement scheme for Africans in the former White Highlands was in fact jointly put forward at the Lancaster House Conference in London in March 1962 by the Kenya Coalition Parliamentary Group, the Kenya National Farmers' Union and the Convention of Farmers' Associations. The only change from that plan is that the time of purchase originally put forward was three years instead of the present five and that a total of two million acres should be bought in five years".

INFLATED LAND PRICES

Five years was the original term proposed by Maudling. His successor Duncan Sandys now speaks of one million acres in the next four years. Neither of them mentioned the purchase price, but Mr. Bruce McKenzie, Kenya's Minister of Agriculture, has intimated it will be £18 million. Two members of the Kenya Coalition Party (the voice of the diehard settlers) Mr. L. R. M. Welwood and Mr. David Cole were invited to London early in August to put forward their arguments that the price proposed is too low.

Whatever the final price which the British Government will pay for European mixed-farming land it is obvious that the settlers are

intent in forcing it up to the highest limit. For decades the buying and selling of land among Europeans in Kenya has forced land values up to an extremely artificial high level—far above their real value. The European settlers are fighting to the last ditch to push them up still higher. An example of inflated land values in urban areas is the fact that land value in Nairobi, the capital, went up from £4 million in 1945 to £48½ million in 1959, in the comparatively brief space of fifteen years.

Mr. Norman Leys, in his well-known book on Kenya, published in 1926, gives an earlier striking example of one farm of 640 acres in Kiambu being sold by the Government in 1903 for £85. Two years later it was sold to another farmer for £640. This farmer bought machinery and made improvements estimated to cost £5,000 and in 1913 the farm was sold to a rich buyer for £17,500—200 times its original price! No wonder the author remarked that: “No supporter of the existing system would dispute the fact that most of the 10,000 square miles of alienated land was alienated in exchange for sums that were ridiculously trivial compared with the prices prevailing in the free market at the time of sale” (p.167).

The minimum price now proposed for European land in the White Highlands is £18 an acre. And this for land which the white settlers procured in free grants or for a maximum of a few shillings an acre. Though the settlers are no longer a majority in the Legislative Council it is clear that they are desperately striving to maintain as many of their privileges as they can.

Early in 1955, in the last stages of the armed struggle in Kenya, the European settlers were confident they would reserve the White Highlands for themselves forever. At a meeting in the Nanyuki district they declared:

“The sanctity of the White Highlands is an ideal for which we are prepared to fight if necessary, and therefore issue a solemn warning to the Government of the United Kingdom that any move on their part to alter existing conditions under which land therein is only available to European ownership and occupation will be met by all means at their disposal”. (London *Times* 31/1/55).

NEED FOR AFRICAN UNITY

Since then big changes have taken place. Africans are a majority in the Legislative Council. Though the Europeans and the British Government are doing everything possible to halt and postpone the achievement of Kenya's independence they recognise it must

come. So they do their utmost to divide the ranks of the African liberation movement, to encourage the KADU minority to conspire with the Europeans to obstruct the Kenya African National Union (KANU) led by Jomo Kenyatta, which has the overwhelming support of the Africans.

Within the existing Kenya Cabinet of eleven Ministers there are still four Europeans, though the Africans outnumber Europeans by a hundred to one. The Europeans are in key positions, and are still striving to maintain the privileges of the white settlers. Sir Michael Blundell (who has always been the chief instrument of British colonial rule) exercises a deadly influence within KADU, and was the chief architect of KADU'S regional plan to divide Kenya, and the main author of various schemes to pour millions into the pockets of the white settlers who stole the land from the Africans.

Because Africans are now in a majority in the Legislative Council it would be a grave blunder to conclude that European minority domination has now been destroyed. The Europeans are still fighting to maintain their privileges by new methods. They still have close relations with the British Government. Some of them still have a big influence on African leaders, especially within KADU. They have not given up their old strategy of divide and rule, and still hope to maintain their grip on Kenya.

That is why it is so essential for every possible step to be taken to unite the African liberation movement in Kenya, to press for new elections on a democratic basis, to break the influence and economic grip of the European minority, and to advance towards early independence in Kenya.

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION

by N. Numade

In the fight of the African peoples for independence and freedom, the working class and the peasant masses are most vitally concerned. Colonialism and its resulting poverty and backwardness subjects them to a double yoke—of national oppression and class exploitation. In this fight a most important weapon is national unity of all sections of the oppressed, joining their forces against the common enemy. It follows that the national united front is a basic policy of the working class in the struggle both against colonialism for national independence, *and in the period after formal political independence has been achieved, in order to consolidate the revolution, to defeat the efforts of the imperialists to reimpose slavery in new forms, and to liquidate the colonialist heritage and its aftermath.*

The victories won by the African people against imperialism, the collapse of the colonial system in Africa and the emergence of independent states are due to the powerful unity forged between all social strata in the course of the liberation struggle.

To maintain these victories of the African revolution against imperialist intrigues, and to develop to the full the forces which have been released by the achievement of National Independence, that unity must be maintained and extended.

But in order to maintain and consolidate our unity, it is essential to understand and grasp fully the basis upon which it rests; what strata and classes have come together, and for what purpose; where their interests lie in common and where they are divergent; which tendencies strengthen and which threaten the united front.

WHAT IS THE CHARACTER OF THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION?

European colonialism ruthlessly robbed our people of our land and our natural resources. It subjected us to foreign domination, destroyed our political and economic institutions, compelled us by force of superior arms or by artificially created starvation to labour at extracting the wealth of Africa for shipment to Europe. It enforced the most humiliating system of race discrimination ever known upon the African people. The burden of illiteracy and ignorance which Africa now has to overcome is a vivid proof of the cynical hypocrisy of their promises to bring education and civilisation to the "dark continent". Instead, they inculcated into generations of Africans a systematic contempt for their own achievements, their own history and their own culture, based on lies and reflecting nothing but the ignorance and racial arrogance of the invaders.

TOWARDS CONTINENTAL UNITY

The African revolution is a vast, continent-wide, patriotic upsurge against the invaders, against colonialism, white domination and racial discrimination. It aims to restore the government and the wealth of Africa to the hands of its rightful owners, the African people; to win national independence and democratic rights for our people throughout the continent; to liquidate rapidly every vestige of the ravages which the imperialists have wrought in Africa—the ignorance, poverty, lack of economic development, the mental enslavement, the isolation and narrowness born of artificially preserved tribal and regional barriers.

This great African resurgence is more than a national liberation movement—for nations as they are defined are yet unformed in many parts, and the tide of liberation, its essential unity, sweeps across frontiers, across differences of region, language, culture, religion and class, drawing Africans from North to South and from East to West into a single *super-national* stream of patriotic struggle and endeavour. Johannesburg rejoices at the liberation of Algeria as its very own victory; and from Tanganyika, Sudan, Somalia, from the people and their heads of government, come wrathful shouts of anger when Verwoerd lays his hands on our leader, Mandela.

A notable feature of our African revolution, the source of its greatest strength, is that it unites in national liberation movements the various classes and social strata of our societies.

WHAT IS THE BASIS OF THIS UNITY BETWEEN VARIOUS SOCIAL STRATA?

Colonialism, white domination and racial discrimination humiliated and oppressed every section of our people. The traditional authority and respect enjoyed by the Chiefs was undermined. Those who resisted colonialism were broken and destroyed; those who did not were converted into servants of colonial governments. Tribal institutions, which had meaning and value in the context of a simple, non-class, non-commodity economy, were cunningly manipulated by the colonialists to divide the people and perpetuate their own enslavement.

Where feudalism was developing through natural internal forces, it was checked by the onrush of the colonialists with their exchange economy, which, as Marx pointed out, replaces every previous form of class differentiation with the sole yardstick of wealth calculated in cash. Often, too, seizing all the best and most fertile portions of the land as plantations and farms for white settlers, colonialism created acute land-hunger among the Africans and reduced potential feudal lords to the same position as peasants.

The growth of an African national bourgeoisie has been stifled throughout most of our continent. Firstly, concentrating mainly on extracting wealth for export and regarding Africa as a dumping ground for surplus European manufactured goods, imperialism has kept our countries as backward as possible. Secondly, even such limited economic opportunities as existed in such conditions were monopolised by Europeans and other non-Africans. In countries such as South Africa our people were and are rigidly debarred by law from competing with Whites in commerce, industry and agriculture, thus creating a racial monopoly of opportunities for Whites. Elsewhere, though no such legal barriers may have existed, it was exceptionally difficult for Africans, lacking capital, lacking education, lacking business experience, to compete successfully with others who had all these things and who were sheltered and protected by the colonialist administrations.

Thus, although the African workers and rural masses bore the *main* brunt of colonialist slavery and were and are the foremost fighters for freedom, *no class of Africans*—worker, peasant, feudal or capitalist—could escape from the innumerable disadvantages, humiliations, frustrations and evils of colonialism.

THE SOURCES OF UNITY

Naturally, there are differences of approach and also conflicts of class interests between the various strata of the population. But these internal differences and conflicts are largely overshadowed by and subordinated to the central conflict of Africa—the struggle of the whole African people of all classes on the one hand: and on the other the colonialists and that relatively insignificant and unrepresentative handful of African lackeys and traitors in the pay of imperialism.

The particularly rapacious exploitation and inhuman degradation by imperialism of practically all the peoples of Africa has laid the basis for the unity of all sections of our people. The national oppression and humiliation *which made no exceptions* kindled the flame of national consciousness and African patriotism which is characteristic of our liberation movements. The colonialists made ours a continent of paupers—and of implacable enemies of imperialism.

In the more advanced capitalist countries it proved possible for the monopoly bourgeoisie to win over a section of the middle class, the working intelligentsia, and even an upper stratum of the workers (“the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class” as Lenin brilliantly described the tame heads of the British and American labour movements.) They were able to do this precisely because of the enormous super-profits stolen from the wealth and the labour of Africa and other colonial areas; because they could, out of this fabulous wealth, afford certain bribes, privileges and concessions for a section of the metropolitan population, in return for their support for the imperialist system as such.

The price was paid by Africa, Asia and other colonies. The imperialists were concerned only to extract the maximum profits as rapidly as possible, regardless of the consequences to us or of any feelings of humanity. Here there was no question of privileges—except for the white minorities in some more temperate areas—but of “might is right”, bullets and terror for those who resisted. They descended on Africa like a swarm of locusts.

Therefore amongst all Africans, of whatever social position, of whatever political, religious or philosophical tendency, there existed a single, overriding, urgent need and interest: to get rid of colonialism. That is the foundation of the united front of national liberation.

It is incorrect to assume that the unity of the chiefs, intelligentsia, traders and working people arose because of some peculiarity of the African people, or out of the background of tribalism. That

unity arose because of the real common interest of all sections of our people.

The question may be asked: can unity be maintained today, in conditions where the immediate goal of formal political independence has been won over large areas of our Continent?

The answer is, yes, it can be maintained, provided we still all have a common interest, a common goal, and that we all work together for it. *And we still do have such a common interest and common goal.* Formal political independence has neither eradicated colonialism in Africa, nor has it abolished its consequences—the poverty and illiteracy of the masses, the frightening lack of developed industry, agriculture, communications and social services, and of trained personnel to man them. Our African Revolution is not completed—it has hardly started! And to complete it we have both a basis and a compelling need for unity.

A CLASSLESS AFRICA?

This very unity of all social groups which has been practically forced upon us by colonialism and our common need to fight it, and which has grown up almost spontaneously in many parts of this continent, has given rise to the illusion that social development is peculiar in Africa, that there are not any classes in Africa and that none will develop.

For example, Mr. Julius Nyerere, usually one of the most clear-thinking of African patriots, has written in an article on "One-Party System of Government in Africa":

"With rare exceptions, the idea of class is something entirely foreign to Africa".*

He goes on to argue that, just as the traditional form of tribal government was characteristically a discussion between equals, so it is possible to adapt this tradition to modern African states through a one-party system of government which will nevertheless ensure democratic expression for all.

Leaving aside for the moment the question of a "one-party" system, let us examine the fundamental question raised by Mr. Nyerere that the idea (and the reality) of *class* is "foreign to Africa".

Now let us state at once that not only African but *all* human societies have passed through a stage of early "communism" where no classes existed. The later development of different social classes with conflicting interests does not depend on "ideas", but on the

* *The Voice of Africa*, May, 1961.

development of *the forces and means of production* and the *relation* of different elements in each community to those means of production.

In a very simple *subsistence* economy, agricultural or pastoral, the methods and instruments of production are so inefficient that there is no possibility of producing a *surplus*. Each person or family can produce enough to maintain themselves and no more. The means of production (principally the land) are held in common, because there is no purpose or benefit in any one or any group appropriating them; the whole concept of private ownership is indeed "foreign". There is no state and no need for a state—because the state is essentially a machinery for the domination of one class over another. This is in fact a classless society—but it is a community of poverty, not (like modern communism) a community of wealth.

Classes begin to develop as soon as the means and methods of production are improved sufficiently for one man to produce, through his work, enough to feed both himself and others. This lays the basis for the long and tortuous development of various forms of the exploitation of man by man. Though the forms differ under direct slavery, the vassalage of feudalism, or the wage-slavery of capitalism, the essence is the same. The dominant class owns and controls the means of production. The subordinate class is compelled not only to maintain itself but also to pay a tribute of unearned income to the owners.

Long before the advent of foreign intruders, which arrested or distorted the natural internal evolution of African societies, developing techniques had already begun to dissolve our tribal societies, and the process of class differentiation had begun. Colonialism hastened and completed the process. It shattered and disrupted, once and for all, our traditional tribal economy and its institutions. It ended—though in the most brutal and inhuman manner, and for the most sordid motives—the isolation of Africa and brought the whole continent irreversibly into the world economy with its inescapable pressures and challenges which we cannot and should not seek to avoid.

ILLUSIONS CAN HARM

There are two illusions which are dangerous—dangerous because they prevent us seeing and overcoming our real problems.

The first illusion is that there are no classes and no class distinctions in Africa, that the independent states of Africa start with the advantage of classless societies. This illusion is fostered by the

common interests of all classes in overcoming imperialism; but it is false. Classes already exist throughout Africa; with the rapid development of modern economies in the continent, class differences will also grow rapidly *if we allow economic development to take place along capitalist lines*, that is, on the basis of private ownership.

We Communists, and all forward-looking Africans, passionately believe in the *achievement* of a classless Africa. But this is not something we shall merely be blessed with because of our past traditions; it is something we shall have *consciously* to work for, with a full understanding of our present position and the laws of social development.

The second illusion is that tribal institutions and relations are suitable for or can be adapted to the needs of a complicated, changing and advancing economy. Undoubtedly there were many laudable features in tribal society—the absence of exploitation and class divisions and the process of government by discussion among the whole people, as equals. Those features arose from and served an economy which belongs to the past; they cannot survive in a world of Sputniks and Luniks and atomic power. The concept of a return to tribalism means a return to backwardness—the very backwardness which enabled foreigners to seize, despoil and enslave Africa. Without rapid economic progress we cannot hope to hold our own, to maintain and realise freedom and independence. A return to tribalism means not a return to the idyllic world of equals—but a return to slavery.

“I think,” Mr. Nyerere says, “Africa should think carefully before we abandon our traditional attitude”. Unfortunately, social development, like development in nature, does not depend upon or await our thinking and desires; it is determined by the laws of its own motion which we should study and use as a guide.

These laws of social development, as uncovered and illuminated by the most advanced, profound and brilliant school of social science, the school of Marxism-Leninism, depend on an exact study and analysis of the nature and relationship of classes in any community.

Failure to undertake such a study, the ignoring or even denial of the existence of such classes, must lead to serious blunders which can only help the colonialists and delay the advance of the African Revolution towards a free, united, classless Africa.

We are for the building of a united front of national liberation, combining all classes in the common struggle for our common interests. But to build this soundly and well we must be aware of

the classes that *do* exist, the role, nature and contribution of each. Otherwise, seeking unity, but ignoring the existence and causes of differences and friction, we shall undermine unity with the certainty of future splits and division.

Too often those who speak of 'national unity' and 'the national interest' are thinking merely of the interests of a small upper stratum of traders and officials. They forget or ignore the true national interest—the interests of the most militant and advanced class—the working class—and of its closest ally, the illiterate, starving millions in the rural areas. They call upon *these* classes, the true heart and soul of our movement and our people, to "subordinate" their demands to those of the nation, while giving free rein to profiteering, corruption and luxury among the "upper classes". But such an outlook can only wreck national unity, and delay national emancipation.

INDEPENDENCE AND SACRIFICE

The imperialists are being forced to relinquish political power in Africa as a result of a favourable world situation, the rise of socialism and national liberation and *the organisation and struggle of the masses*.

But the imperialists themselves do not admit this. They pretend that independence is being generously conceded (and the British are particularly skilful at this deceit) *as a reward* for the "sense of responsibility" of the politicians. And they call upon the people's leaders to demonstrate this "sense of responsibility" by *taking office* in dummy administrations supposed to be paving the way for independence, while power still remains in the hands of the colonialists. Unfortunately, many of our leaders are apt, because of their lack of a clear-cut ideology, to accept such proposals—which one must admit are well-baited with handsome (by African standards) salaries for African Ministers and Executive Committee members.

The effect of this cunning colonialist trick is, all too often, to drive a wedge between the people and their leaders. On the verge of the achievement of independence, at a crucial stage when the utmost militancy and unity is required, when the working masses are hoping at last to taste some of the fruits of all their long struggles and sacrifices, they find that their leaders appear to have deserted them and to be devoting their energies to *calling off the struggle*. African leaders newly appointed to "Cabinet" rank (but in fact surrounded by colonialist officials who really control their

Departments) make endless appeals for calm and hard work; African "Ministers of Labour" rush around to the colonialist-owned factories appealing to workers to call off strikes; our trusted spokesmen and defenders who yesterday won our votes by their ardent patriotic speeches seem suddenly transformed into a sort of fire-brigade hurrying about in government motor cars to every scene of trouble or disturbance in order to quell it. They counsel patience and moderation, and even, little by little, find themselves in the position of apologists for and defenders of the very colonial regime which the masses elected and appointed them to overthrow.

We may cite the case, in a country which is still a long way off from national freedom, where imperialism and a handful of local white settlers still openly exercise power, where a patriotic and deservedly popular national leader appealed to the workers, over the heads of their trade union leaders, to call off a legitimate strike for higher wages and better conditions—because the leaders of the national movement had decided that the strike would "embarrass negotiations for national independence" and "demonstrate the inability of the national leadership to maintain order among the people."

It should be emphasised that this action was genuinely meant to further the cause of national independence. And one should mention, in this connection, the insidious influence exercised in favour of such types of action by certain British labour and trade union leaders and other self-proclaimed "friends of the Africans" in imperialist countries, who are forever advising African leaders that militant action would "strengthen the hand of the Tories and Welensky" and "delay the ceding of independence" etc.—as if the winning of national independence in Africa was a matter depending on lobbying, string-pulling and debates in the British House of Commons.

NEW TACTICS OF THE COLONIALISTS

Such errors reveal a serious misconception of the character and content of the African people's revolution, a failure to study and counter the new tactics of the colonialists in the present historical period. These failures will, unless we correct them quickly, undermine hard-won African unity and delay our advance to the free, united, advanced Africa of our dreams.

Unable to retain direct control in our Continent by force; the colonialists are now seeking by every means to retain indirect control of their essential interests by cunning.

This is why they want our leaders to “demonstrate their responsibility”.

It would suit them down to the ground if the colonialist administrations they are no longer able to maintain could be replaced by African administrations which do exactly the same job for them: i.e., keep Africa as an investor’s paradise, the home of high profits based on starvation wages and sweated labour; a world slum with a backward and stagnant economy.

After the last war the British workers elected the Labour Party to power, believing its promises to introduce socialism. Instead, the Labour government busied itself administering capitalism on behalf of the ruling class, with the help of its permanent civil service, and continuing, essentially, the home, colonial and foreign policies of the Tories. In the same way, the colonialists are quite happy and ready to concede “independence”—if that means that the new African administrations are prepared to continue, in essence, the policy of the former colonial officials *of protecting and promoting the interests and investments of foreign monopoly capitalism, the core and fundamental purpose of imperialism*. In fact, if they are prepared to play this game, African leaders can serve the purpose far better than the discredited colonial regimes, because they enjoy the confidence of the masses. They can call off strikes and peasant struggles by persuasion and appeal to patriotism where the colonial officials failed to break them with fierce repression and bullets.

Better still, if the oppressors and exploiters can use the popular leadership as a buffer between themselves and the most militant section of the people; a sort of lightning conductor to attract the bitterness and resentment of the starving and landless masses.

And best of all (from the imperialists’ point of view) if they can get our leaders fighting and intriguing among themselves for the sweets of office in a quasi-independent administration while forgetting the needs and hardships of their brothers and sisters on the fields and plantations, in the mines and factories!

But what suits the colonialists certainly does not suit Africa!

Independence will not be worth all our struggles and sacrifices if it merely means that a handful of African leaders are given fancy titles and salaries, and replace colonial governors and district commissioners in order to carry on exactly the same policy as before.

Certainly, that is *not* what is understood and aimed at in the concept of independence held by the African working class,

inseparably connected as it is and almost one with the great masses of landless, oppressed and suffering rural people.

THE WORKING CLASS

Workers are very practical people, their consciousness of reality sharpened by the bitterness of their daily lives and experiences. To be sure, workers are as patriotic as anyone else. They want to see our national flags and anthems honoured among the nations of the world, our national leaders accorded their due dignity, respect and status at home and abroad. But they know, too, that all these are but symbols. And they will be *empty symbols* if there is no improvement of the hard daily lot of the masses of the African people; if our children continue to die of hunger and preventable diseases; if they are to be doomed to illiteracy and backbreaking unskilled labour; if our families in the rural areas continue as before to starve without land, food or cattle; if the imperialist robbers continue to drain off the wealth of Africa to enrich the millionaires of Wall Street, the Paris Bourse and the City of London.

The workers demand unity of all classes in the national liberation struggle, because they have the most to gain in that struggle. They denounce and condemn careerists and unprincipled splitters who disrupt unity. But they will not be put off or bluffed by a mere surface "unity" that aims merely to *use* the working class and its brothers in the countryside as a *bargaining counter* to get concessions from the colonialists for the benefit only of a wealthy upper stratum of Africans and a few intellectuals. The aims of the united front of national revolution must include the satisfaction of the demands of the workers and rural people: their *immediate* needs for better wages and conditions of work; for land and food; for the return to the people of the mines, plantations and other resources stolen by the alien monopolists; their policy demands for massive planning and development of industry and agriculture, education and communications and all the things that are needed for the sweeping modernisation of Africa; their fundamental demands for socialism and a classless society.

The workers can see and understand these issues more closely than anyone else because of their social position; because, being men of the people, closely tied to the rural masses with a thousand bonds of kinship and origin, they are at the same time men of enlightenment, learning at the point of production, in conditions of merciless exploitation, the realities of modern capitalism.

Because they are people without property they are at the same time people without selfish individualism or vested interests.

These are reasons why the working class is the rightful *leader* in the united front of national liberation; *the most consistent, determined and uncompromising enemy of colonialism in all its forms and guises.*

THE COLONIALISTS KNOW

Even though many of our national leaders have not grasped this truth, the colonialists themselves know it very well. They fear an organised African working class as the Devil fears holy water.

That is why they have done and are doing everything within their power to stifle the development and organisation of the African proletariat. The history of colonialism is the history of the most ruthless suppression of working class struggles, precisely because the monopoly capitalists who backed colonialism were aware that the working class was their most dangerous enemy.

They resorted to all sorts of devices, such as the migratory labour system, to stifle the growth of a stable working class. They outlawed working class industrial and political organisations, trade unions and Communist Parties; they censored and banned the working class ideology of Marxism-Leninism. Through spies and blacklists, victimisation, imprisonment, banishment and outright murder of communists and trade unionists, they tried to suppress every form of independent workers' organisation.

On the ideological front, all the colonialists maintained a continuous and vicious anti-communist offensive. While all channels through which people might learn the truth about communism from the communists themselves were vigilantly stopped up, a stream of lies was continuously disseminated through churches and mission schools, newspapers and radio and the whole colonialist administration. All the old, discredited lies, long rejected by the workers of other countries, were polished up and peddled anew for African consumption—that the communists were “paid agents of Moscow,” that they sought to suppress religion and take away the peasant's little piece of land.

No one should know better than the present-day leaders of our national liberation movements how false and harmful these anti-communist frenzies of the imperialists have been in Africa. They themselves have been the sufferers and the victims. For the colonialists did not scruple to label every genuine movement for national independence or citizenship rights or improvements in the lot of

the people, as "communist-inspired." They labelled the national liberation leaders themselves as "communists" (though many of them were nothing of the sort) and for this "crime" they punished them, exiled them, or subjected them to long terms of imprisonment.

Yet, it is surprising that some of our own national leaders seem not to have fully realised and absorbed the lessons of these so-recent events. Today, when the heroic struggles of the people, and above all of the workers and peasants, have carried them to high office, they should be careful lest they inadvertently pick up some of the broken spears with which the colonialists tried to stab the progress and advancement of our people to the heart.

Those whom the people—the working class and rural people—have now entrusted with power should carefully scrutinise the labour laws bequeathed by the imperialists, see how they are loaded against labour and in favour of the employers, and see that the workers' rights to free, independent trade unions and legally enforced collective bargaining are fully protected; that minimum wages sufficient to cover the needs of life are guaranteed; that hours of work, annual holidays, sick benefit, accident compensation and similar essentials are enforced against the bosses.

They should examine the network of censorship regulations, restrictive anti-worker laws, repressive "security" legislation and the like enforced by the colonial authorities, to make sure that the independent states are cleansed of the system of "thought-control"; that there is true freedom of speech, of thought and the press; that all bans on workers' organisations such as trade unions and communist parties are scrapped.

Above all, our leaders should honestly and courageously re-examine their own attitudes towards the great questions of the day: towards communism and the working-class movement; towards the essential character of our African revolution itself—with minds consciously cleared of the prejudices and misconceptions cunningly inculcated by the imperialists. For as we consolidate our independence and wipe out colonialism we must also wipe away the ugly weapons which the colonialists used to bludgeon the struggle of the people; we must emancipate our minds from the mental prisons in which the colonialists have confined them, just as they enslaved our bodies and seized the soil of our Mother Africa.

If we fail to do this we may find that we have gained merely the outward forms and symbols of independence while United States and West European imperialists continue to exploit and control our countries as before; that our people remain starving and

illiterate as before; that our industry and agriculture remain undeveloped as before; that some of our national leaders move, imperceptibly and because of a false understanding and inadequate ideology, from the position of African patriotism to the position of defenders of neo-colonialism and the *status quo*.

FREEDOM IS NO GIFT

A man is still living in the mental prison of colonialism if he accepts the picture which the colonialists now present of their role in Africa. That picture is as follows:

"We (the colonialists) no longer wish to retain political control of Africa. In fact we are quite happy to transfer power to you Africans, once you can prove to us that you are responsible people, ready for independence. In fact we were only in Africa for your benefit to train you how to govern yourselves. If you can show you are 'ready' we shall hand over."

It is one of the tragedies of Africa today that patriotic leaders can be found who pretend to believe and even defend this utterly false picture presented by the colonialists. I say "pretend to believe" because I cannot imagine that a true national leader who was possibly himself yesterday in a colonialist jail as a freedom fighter, can really swallow this ridiculous nonsense and humbug; can really accept that the colonialists have changed their character and are now prepared to present as a gift the same freedom which yesterday they denied to us with jails, machine guns and massacres.

The colonialists are retreating in Africa because they are being forced to retreat, not because they have undergone a change of heart. They are being forced to retreat because of the upsurge of African political and national consciousness, organisation and resistance—because of the mass struggles of the African workers and peasants. Because of the rise of a world socialist community of nations, which is the declared opponent of national oppression and colonialism in any guise or form and the staunch friend of African freedom, giving powerful support to our own struggles, politically, morally, economically and in every possible way.

That is the fundamental position, the fundamental change in the situation, which has caused the colonialists hurriedly to release African patriots from prisons and summon them to Whitehall or to Paris or to Brussels to "negotiate" the terms on which the "gift of freedom" will be bestowed on their former African "possessions." It is a position of weakness of imperialism, a position of strength for Africa.

Yet many of our spokesmen, not realising their real strength, or where it lies, permit themselves to be used in this unseemly game, and make concessions to the demands of the imperialists in the hope that they will thereby hasten the achievement of African independence.

What are these demands?

Naturally, the colonialists seek, above all, to retain their privileged economic, military and political status. They demand safeguards for their "investments"—i.e. the property which they have seized; the maintenance of military bases; the maintenance of links with the "British Commonwealth," "French Union," or "the West."

They also demand assurances that the national leaders prove themselves to be soundly "western-orientated", anti-communist, opposed to militant working class and peasant actions and organisations.

But recent experience in Africa has fully proved that leaders who accept such demands made by the imperialists are making a serious mistake.

They are not hastening but delaying the achievement of real independence, exchanging the appearance for the reality.

Of course, during any serious struggle it is sometimes necessary to reach a temporary compromise, a partial solution. But in the course of negotiation it is above all essential not to throw away the *fundamental, long-term interests* of the people for the sake of advantages which are merely momentary or even illusory. It is essential not to confuse the interests of a small upper stratum with the interests and needs of the masses of the people.

The imperialists have no *right* to a single inch of Africa, a single military base, mine, plantation or oil-well. They took these things by force. Any African leader who concedes a single one of these things to the colonialists is giving away what is not his to give.

The imperialists are being forced to retreat in Africa by virtue of the unity and militancy of the people's struggle. Any African leader who splits unity or who calls off militant struggles on the verge of independence is like a general who demobilises his army before victory is won.

The imperialists recognise that the working class and its trade unions and communist parties are their mortal enemies, the sharpest weapons of the African people, which spell death to colonialism. Any African leader who attacks the working class or seeks to deprive it of its greatest strength, independent economic and political

organisation, is wittingly or unwittingly joining hands with the enemy and prolonging the dependence and suffering of Africa.

All these mistakes, and one can point to many examples of such mistakes, are due to the class background and outlook of the leaders who make them; they belong to or are orientated towards the relatively privileged trading or feudal elements, or to the professional and clerical cadres trained and to some extent influenced by the imperialist bourgeoisie and its institutions.

Yet even these classes and groups are interested in the struggle against colonialism; they belong within the ranks of the united front of national liberation. But because of their class position they tend to be individualistic and selfish, to seek sectional or personal advantages at the expense of the people as a whole, to fear the revolutionary struggles of the masses, to yield to the flattery or bribery of the imperialists, and hence to make serious blunders which can compromise the cause of African independence and freedom.

It is therefore extremely dangerous and harmful to allow these classes and their representatives to dominate or monopolise the leadership of the national united front. In order to achieve the speedy and complete victory of the African Revolution, to carry it forward to its destined conclusion—the liquidation of colonialism, the extirpation of all its survivals, the advance to a united, socialist Africa—it is essential that the *working class*, organised independently both economically and politically, and guided by the scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism, should play a full and decisive part within the leadership of the national united front.

CLASSES AND PARTIES

Some African patriots and thinkers are fully aware of the danger of being side-tracked from the central task of all classes and parties in Africa—victory over colonialism. They fear, and correctly so, that we may be diverted from this task by engaging in internal struggles along the lines of the party-political parliamentary antics of Western Europe—while the colonialists continue looting and exploiting Africa.

For this reason African leaders are drawn towards the idea of a single-party State as the correct organisational form for newly-independent and emerging African countries. But what is the basis for a single Party, since it is well-known that political parties are the expression of different social classes?

Mr. Modeira Keita, Minister of the Interior in the Republic of Mali, answers this question by saying :

“. . . if a political party is the expression of a class, which itself represents certain interests, we obviously cannot assert that Negro African society is a classless society. But we do say that differentiation of classes in Africa does not imply a diversification of interests and still less an opposition of interests.”

Now we may agree that the diversification of interests between classes in Africa, does not imply opposition or irreconcilable conflict, because the separate interests of all classes can and should be subordinated to the overriding *common* interest in uprooting colonialism and carrying through the national renaissance. That is the basis of the national united front.

But even within the national united front, although they can be regulated and negotiated, differences of class interest will persist. The workers will want higher wages and shorter hours of work; the employers will want low wages and longer hours. The landless will demand land reform and redivision, the owners will resist such demands.

More important, the different classes have a different approach to and conception of the anti-colonialist struggle itself. As we have shown above the workers and peasants favour militant and uncompromising struggle for complete victory; the capitalist and petty-bourgeois elements tend to fear revolution and to accept the compromises, illusions and traps of the colonialists.

These differences are reflected in the *ideological struggle* which cannot be avoided in Africa any more than anywhere else: the working class adhering to their ideology of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism, with its dialectical and materialistic approach to history, as contrasted with the backward outlook of bourgeois nationalism, with its inherent tendency to substitute symbols for realities; its individualism and lack of firm principle; its instability and opportunism.

The issue here is not whether or not there should be a single party. We cannot say that this is necessarily a good, or a bad, concept. It is a particular organisational form of the united front of national liberation which may be a great step forward, as in Cuba, where all the patriotic, revolutionary parties have voluntarily decided to amalgamate.

But the real issue is *on what basis is unity—the national united front—achieved?* If it is on the basis of the domination of the minority groups, the capitalists and middle-classes, and their

ideology, then the movement will suffer. The interests of the masses will be neglected; the doors opened to corruption, profiteering and neo-colonialism; the African revolution will be halted in its path, its impetus checked and its energies frittered away in fratricidal conflicts, disillusionment and cynicism.

If the national united front—whether or not expressed organisationally in a single party—is based on the firm leadership of the working class and its dynamic, scientific ideology of Marxism-Leninism, then the African people will advance from victory to victory. The workers and rural people, encouraged by the satisfaction of their most pressing material needs, will be inspired to great heights of creative endeavour and construction; colonialism will be destroyed root and branch; corruption, self-seeking, bureaucracy and treachery will be suppressed by a vigilant dictatorship of the people; true democracy will flourish, and the nation will advance swiftly and purposefully in the war against illiteracy, economic backwardness, sectionalism, poverty and disease, towards a classless socialist and communist future.

“FREEDOM AND WORK”

These two elements—the united front of liberation, and the leadership within that front of the working class—are essential, both in the period of struggle for formal political independence, and in the following period of struggle for the consolidation and realisation of that independence in every field.

Julius Nyerere has correctly given us the slogan “Uhuru na Kazi”—Freedom and Work. Anyone who imagines that the day after independence we can all sit down to a future of prolonged rejoicing and rest is gravely mistaken. The greatest asset of the new Africa is the tremendous capacity of our people for enthusiastic creative labour, to build a new, advanced and progressive Africa, affording an abundant, cultured and secure life to her children.

But, in order to draw upon these vast reserves of creative labour among our people, it is vital that they shall know that they are really working for themselves and their future, that they are not being merely cheated and exploited as they have been cheated and exploited for generations by parasites and robbers, foreign and African, big and small. Work? Who knows better than the African how to work? We have worked for centuries—and not only in Africa but in the slave plantations of America, the West Indies and elsewhere—to create untold riches for others, but never for ourselves.

When we are free, we shall for the first time really show the world how Africa can work. Aided by modern science and technology we shall make our continent a garden and build palaces for her sons and daughters to live in.

But before we can start—and in order to enable us to start—on this mighty and joyful task, we must know that we are really free, and that we are not being merely cheated once again. Our farmers must know that the soil they are watering with their sweat is truly theirs; our miners, our builders, our roadmen, railmen, all the creators of goods and of wealth, must know that they are not working to enrich a handful of idle rich, foreign or African, that they receive a fair return for their labour, negotiate fair conditions of work, that the government is in the hands of the people and has as its dearest care the needs of the people for housing, health, education, culture and progress.

The only guarantee of all these things, and hence the basic condition for a true creative upsurge, is government by a national united front including as a leading element the tried and trusted representatives of the working people themselves.

Failure to achieve such a united front and such a government will be to the disadvantage not only of the workers and the rural masses, but all sections of the people who are looking forward to the building of truly independent, advanced, prosperous and cultured societies in Africa, rising to their full status in the world family of nations.

THE WORKERS' CONTRIBUTION TO AFRICA

It follows from what has been said above that the working class has an immense and unlimited contribution to make to the building of the New Africa; more so in that our African Revolution is taking place at the time of the decline of capitalism and imperialism and a transition on a world scale to socialism and communism. This opens up glorious possibilities to the African people of consolidating independence and rapidly developing an all-round independent economy, culture and political superstructure on non-capitalist lines, thus by-passing the innumerable evils and ravages of capitalism, and proceeding in a short time towards the building of a classless, socialist Africa. *But we cannot seize these opportunities and take this road unless our African working class is conscious of its destiny, organised and prepared to play the leading role.*

Some of our patriotic national leaders discourage class-consciousness among African workers because they fear that this will conflict

with national consciousness and thereby weaken the national movement. Therefore they belittle the role of the labour movement in our continent, ignorant of or wishing to forget that it was the pioneer trade unionists and communists of Africa who were the first to raise the banner of freedom and independence. They emphasise that the working class of Africa is small, as compared to that of Europe or America—forgetting that our working class is relatively small because our continent has been kept backward and undeveloped by the colonialists, and that this class is growing and must in future grow in step with the industrial development of Africa itself.

It is not true that working class consciousness conflicts with the achievement of national consciousness and national unity. On the contrary, the valuable lessons and experience of the peoples of the Soviet Union, China, Korea, Vietnam and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe have all demonstrated that the recognition of class interests and especially of the leading role of the working class, far from disuniting the people is the most powerful factor in uniting the nation for the advancement of the living standards and interests of all.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us to see as significant not that which is merely large, quantitatively, at any given moment, but that which is vital and growing. The African working class is such a force—one which has developed out of the harsh school of colonialism, which has been the spearhead which bore the brunt of the national liberation struggle, which holds in its hands the key to the future.

Equipped with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, and led by its independent class party, only the working class is able to lead the African people to the achievement of the ideal and objective of all patriotic Africans—the classless society.

But in order to fulfil this leading role, it is essential that the African working class and its party should be conscious not only of its own leading role but also of the need to be the most tireless fighter for national unity of all sections of the people in the common struggle against imperialism.

It is essential that (rejecting the suspect advice of the ICFTU and other imperialist agents) the African workers and their trade unions should not only fight on daily “bread-and-butter” issues, but also play a leading and inseparable part in the struggle of all sections of the people against colonialism and for national freedom.

The South African Communist Party recently issued a new Draft Programme for discussion by its members and supporters in preparation for its adoption sometime later this year. The earlier programme of the Party was adopted in 1953. But the great sweep of world events since that date—the successive defeats of world imperialism and the continuous accession of strength of world socialism, the giant advance of colonial liberation and, in particular of African liberation—all these have required that the Party revise and recast its programme to fit the new times in which we live.

The African Communist will publish the new programme of the Party when it has been adopted in its final form. In the meantime, we print below an article written by one of those who is taking part in the discussions on the document, which deals with matters of more general interest than just this programme alone.

REFLECTIONS ON READING THE DRAFT PROGRAMME

The publication of its draft programme by the South African Communist Party represents a milestone in the history of Marxism-Leninism in our country. The document is an example of Marxism-Leninism applied to South African conditions. It directs the powerful searchlight of the Marxist method to South Africa, and explores the main features of South African life, both past and present. And whilst it deals specifically with South Africa it can be said that this document is as undoubtedly *African* as it is Marxist-Leninist.

Theory is the generalisation of experience. And in South Africa Marxism has a long and rich experience spanning a period of well over half-a-century. Early in the present century the Labour movement in South Africa was in the throes of a conflict common to the whole international working class. The dominant opportunist trend in the Second International had its counterpart in the right-wing leadership of the Labour movement in our country. Similarly the progressive trend centred round the Russian Bolsheviks led by

V. I. Lenin had its representatives in South Africa in the persons of the talented Marxist, Ivor Jones, and Bill Andrews and others. The First World War which broke out in 1914 brought these conflicts to a climax and split the Second International. This was reproduced in South Africa. The opportunists supported the imperialist war whilst the progressives opposed it. It is from the latter section that the core emerged which subsequently founded the Communist Party of South Africa in July, 1921.

In 1917 the Great October Socialist Revolution ushered in a new phase in human history. The salvoes of that revolution were heard in our country. In July 1921 the Communist Party of South Africa was founded.

From that moment the physiognomy of the fight for freedom in our country was altered. The Communist Party participated openly in all the great struggles up to the time it was outlawed by the South African government in 1950. Powerful African theoreticians of international standard were produced by the party. The whole movement for liberation was provided with numerous fine cadres from the ranks of the Communists. The freedom movement acquired a general staff.

The draft programme endeavours a scientific summary of the experiences of the movement in South Africa and the conclusions to be drawn therefrom. The whole of democratic South Africa is at present discussing the draft as fully as possible under conditions of extreme repression and illegality. No doubt numerous criticisms and suggestions for changes in formulation and emphasis will emerge some of which will find expression in this journal. We do not intend in this article to do this.

It does seem, however, that the occasion of the publication of the draft programme is as good a time as any to examine once more certain attitudes that are persistently peddled in Africa today regarding Communism.

WHAT IS FOREIGN?

We are told ad nauseum that "Communism is foreign". This statement provokes the retort: "Where is it indigenous?"

It is generally accepted that the founders of scientific Socialism—Communism—were Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Both were German. The ideas of Marx were developed, enriched and put into practice by the Russian Communists led by V. I. Lenin. The Russian Communists organised the great October Socialist Revolution, founded the first Socialist state the Soviet Union which is

now confidently marching to Communism. The next great event in the history of our times was the great Chinese Revolution led by the Chinese Communist Party. This event occurred in the period following the Second World War when a whole number of Socialist States arose in Asia and Eastern Europe. A few years ago a socialist revolution broke out for the first time in the Western hemisphere—in gallant Cuba.

In view of all this the question becomes even more pertinent—what precisely is intended by the charge that “Communism is foreign.” We are not so innocent as to believe that those who repeat this charge are sincere in what they say. Nevertheless they do mislead a large number of honest people, particularly and, in some ways, paradoxically in continents like Africa which have for centuries been dominated by foreign imperialist interests and ideas.

It is natural to expect that our people will react very strongly against suggestions that *only* foreign ideas are good. They will desire at all times to stress the importance of ideas, social formations and developments which are indigenous to Africa. This is especially so because of the arrogant assumption of the Imperialist ideologists that Africa has made no contribution to world culture and progress. This arrant nonsense which has no historical or serious scientific basis must, of course, be firmly rebuffed. But sometimes we go to the other extreme and convince ourselves that everything that existed in Africa before it came under European Imperialist rule was good. We paint an idyllic picture of pastoral tribal conditions; and speak vaguely of past civilisations which surpassed anything seen in the world at the time. Even in the draft programme of the South African Communist Party a little of this type of emotion is expressed; and one can very well understand it. Capitalism is represented as a system of unrelieved gloom as compared with the past, and its objectively revolutionising role is slightly under-estimated.

But the whole point is that it is precisely the Imperialists who have been doing all this harm to Africa. They have sought to denigrate indigenous African culture. And it is they again who are most vigorous in presenting Communism as an idea foreign to Africa which must be resisted. And we suggest that, paradoxically, some Africans accept the word of Imperialist propagandists who characterise Communism as foreign. *Implicit in this is also the suggestion that the other widespread social formation in the world, namely, capitalism, is indigenous to Africa.* It does not require

much thought to realise that no social formation is ever indigenous or foreign to any particular country or continent.

AFRICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

This leads directly to the next popular fallacy that finds much currency in our continent today. This is that both capitalism and communism are foreign and that therefore some sort of indigenous economic system exists or must be invented to meet the needs of Africa. This desire to find an alternative to imperialism and communism is in some instances a surrender of political integrity to the imperialists. Why should there be invented an alternative merely for the sake of avoiding Communism and thus, presumably pleasing the imperialists.

Communism and for that matter capitalism were not inventions designed to find an artificially developed alternative to other social formations. As far as Communism is concerned it is based on a profound study of actual nature NOT of Europe or Asia but of the whole world. It is a world outlook. Is it really logical from any point of view for any idea to have validity in a particular continent only? Does African socialism mean we must also have Asian socialism, American socialism, Australian socialism etc? Is not this carrying the undoubted continental links that bind African people to absurd limits?

No less absurd is the attempt to propagate a type of socialism founded on so-called religious lines as being adapted to the traditions of Islam or to Arabism. In the long five-and-a-half hour speech before the National Congress recently General Gamal Abdel Nasser did not reveal precisely what the nature of this kind of socialism was.

It is not alternatives we must search for but the truth. The basic ideas of Marxism are of international validity. It is a science. Water does not have a different chemical formula depending on where one happens to be living. It might taste differently because of the type of rock on which it flows or the chemicals dissolved in it. But it remains water, with the same basic chemical formula. The same might be said of Marxism-Leninism. It can be applied to any country, but naturally the history, culture and national characteristics of a people will produce varieties of socialism. But this must not be the excuse for prostituting the idea altogether and changing its basic character.

Some misconceptions of Communism, we must admit, are assisted by the dogmatic errors on the part of some Communists. Thus the

attitude of some African leaders owes its origin to the mistakes of certain European Communists on matters affecting Africa. They have then concluded, wrongly, that these mistakes invalidate Marxism-Leninism. It must be made quite clear, first of all, that mistakes by certain communists are due not to their race but to their faulty understanding of Marxism-Leninism. It is wholly wrong to identify Marxism-Leninism with the race or nationality of the Communist who makes an erroneous analysis and reaches a wrong conclusion. This is racialism in reverse—it is reactionary.

The question which will gain the allegiance of the world—Capitalism or Communism—is a problem which we have to decide as much as anyone else. To be neutral in this matter is to try quite uselessly to evade the responsibility of Africans to participate in the solution of world problems. It is to abdicate a position which we are entitled to hold. This question of Communism is not something about which anyone can be neutral because in the final analysis it is a choice between truth and falsehood. To keep out is to accept the place which the imperialists desire us to be in. It is to surrender to the cultural imperialism which says Africans do not and cannot understand world problems and need to be guided.

Communism has proved by means of facts that it is the truth for our times. We must study its ideas from the original sources—from Marx, Engels, Lenin. We must judge its ideas not second-hand but from its practice in the Soviet Union and the world Socialist system as a whole. Communists have no doubt which system the African people would choose given the opportunity to decide freely without hindrance.

A. ZANZOLO.

ABOUT US AND OUR READERS

The First Three Years

With this issue *The African Communist* enters its fourth year of publication. In our first issue—a small duplicated edition of a few hundred copies, whose circulation was confined almost exclusively to South Africa, we boldly announced our aim: to bring the inspiring truths and outlook of Marxism-Leninism to the people of all Africa, so long maintained as the “dark Continent” by the veil of ignorance and lies deliberately created by colonialism. “Africa,” we said, “needs Marxist ideas as dry and thirsty soil needs rain.” And during the past three years we have adhered steadfastly to our aim, to make this journal a pillar of African solidarity, a forum of Marxist-Leninist thought throughout our great Continent, to explain Communist theory and apply it creatively to the problems and challenges of the African Revolution.

The response from our readers, from African workers and revolutionary intellectuals in every corner of our Continent, has fully proved and justified what we said and believed. In almost every corner of Africa, East, West, North, South and Central, *The African Communist* is read and discussed. Our circulation has grown to nearly thirty times the original figure for the regular edition in English, and with the publication of our special edition of “Le Communiste Africain” in France we began to extend our readership to new areas where English is not spoken or read.

The readers of *The African Communist* do not merely read it and put it away. They pass it on to fellow-workers. They form groups of readers to discuss its contents, to further their studies of Marxism-Leninism, and to apply the lessons they have learnt to the creative solution of the problems of the countries in which they are living. Many such study-groups have been formed in different territories, and as we foresaw at the beginning, these groups are entering whole-heartedly into the struggles of their people against colonialism in all its forms, and forming the basis for great Communist Parties in many countries of Africa, advancing the cause of the African

working class and forming close and friendly alliance with our patriotic movements of national liberation.

A TRIBUTE FROM LESOTHO

A tribute to this pioneering role of the *African Communist* is contained in a message which we deeply treasure and are proud to print from the *Communist Party of Lesotho* (Basutoland). It reads as follows:

We must appreciate the amount of work you are doing for the future of mankind. Your distribution of the "African Communist", produced by the wonderful Marxist-Leninist Party of South Africa, under very difficult conditions in that country, is successfully uniting the liberatory forces in our great continent, Africa.

We are proud to say to other patriotic forces throughout our continent that had it not been for the thorough watering of this mountainous country of ours with such politically clean water as the "African Communist" and other Marxist literature, our formation of the workers' party would have been difficult indeed.

Workers of all lands unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains!

Many readers also send us interesting information about conditions in their own countries.

Also from Lesotho a young man who is hoping to study medicine points out the desperate shortage of medical facilities in his country. With one doctor for each of the nine districts each doctor averages about 95,555 potential patients, and one nurse for about 23,888. There is no research centre and no facilities for medical training. Money for overseas training, raised from taxation, is available for scholarships, but our correspondent, Mr. Latela 'Monahali, alleges that there is favouritism in awarding these; the first chance being given to the royalty, "then relatives of civil servants in that particular department".

THE OTHER AMERICA

Even beyond the borders of Africa, in many parts of the world, *The African Communist* is being read and making known the struggles and aspirations of the African people. In previous issues we have published letters from as far afield as Japan and Iceland, the Soviet Union and China, Britain, France, Italy and Cuba.

Recently, through our London agent, we received a message from a comrade in Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A., which we found very moving. She writes:

I have just read, for the first time, the "African Communist" No. 9, and I can hardly express the excitement and enthusiasm I felt at reading this fine Marxist periodical.

Let me first offer my congratulations to the heroic and unswerving comrades of South Africa who, though living in an almost unimaginable state of inhuman treatment, continue to struggle militantly and to put out this valuable political document.

As a progressive young American and a student of Marxism, I feel a friendship and warmth towards the people of Africa in their struggle against imperialism and fight for national independence. Because their victory is a blow against the hateful giant of American imperialism and a benefit to all mankind. We in the United States, as I am sure you are all aware, are faced with the neo-Hitlerite McCarran Act, which is an affront to all the American people, not the communists alone. We are confident that in our country, just as the people of other countries are doing, the American people will defeat those powers that want to push us backward just as we are on the eve of a great day.

The "African Communist" has helped me to understand more the conditions of the people of Africa in their valiant struggles. Let me just add that the writing is not only correct in its analysis but makes very fine reading. Keep up the good work!

And another American reader, renewing his subscription, adds: *I don't want to miss a single copy of this fine magazine.*

An African student in California writes that our journal is "not only relevant to my field of study, but also extremely illuminating".

The picture which we in Africa have of the United States of America is not a pleasant one. It is an America intervening everywhere in Africa and throughout the world on the side of reaction and war, bribing our national and trade union leaders, spreading poisonous anti-Communist lies and propaganda, intriguing in the murder of Patrice Lumumba, propping up imperialism and colonialism everywhere, talking hypocritically about freedom and democracy while persecuting our brothers and sisters of African descent in the United States itself.

These letters show us that there is *another America* of brave working people who do not fear to speak out against imperialism and war in the citadel of reaction, in spite of the nightmare of fascist laws, spying and intimidation against the Left created by the millionaire rulers of the U.S.A.

SUPPRESSION BY COLONIALISTS

There is another side to the letters which we receive from Africa. A side that shows how the British and other colonialists ceaselessly try to suppress our journal, to victimise its readers, to prevent the people from learning the truth about Communism.

In *Rhodesia*, a socialist group formed to discuss our journal was raided; its leadership forced into exile.

From *Uganda*, a schoolgirl whose cousin was selling the *African Communist* writes that he has not come home: “. . . policemen are looking for him due to the fact that he is interested in communism.”

From *Bloemfontein* (South Africa): “Kindly stop sending the *African Communist* to ————. I understand he has fled. Police worry him.”

From *Grahamstown* (South Africa): “I do not know the whereabouts of ————. He disappeared at the end of April.”

Even in *Kenya*, which, on the verge of independence, has Africans occupying leading positions in Parliament and in the Cabinet (see the article in this issue), British colonial regulations banning the *African Communist* are still in force.

WILL NOT STOP US

However, not all the evil laws, persecutions and censorship of the colonialists and their allies and counterparts, the white supremacists of the Republic and Rhodesia, will stop the *African Communist* from spreading the truth; nor our readers finding ways of receiving, studying and passing on this magazine.

With every issue, new enthusiasts and militants come forward to help in this noble task.

Such a one is Ekpo B. Ekpo, of *Nigeria*. “It pleases me very much,” he writes, “to be one of the readers of this journal, and I promise to join hands with my friends fighting in South Africa, in East, North and West Africa, under the banner of Marxism. . . . We, the youth of Nigeria, still struggle against our common enemy, the imperialist, colonialist, capitalist. This is the final time for imperialism to be finished in Africa and Latin American countries. . . . Today in Nigeria we are half free. Politically there is still a struggle in my country, which is becoming an imperialist stronghold. . . . We shall win in this struggle. . . . There is no force on earth, no bomb, that can deter us from winning this struggle, this fight for freedom.”

The last letter we have space for this time comes from an African student in *France*. It reads (in translation from the French):

I am Cameroonian. Our people live, in actuality, under a regime of fascist dictatorship, under a shameful regime, under a regime of neo-colonialism supported by Ahijdo and others.

Through the medium of one of my compatriots I have read the "African Communist". I was immensely pleased to see Africans, armed with Marxist-Leninist ideology, showing up the falseness and inconsistency of imperialist arguments which are meant to keep Africa apart from the rest of the world. These imperialists and colonialists, fearful of the evolution and the reality of our continent, want to keep our people in slavery. But they are being battered by the wind of history. The fight is on. Our people will come out of it victorious.

OUR PLEDGE FOR THE FUTURE

It is well known that we of the South African Communist Party, who produce this journal, have no easy task. The fascist Verwoerd Government is the sworn enemy of Communism and the Communist Party. In this country our Party is illegal, and anyone found to be a member can be sent to prison for up to five years. Hundreds of Communists have been listed and banned, forbidden to join organisations or attend meetings, confined to particular parts of the country. Vicious new laws introduced this year threaten Communists with house arrest; savage penalties, even including the death sentence, have been laid down for political activities.

Nevertheless we are determined to continue and intensify our work of leading our people in the struggle for freedom and equality, of spreading the light of Marxist-Leninist understanding, because we are confident in the justice of our cause, the truth of what we have to say, and the confidence of ultimate victory.

We are determined, in particular, to build up *The African Communist* as a beacon of victory and a banner of anti-colonialist struggle and unity throughout our great Continent. We are happy with the progress we have made over the past three years, but we are not satisfied, and shall not be satisfied until we have multiplied the circulation of this journal many times, until we have constantly improved its contents and made it a still more effective educator, organiser and weapon of our people's struggle. And we pledge to you, our readers, that we shall spare no efforts, not even life itself, in this great task.

But in order to succeed, you too, our readers, must help us. You can help in many ways. This is what we ask you to do:

When you have finished reading this copy of *The African Communist*, do not throw it away. Pass it on to a friend or fellow-worker. (But if you are in a country where our journal is illegal, you must be careful of informers or police.)

Form groups of readers to discuss the contents of every issue, and other Marxist-Leninist literature. Such study groups can be very important. They should study the conditions in their own country, in the light of Communist theory. They should take part, as loyal members, in the national liberation struggle. They should work for the brotherly unity of *all Communists in each country*, preparing the way for the eventual formation of a *Communist Party* to advance the cause of the workers and help in building a united front of national liberation, comprising all parties and classes, and people of all patriotic views. An important task which can and should be undertaken by an *African Communist* study group is to prepare articles for this journal based upon a study and analysis of conditions *in their own country*, and the solutions proposed for its problems.

Become an agent to sell *The African Communist*, or get your local bookseller to stock it. (Special discounts for agents and sellers are available to cover expenses.)

Send us *donations*—your own and those collected or raised by friends—to help us build up and expand *The African Communist*. For example, we have plans to issue more publications, not only in English, but also in French, Swahili, Zulu and other languages of the African people. But to carry out these plans we need more money. It would help us very much, too, if agents and sellers would all pay promptly for copies they receive!

Although the South African Communist Party is publishing this journal we do not aim or seek to make it the journal of our Party alone. Already we have published articles by Algerian, Sudanese, Guinean, Tunisian, Basotho and Senegalese Communists, as well as contributions from comrades living outside Africa. We want to make it the voice of African Communists and patriots in every part of this continent; the voice of the African Revolution.

We call on you to help us in this tremendous task.

IN THE SESOTHO LANGUAGE

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