



LIBERATION

ONE SHILLING

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BEHIND THE GOA DISTURBANCES

—By A. KATHRADA

NEW LIGHT ON “BANTU EDUCATION”

—By D. NOKWE



A JOURNAL OF DEMOCRATIC DISCUSSION

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Editorial

THE LAST DAYS OF EMPIRE

OUR times are full of storm and conflict; of toil and trouble; of suffering and bloodshed; of terrible wars and threats of war. Yet, to those of us who are able now and again to raise our eyes and our thoughts from the daily struggle for existence, to see the world about us in its perspective and its history and its future—what a stirring and wonderful era is this we live in! For this is the time of change. Never before have there been such dramatic and far-reaching changes in human society. Before our eyes the entire structure and pattern of man's social life, the world over, is being re-shaped.

The mighty, seemingly everlasting Empires that, thirty or forty years ago, bestrode the world, are crumbling. From their ruins, a new world, holding fairer promise for the human race than our ancestors dreamed was possible, is struggling to raise itself. "The old order yieldeth, giving place to new"—but with what bitter reluctance it yields! The cataclysmic destruction of two world wars; and the endless series of cruel "colonial" wars that have gone on without cease in some corner or other of Africa and Asia and South America, between the two wars and since then—these testify to the grim determination of imperialism to fight to the last ditch to maintain itself.

It is not far from the last ditch, now.

Empires, in past ages, have come and gone: only to be replaced by others. The profoundly new feature of our era is that we are witnessing the disintegration and the destruction of the last of the empires. We are on the threshold of a new age when the very concept and roots of imperialism will be extirpated; when all nations, great and small, will live together in independence, security and fraternity.

AN OLD STORY

History knows of innumerable examples of conquest and domination. Egypt, Persia, Greece and Rome. Portugal and Spain. Holland and France and Turkey and Britain. Germany, Italy, Japan . . . The list could go on for pages. All invaded and subjected other peoples and built mighty empires. Each has itself, at some time, known the conqueror's foot upon its soil, the humiliation of rule by strangers, speaking an alien tongue and treating the "natives" like dirt beneath their feet. There is hardly a corner of the world that has not rumbled beneath the feet of invading armies. Sometimes they were merely robber bands, out to capture loot and slaves and then go home. Sometimes they were landless tribes, perhaps themselves dispossessed, seeking to conquer fresh pastures which, once conquered, would become their new homeland, where they would settle and in time merge with the people about them.

And, sometimes, they were the professional soldiers of a great power, bent on establishing its suzerainty all over the earth, in order to exact the conqueror's tribute from all peoples, to enrich its wealthy classes, and to impose its religion and language, its culture and its laws everywhere. Such, for example, was imperial Rome.

Time was when Rome ruled all Europe, North Africa and the Middle East—"all the world" as they knew it. As with all empires, humiliation, taxation, downright robbery, followed in the wake of the victorious Roman armies. There also followed civilisation, Roman laws and the art of writing, and other fruits of advanced culture. Rome did not invent these blessings; for the most part they were the conqueror's loot from the more advanced civilisations of Africa, Asia and Greece. But at least, it can be claimed that the ancient Roman Empire did not only destroy and exploit but also played an educating and civilising role. It transmitted the fruits of the rich cultures which bloomed in Egypt, Persia and Athens, to the barbarians of North-Western Europe: the British, Dutch, French, Germans and Belgians.

THE SCOURGE OF THE PALEFACE

The Roman Empire declined and fell. New conquerors arose, from Mongolia in the East and from Morocco in the South, and held their sway over vast territories and populations. And they, too, went the way of Rome. Departing, they left the way clear for the newly-formed nations of North-Western Europe to build up, slowly at first, what was to become the most gigantic, powerful and enslaving imperial system of all. New developments in production in these countries had brought

a new class to the forefront—the money-mad bourgeoisie; advances in navigation, exploration and military techniques gave them the vision of new worlds to conquer, of which the old Romans had never dreamed: the Americas, Central and Southern Africa, Australia and the Far East. In a few short centuries they had planted their flags and their garrisons and their traders and their missionaries in every corner of the globe. The loot of the world poured into the harbours of Western Europe; the poor people of those countries remained as poor as ever, but their wealthy classes built up enormous fortunes. To them, the conquest and colonisation of the globe was a glorious and profitable adventure. To the rest of the globe's inhabitants it was the Scourge of the Paleface.

For few such mitigating factors as had marked the era of the ancient Caesars attended those later empire-building efforts. Incredible cruelties were practised by the Spaniards and Portuguese when they pillaged, plundered and murdered in South America, destroying utterly the ancient Aztec civilisation. In North America, the so-called "Red Indians" were ruthlessly driven from the land and all but exterminated, as were the original inhabitants of Australia. Throughout Asia, the British and the French and the Dutch and the Portuguese sent their armies of occupation and established their alien rule. Great companies were set up to organise the mass export from those countries of raw materials, the systematic exploitation of their people's labour and their countries' mineral and vegetable wealth.

GOLD, SLAVES, IVORY

And in Africa? The Gold Coast, the Ivory Coast, the Slave Coast. How well those names sum up the goals that brought the "Westerners" to this continent, and that set them fighting among themselves for the rich spoils. English and French and Portuguese and Belgian and Italian businessmen and adventurers swarmed over the country for their loot of precious metals, rubber, cocoa, elephant tusks and . . . people! Vast herds of elephant that once roamed the continent were slaughtered. Chiefs who had never dreamed of the concept of private ownership of land were persuaded to put their thumb-prints on a piece of paper in exchange for a wagon-load of worthless trade goods—and then informed, at the point of a rifle, that they had sold their country to foreigners. Or were befooled by some missionary into asking for the protection of the Great White Queen over the seas—only to find that Her Majesty's "Protectorate" included the right to govern his people and dispose of his land by armed force—and should he show his displeasure, to depose him and appoint a more docile Chief in his place. No different, indeed, from the "protection" offered by the Chicago gangster.

How many peaceful Africans were seized by force and transported in hellish slave-trading ships—in which countless numbers perished of disease, thirst and starvation—to be sold like cattle to labour in sugar-fields and cotton-plantations thousands of miles from their homelands? Millions of their descendants today populate whole countries in the Pacific, and form the majority of the population in the Southern States of the U.S.A. Vast fortunes, the foundation of British and American capital accumulation, were amassed from their labour.

It is true that the impact of imperialism awoke the sleeping, static societies of the darker-skinned people and impelled them along the path to progress. But this was not of deliberate intent; indeed, the sahibs were at pains to retard those societies and prolong their backwardness, the easier to rule them. Every reactionary institution—Rajahs, chiefs and petty tribalism—was preserved and twisted to serve the purposes of dividing the people and acting as a lever of indirect rule by imperialism. It is true the invaders built railways and ports—the better and speedier to ship their loot to Europe.

Though they claimed to be following the Roman tradition of civilising and educating the barbarians, the modern imperialists of the past two centuries held vast populations in a state of illiteracy. Their libraries and their universities, like their institutions of Government and administration, and their highest achievements, electric power and the water closet, were kept with few exceptions “for Europeans only”—that odious sign that gave their pious pretensions the lie.

THE LAST STAGE

As capitalism developed into its highest and final stage of monopolies, in which the bankers and the manufacturers fused into a single all-powerful class, the colonies assumed a new significance. From simple spoliation of raw materials, they proceeded to establish large processing plants, where their capital could be used to greater profit by exploiting the cheap, unorganised labour of the colonial peoples. As they had long ago done in their home countries, they proceeded to force the people from the land on to the labour market. Through taxation and naked force, they drove them to work on their mines and farms and plantations.

Tremendously speeded by new sources of industrial power, and driven ahead by their insatiable and urgent greed for profits, the imperialist powers raced to extend their territories and their rate of exploitation to the utmost. Competing madly to get there first they carved up Africa among themselves; criss-crossing the map of the continent with tidy lines, with squares and triangles neatly coloured red, green and blue—bearing no relation to linguistic or natural boundaries, drawn thousands of miles away in the diplomatic thieves' kitchens of Europe. “Time is money,” was their slogan, and money was their god. So they opened wide the throttle and went full speed ahead.

Full speed ahead to their doom.

For the speeding imperialist locomotive had irreparable faults, fatal sources of friction that could lead only to its smash-up. There was the friction, building up to white heat, within each metropolitan country, between the financiers who ruled and the masses who laboured for them in their factories, mines and mills. Secondly, there was the movement of the peoples of the conquered colonial territories, arising anew with ever-growing unity, national consciousness and ardour to claim back their homelands, and joining forces with the rebellious workers of Europe against the common exploiter and tyrant. Thirdly, there was the explosive rivalry between the great imperial powers themselves: the first-comers had seized and shared out the world, but powerful

newcomers had arrived, greedily reaching out for their share of colonial super-profits.

THE ILLUSION OF STABILITY

These fatal flaws in the imperialist machine were hidden. To all but the sharpest-eyed, clearest-brained observers (and there were a few such) the stability and permanence of White world domination seemed unquestionable, inevitable, God-ordained.

Consider Britain at the opening of the present century, in the full tide of the Victorian heyday, surveying the world with no little self-satisfaction and arrogance. British manufacture and commerce were paramount all over the world. The Union Jack waved over the mightiest empire in all history, on which "the sun never set," and (though not without considerable trouble and unpleasantness) a large slice of South Africa had just been added to it, containing the richest goldfields on earth. Strong and confident, Britannia ruled the waves. It seemed unthinkable that a few short years would see the colossal structure of the British Empire shattered. Unthinkable, that is, to those who could not discern, below the surface illusion of stability, the irresistible forces of history at work.

Then, in August, 1914, the smouldering rivalry of the great dominant Powers burst forth into the first world war for the re-division of the empires: a conflagration that raged for four years, and left the imperialist system shaken to its foundations.

On Easter Monday, 1916, certain remarkable events took place in Ireland, England's oldest colony, whose subjugation began 800 years ago. A group of armed Irishmen, headed by Patrick Pearse and James Connolly, marched in and took possession of the Dublin Post Office. The national flag was unfurled, and Pearse read out a document proclaiming the establishment of the Republic of Ireland. It was the signal for a general rising all over the country. The rising was ill-organised; it was savagely and rapidly suppressed; but it was the writing on the wall for imperialism, a warning forerunner of the tidal wave of national liberation soon to sweep through the colonial world.

AN EMPIRE VANISHES

On November 7, 1917, a whole great empire vanished. The workers and peasants of the Russian Tsar's vast, sprawling dominions arose and put an end forever to the rule of the capitalists and landlords throughout what is today the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in a rumbling, tumbling explosion whose fateful reverberations still echo and will do for long years to come.

By the end of the first world war another empire—Austria-Hungary—had disintegrated. Britain and France swallowed Germany's former colonies (the Union got a morsel as well), but the whole fabric of their imperial systems had been weakened, and a new rival, the lusty developing capitalism of the U.S.A. was already busy shouldering them out of their monopolies in their colonies, spheres of influence and markets. In the Far East, still another imperialist rival was challenging them: Japan.

The process of imperial disintegration that was begun in 1914 was enormously accelerated and magnified by the Second World War. We have no space even to begin to catalogue the astonishing changes which have taken place: changes so vast that anyone daring to predict them twenty, even ten, years ago would have been dismissed as a raving lunatic. Nations, oppressed for centuries, have arisen to claim their rights to independence and self-government. Consider the implications and the meaning of the great assembly of African and Indian countries which took place this year at Bandoeng! There were the representatives of the People's Republic of China, a country of 600 million people, now sovereign and independent after centuries of imperialist domination and exploitation. Of the Republic of India—360 million strong. The Republic of Indonesia—79 million. Burma, Pakistan, the Gold Coast, Egypt, Ceylon. . . Not all of them, perhaps, yet fully independent, but all on the march against colonialism, not only to free their own countries, but also in the cause of all subject and dependent peoples everywhere. And still, with dramatic swiftness, the liberatory process goes on. France has received her marching orders in Indo-China, the United States in Korea.

THE VELD-FIRE OF FREEDOM

Desperately, with savage ferocity, the imperialists strive to retain what is left of their shrunken "possessions." France, in Morocco and Tunis, Britain in Malaya and Kenya try to stem the flood of freedom with barricades built of the corpses of patriots—whom they miscall "bandits" and "terrorists." To no avail. As they try to stamp out the veld-fire of freedom on one side, it breaks out again on the other. Africa, Asia, the Middle East—the whole colonial world is throbbing and turbulent for liberty and democracy, from Cyprus to Goa, from Ireland, still combatting the crime of partition, to the Sudan, resisting all domination, whether from Britain or from Egypt. Where will it break out next? We do not know; but what is certain is that imperialism itself is fast nearing its end. Reeking with countless abominable crimes, there will be few to mourn its passing.

Among those few will be the Nationalist Party of South Africa, who properly identify their own gross tyranny over the non-white majority with the ruthless colonial administration of London and Paris and the financial emporors of Wall Street. A bitter irony, that those who claim the traditions of the Afrikaner republicans of 50 years ago in their epic resistance to the mighty British Empire, should have joined Chiang Kai-Shek and Syngman Rhee as last-ditch defenders of Anglo-American domination, running-dogs of imperialism!

As for the great majority of the people of South Africa, the oppressed African people and all democrats, white and black, there is no doubt where they stand in this great struggle of our times. We are not spectators, we are participants. Every victory for our colonial brothers is a victory for us. The imperialists have been forced to give back India and China to the people. They will have to give back Africa, too. *Mayibuye i' Afrika!*

GOA — S.E.A.T.O. BASE FOR WAR?

“Whoever hath seen Goa need not see Lisbon.”

—Portuguese Colonialist proverb.

By A. M. KATHRADA

SPEAKING at a conference at Sitapur on 21st August, 1955, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said:—

“It is not that we covet Goa. That little bit of territory makes no difference to this great country. But even a small enclave under foreign colonial rule does make a difference and it is a constant irritant both to the self-respect and national interest of India. It may be a source of danger more especially if a hostile and reactionary country like Portugal holds on to it.”

Lest the full significance of these words escape the attention of the more casual reader let us reconsider them against a background of certain facts and recent happenings.

(1) Portugal is a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. When joining N.A.T.O. in 1951 she signed a pact of mutual assistance and defence with the United States, saying:—

“Portugal was to use such monies and armaments as necessary to defend its imperial possessions in India and elsewhere.”

(2) The United States and Portugal have only recently constructed a huge airfield in Goa at the cost of millions of rupees.

(3) While international reaction subtly or blatantly combined to maintain Goa as a N.A.T.O. or S.E.A.T.O. base in Asia, in another part of the colonial world; in Morocco and Algeria, this same N.A.T.O. organisation was confirming the very dangers and fears that Pandit Nehru had expressed.

Speaking of the fresh massacres in North Africa the Chief of the Moroccan Information Office in New York, Ben Aboud said at a Press Conference held at the Egyptian Embassy on 25th August:—

It was “tragically ironic that N.A.T.O. has served in North Africa only to allow the French to pour forces into that area to kill defenceless people by the thousands with American weapons.”

(4) And finally we have the words of Dr. Salazar, ruthless dictator of Portugal for 27 years:—

“... if the question of Goa is understood as the transfer to the Indian Union of sovereignty over the Portuguese territories, it is certain that the question will not be solved by peaceful means.”

Stripped of all diplomatic coatings in statesmen's pronouncements, the above is the gist of the problem in Goa. We have on the one hand the colonial powers of the world, all lined up to maintain the status quo in Goa for military and economic purposes, while on the other we have the might of the erstwhile oppressed colonial people who have taken their destiny into their own hands and are determined that not only Goa but all similar pockets of imperialism everywhere are eradicated. This attitude was sharply expressed on behalf of Asian and African peoples by Premier Chou En Lai of China, one of the newest countries to cast off the yoke of oppression and foreign rule, when speaking at the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung:—

“One should say,” he said, “that now the common desire of the awakened countries and peoples of Asia and Africa is to oppose racial discrimination and to demand fundamental human rights, to oppose colonialism and to demand national independence, to firmly defend their own territorial integrity and sovereignty. The struggle of the Egyptian people for the restoration of their sovereignty over the Suez Canal zone, the struggle of the Iranian people for the restoration of sovereignty over their petroleum resources and the demand for the restoration of the territorial rights of India over Goa and of Indonesia over West Irian, have all won sympathy from many countries in Asia and Africa. China's will to liberate her own territory, Taiwan, has likewise won the support of all righteous people in the Asian and African region.”

TRAGEDY OF PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM

Before going into details of the conditions obtaining in Goa let us first get a brief insight into life in Portugal itself and in one of its colonies nearer to us in South Africa.

Salazar, of “democracy is out of date” notoriety, has as mentioned before been dictator of fascist Portugal for 27 years. Apart from it being a fully fledged police state with no democratic rights for the masses of the people, 40 per cent of the population of Portugal is illiterate. The agricultural workers receive an average wage of 30s. per week. In 1953 the infant mortality rate in Portugal was as high as 96 per thousand compared with 28 in Britain and 19 in Sweden.

So much for conditions in Portugal itself. How much worse must it be for its colonial subjects!

Take Angola for instance, or the “Hungry Country,” as it is tragically known to its unfortunate inhabitants—the country of the 379,000 “contradados”—literal translation, “contract workers”—in fact nothing less than 20th century slaves.

To assist us in coming to this conclusion we have the words of a

slave master himself, politely titled General Manager of the Cassequel Sugar Plantation, a Senhor Monteiro, in reply to questions put to him by the prominent British author, Basil Davidson.

Q. What happens if a forced labourer refuses to work?

A. Oh, but they will work. They do.

Q. Still, supposing they won't?

A. Then we send them to the police station.

Q. And what do the police do with them?

A. To men who won't work? Put them in prison of course.

Some while before this, a Senhor Henrique Galvaö, member of the Portuguese National Assembly and a supporter of Salazar carried out an objective investigation into conditions in Angola and paid the price by being flung into Salazar's prison. His report, which was published later by the Portuguese underground came to the conclusion that "it was not surprising that infant mortality reaches a figure of 60 per cent and that a death rate as high as 40 per cent is not rare among workers themselves."

Of labour, Galvaö says that the settlers make requests for a " 'supply' of workers. This word 'supply' is used indifferently of goods or of men.

"In some ways the situation is worse than simple slavery. Under slavery after all, the Native is bought as an animal; his owner prefers him to remain as fit as a horse or an ox. Yet here the Native is not bought—he is hired from the State although he is called a free man. And his employer cares little if he sickens or dies once he is working, because when he sickens or dies, his employer will simply ask for another."

To complete the tragedy of Portuguese colonialism it must be remembered that less than $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the population of Angola is at school. In April, 1954, for its population of 4 million, Angola had 151 doctors.

"GOA DOURADA"

"Goa Dourada" (Golden Goa) as it was known to the Portuguese conquerors was taken in 1510 by Affonso de Albuquerque. Situated on the western coast of India it has an area of 1,301 square miles and has deposits of iron, manganese and cocoanut.

According to official Portuguese statistics of 1951 there were about 638,000 people in the territories of Goa, Daman and Diu of whom 600,000 were in Goa.

Goa is an integral part of India historically, geographically, technically, economically, culturally and the Portuguese have no moral, legal or any other right over that enclave. In the words of the Argentinian newspaper, "Democracia":—

"Portugal cannot take its usurption of Goa for 400 years as a title of possession."

Out of the total population of 638,000 in the three Portuguese enclaves, all but 1,438 are Indian. 61 per cent of the population are Hindu and 37 per cent Christian. The Konki language is predominant in Goa while in Daman and Diu, Gujrati is spoken.

Being a duty-free port Goa is a haven for foreign racketeers and smugglers. It is estimated that organised smuggling of gold and liquor takes place over the border to the value of £10 million a year.

There is no democratic electoral system to speak of in Goa. Only recently the Portuguese authorities engineered farcical legislative council "elections" under police threats and intimidation.

Of the total population of over 600,000 there were only 50,000 registered voters. The legislative Council consists of 23 members, of whom five are nominated by the Government, seven chosen by the Portuguese-supported organisations and eleven "elected" by a so-called direct poll.

TRANQUILITY?

Under such conditions the Portuguese maintained that all was quiet in Goa. On the 20th March, 1954 a statement was issued by the Foreign Ministry of Portugal that there was "complete tranquility of life in the Portuguese territory of Goa where the fundamental guarantees and civil liberties prescribed by law are fully respected."

As against this we have the facts of the growth both in Portugal and Goa of a powerful movement for the return of Goa to India. In fact just about 31 days before the Portuguese statement, on the 17th of February, 1954, the popular Goan patriot, Dr. Gaitonde was arrested and deported to Lisbon. To mark the first anniversary of the arrest of their leader, widespread demonstrations took place in Panjim, Mohase, Canacon and many parts of Goa on February 17th, this year, as a result of which over 150 Goans were arrested.

History books tell us that there were no less than 50 major revolts against the Portuguese in Goa in the last 200 years. As recently as August of this year the correspondent of the London "Observer," a newspaper by no means friendly disposed towards colonial peoples, reported from Goa that people from all walks of life clearly indicated that they preferred to return to India. He wrote:—

"I could find no Hindu peasant willing to praise Portugal. On the other hand, I found the middle-class, both Hindu and Roman Catholic, turning towards India."

So great, for instance, is the nationalist movement in the village of Sakoi Veram that the Portuguese threatened to bomb it. The inhabitants were given four days, ending on the 28th August, to quit the village, where over 300 Goans were arrested since 15th August. According to the Goan National Congress sources a further 120 Goans were arrested in Margoa, Bicholem and other villages.

The fighters for freedom have burnt down hutments for billeting Portuguese troops. Meanwhile, the Satyagraha Council of the Goan National Congress at a two-day meeting on 22nd August at the Indian port of Karwar decided to intensify the non co-operation movement.

In Portugal itself there is increasing solidarity with the Goan freedom movement. Already in September, 1954, Professor Rui Luiz Gomez and four others were arrested for issuing a Manifesto demanding negotiations between India and Portugal for the settlement of the Goa issue and protesting against the despatch of troops to Goa. In recent weeks, slogans and posters are reported to have appeared in many parts of Portugal supporting the movement to unite Goa with India and demanding the release of the imprisoned Professor and his compatriots.

WORLD-WIDE SUPPORT

The great 29-nation Afro-Asian Conference in Bandung representing 1,600 million people declared its opposition to any form of colonialism and its full support for colonial peoples fighting against imperialist oppression.

Support for the struggle of the Goan peoples has been echoed in country after country all over the world.

In the People's Republic of China scores of rallies were held and attended by thousands of people. In Chunking, Sian, Peking, Canton, Wuhan, Shengyang, Shanghai, Tienstan, masses of people from all walks of life gathered together to make their voices heard.

Thousands gathered at Hanoi in **Vietnam** to support peace leader, Le Dinh Tham proclaim:—

“Goa belongs to India; it would surely return to the bosom of the Indian people.”

From **Burma** came support in the form of an all-parties resolution in Parliament denouncing imperialism in Goa, while Prime Minister U Nu described the events there as;

“a kind of spark that can lead to conflagration,” adding that “Asians cannot tolerate colonialism whether by Portugal or any other country.”

Joining in support, **Cairo's** powerful paper “Al Akhbar” noted that; “Portuguese imperialism had departed and will continue to depart.”

Canada's “St. Louis Post” foresaw that;

“Portugal will eventually be forced to recognise realities. Why not now before there is further bloodshed, further bitterness?”

Similar sentiments were expressed in **Korean** “Rodong Shinmoon,” in “Abadi” of **Indonesia**, “Landadipa” of **Ceylon**, etc. The **Iraqi** daily, “Al Bilad” warned that:

“Imperialism is finished and neither Portuguese bullets in Goa nor French arms in North Africa can restore it to life.”

And so, in country after country of Asia and Africa, in newspaper editorials, through Ministerial pronouncements, at mass rallies the peoples voiced their feelings against Portuguese injustice.

IN INDIA

In India we witnessed what was perhaps an unprecedented unity of the people and the various political parties in support of the Goan people. An All-Parties Convention of M.P.'s and Members of Legislative Assemblies held in New Delhi on July 23rd unanimously agreed to urge the Government to make a final effort to settle the Goa issue through peaceful negotiations. Should these negotiations fail the Convention appealed to the Government to “enforce suitable sanctions to eliminate once and for all the remnants of colonialism in India.” Thousands of men and women came forward as volunteers in the Satyagraha movement. The Government of India had already withdrawn its legation from Lisbon in July, 1953 and had asked Portugal to do likewise by the 8th August, 1955.

On August 15th, 1955 when large batches of volunteers entered Goa, the Portuguese fascists with the aid of armed soldiers carried out the most brutal atrocities against the unarmed volunteers which resulted in the death of 31 people, and injuries to many more.

“In a stone customs post at the border,” writes a correspondent of “Time,” describing the Portuguese murder, “were ten Portuguese and Goan policemen armed with rifles and stenguns. Half concealed in thick bush behind them were white Portuguese and Negro soldiers from Mozambique. The satyagrahas had advanced 30 feet inside the Goa border when the Portuguese fired a burst over their heads. At once the satyagrahas, as previously instructed by their leaders, crouched down on the muddy ground. Then one woman satyagraha jumped up and holding the Indian flag overhead, ran forward. A second burst from the customs house brought her down. Two men satyagrahas tried to reach her, but the police shot them down and continued firing into the rest of the crouching satyagrahas.”

Naturally this and similar incidents gave rise to a wave of anger throughout India. In Delhi, schools, shops and various enterprises observed a complete stoppage of work, while 200,000 people gathered at a protest rally. Similar strikes and demonstrations took place in Bombay, Calcutta, Hyderabad and Nagpur. Indian newspapers condemned the massacres in equally strong terms.

In Parliament, Prime Minister Nehru condemned the massacre as “brutal and extremely uncivilised.” The Chairman of the Council of States, S. Radhakrishnan pointed out that the atrocities of the Portuguese authorities were a provocation and a challenge to India. E. M. Naboomprasad, Acting Secretary-General of the Indian Communist Party, declared in a statement that the Portuguese “murders were

a challenge to the people and the Indian Government." He demanded immediate and effective steps to liberate Goa.

In addition to this the Indian Government ordered three shipping companies to suspend their services to Goa and Indian dockers have announced their decision to boycott all cargo steamers bound for Goa.

Under such circumstances when the masses of people not only of India but throughout the world looked forward eagerly and determinedly to the "dynamic policy" that had been promised, Pandit Nehru's two statements on the situation must have come as a sorry disappointment, to say the least.

Firstly, at a specially summoned meeting of the parliamentary parties, he denounced the riots, accused opposition parties of organising the riots deliberately to discredit him. Then he apologised to all foreign embassies and firms who had suffered damage and offered them compensation.

Then, as if not satisfied with his first weak and uncalled for statement, Pandit Nehru in another statement on September 6th expressed disapproval of mass and individual satyagraha by the Indian people. He said India was "not out to grab Goa," she was simply concerned with wresting Goa from Portuguese domination. He also spoke of "some international forces at work which are bringing the Goan problem nearer to solution."

This attitude surely came as an anti-climax to the happenings in Goa in the recent period. The vagueness of his statements, the complete absence of the "dynamic policy" that he had promised the Indian people has earned for Mr. Nehru the criticism of even some of his close followers.

The influential "Times of India" attacked him for "vaccilation, contradiction and appeasement." The "Free Press Journal" accused him of "obliquely encouraging the satyagrahas with vague, irresponsible statements that satyagraha will solve the problems of Goan freedom."

During the debate in the Council of States, the leader of the Communist group Mr. Bhupesh Gupta said Mr. Nehru was pursuing a "policy of failure" in Goa.

Perhaps the most welcome and realistic suggestions to the masses of the Indian and colonial peoples came from another Communist leader, A. K. Gopalan. He suggested that firmer measures, including economic sanctions against the Portuguese in Goa, must be taken, **"and if necessary, the Government should resort to police action to restore peace."**

Taking it from any angle the situation in Goa has become as clear as can be. The clear alignment of international forces on the question leaves no room for doubt as to who the real friends of colonial freedom have been, and still are, and who the enemies.

One wonders then what Pandit Nehru referred to when he vaguely spoke of "some international forces at work" that were supposed to be bringing the problem nearer solution. Is his continued vagueness, vaccilation and apparent neutrality still warranted?

BANTU EDUCATION IN ACTION

By DUMA NOKWE

WHEN Bantu Education was introduced, Dr. Verwoerd wrapped it up in apparently 'progressive principles.' These were, firstly the separation of educational and religious institutions, and the transfer of the control of education to the state. Secondly, there was the much boosted extension of the control of education directly to the African people through School Committees. Thirdly, the introduction of mother-tongue instruction. It was not difficult to strip Dr. Verwoerd's schemes of the appearance of progressiveness and to expose Bantu education for what it is—a treacherous attempt to destroy the critical and creative abilities of the African people, and to restrict their ambitions within the narrow confines which the Nationalists design and desire should be the functions of the members of 'Bantu Society.' The publication of syllabuses for the Lower Primary Course and the Higher Primary Course, have confirmed the predictions of the people as to the true purpose of Bantu education.

THE NEW SYLLABUS

In both cases Dr. H. F. Verwoerd has invited criticism of the syllabuses, and he contends that they are unassailable from the point of view of modern progressive educational principles. But Dr. Verwoerd has no regard for criticism; if he had, he would long have abandoned his post and his Party. These invitations for criticism are intended to shield the ruthless autocracy with which the Nationalists implement their schemes. The Nationalists hate criticism and are determined to punish it severely. The volume of protest and criticism against the very introduction of Bantu Education met with the most scathing retorts and contemptuous dismissal in government circles. Teachers who will in the main be responsible for the implementation of Bantu education have been forbidden from criticising the policy of the Native Affairs Department, and whoever criticises the syllabus adversely will be a marked man. No amount of criticism, therefore, will persuade the Nationalists to modify or abandon their plans.

There was a mixed reaction to the Syllabuses, as there was to the introduction of Bantu Education. Some people (fortunately only a small, and relatively uninfluential section of the people) adopted the attitude that there was no fundamental change which had been introduced by Bantu Education. Native education, they argued, was as much an education created by the ruling class for the oppressed people as Bantu Education was. It was further argued that whatever dangerous innovations there might be in Bantu Education these could be remedied by raising the political consciousness of the teachers so that they teach that which would liberate the children rather than what would enslave them mentally. Another group (consisting mainly of teachers) which whilst admitting the destructive nature of Bantu Education regarded it as an insult to suggest that teachers could willingly 'inject poison' into their own children. Before assessing the role of the African teacher

in Bantu Education, it is necessary to examine some aspects of the syllabus for the Higher Primary Course (Std. III to Std VI).

The medium of instruction throughout the whole course is vernacular, except in the case of English and Afrikaans. The following are the subjects and the time allocated to each is indicated in brackets in minutes per week: Religious instruction (100), Afrikaans (205), English (205), Arithmetic (180), Social Studies (180), Health Education (150), Nature Study (60), Singing and games (60), Needlework (for girls), Tree planting and soil conservation, Handwork and Homecraft, and Gardening for Boys and Girls (each 120). It should be noted that out of a total of 1,650 min. per week, 360 minutes or nearly a quarter of the time is spent in handwork, gardening or tree-planting and soil conservation. In addition, the Nature Study course provides for practical work for all classes which includes the 'collection of weeds' and this resembles Dickens' 'Do-the-Boys School.' In the words of the syllabus the primary aim is to inculcate the attitude that "work ennobles."

The moral and mental training of the child is provided by a subject called Social Studies. This is really a training in Nationalist policy under the guise of Geography, History, Citizenship and Good Conduct. There is no clearer statement of the purpose of this course than that contained in the syllabus itself. These subjects have been "orientated economically and socially with an aim to develop in the Bantu child Social consciousness and responsibility." The course is intended to make the child realize that he is bound by various ties to particular groups of people as they are represented in his home and in his tribe. Groups of people beyond his tribe are omitted, apparently it is undesirable that he should realize the bonds with people beyond his tribe. A further aim is:

"The acceptance by the Bantu child in an intelligent manner of the fact that the welfare of his community depends on the contribution made towards it by each of its members. He should therefore know how his own people work and others earn a living; . . . and he should be convinced that he must work if he wishes to lead a useful and contented life . . . He must realize that by his behaviour other people will determine whether society will accept him as a dependable and useful person . . . He should be convinced that he cannot live and act as a detached individual in society . . . Furthermore, he must realize that the laws are necessary for the people of any community for harmonious living together. Consequently, teaching should lead the child to do naturally, and therefore willingly, what society has prescribed as correct, good and commendable."

It would be difficult to find a clearer exposition of fascist principles of education. The passage from which these extracts have been taken represents the process of education as a task in which every effort should be made to twist and hammer an otherwise rebellious child into accepting and submitting to conditions which have been created for him. That is, of course, the basic aim of Bantu Education.

The Social Studies course is therefore designed to inculcate a strong tribal consciousness, acknowledgement and acceptance of what has

been prescribed for his tribe, obedience to the laws; and the function of education is to make him accept all these naturally and willingly. The orientation has been achieved by ruthlessly omitting everything which is inconsistent with the above purpose and including everything fashioned in Nationalist style.

In the section dealing with History, to indicate what a fortunate heritage awaits him, the child is taught in detail all the 'benevolent contributions' which the State and Church have made towards the development of the 'Bantu.' Not a word is mentioned of the contribution made by the Africans towards these institutions and towards the development of the country generally. Under Mining, Commerce and Industry, the History course includes

"the effects of Mining, Commerce and Industry on the life of the Bantu—the creation of opportunities for work; new professions and trades; movement of the people to cities; need for influx control."

No mention is made of the fact that these industries really exist by exploiting African labour. Throughout the whole course the Africans are presented as lifeless clods of earth upon whom mysterious forces are acting to shape their destiny.

The section dealing with Citizenship and Good Conduct is an abomination. The whole course is designed to impress indelibly upon the child that he is a citizen not of South Africa but of the tribe and that he has "duties, privileges, and responsibilities in the village and the town" and not beyond. The word 'privilege' instead of 'right,' is insistent throughout the syllabus, and sandwiched between duties and responsibilities. There is not a single occasion when the word 'right' is used. Quite clearly the African child will be taught that he has no rights. Apart from an intensive training in the mechanism and virtues of tribal organisation, supplemented by the modernized version provided for by Dr. Verwoerd's Bantu Authorities Act, the precepts of "Good Conduct" include a knowledge of how to assist, amongst others, the CHIEF, the STOCK INSPECTOR, the LOCATION SUPERINTENDENT and the POLICEMAN. Assistance to the latter will probably follow the Gestapo method of charging children with the task of spying on their parents, and reporting any anti-Nationalist activities. By the time the child is in Standard Five, and on the verge of leaving school, he is given final trimming in the form of

"instruction and guidance in the Personal Reference Book—why and how used, the Labour Bureaux, control measures in Urban Areas, Curfew."

These are the things which he must naturally and willingly do because the society of Dr. Verwoerd and Swart have prescribed them as 'good, correct and commendable.' It is only if and when the pupil gets to Std. VI that he is given a glimpse of the sanctuary which is above the Chief and his tribe. Even here the emphasis is on 'Bantu representation' in Parliament and the 'officers who deal with the Bantu people.' After a constant grinding for thirty minutes each day, for eight years, the child will, it is no doubt hoped, submit naturally and willingly to the dictates of the Paramount Chief Verwoerd and his

clique, and also regard it as his duty to persuade other Africans to do the same.

CULTURE AND POLITICS

It is only the most blind dogmatism which makes it possible for people not to realize that if there have been no fundamental changes brought by Bantu Education, at least the changes are radical enough, and create conditions for new methods of struggle, and a new emphasis on the struggle in the cultural and educational spheres. Through Bantu Education the Nationalists have realized the inseparable unity between the cultural life of the people and their political aspirations, and they now hope to use the former to smother the latter. Surely it is the task of progressives to organise the cultural life of the people so that it serves the true interests and aspirations of the people.

THE KEY FIGURE

The hope that African teachers will be able to teach anything other than Bantu Education in Dr. Verwoerd's schools, is based on an unrealistic assessment of the situation. Dr. Verwoerd is clearly aware that the key figure in his schemes is the teacher. He said "So much depends upon the teacher carrying out his **duties conscientiously . . .** For the teacher who is not faithful in this regard there is no place in Bantu Education." The conditions of employment of teachers make it quite clear that Dr. Verwoerd will tolerate no unfaithfulness or even criticism. It is also clearly stated that any teacher who encourages disobedience or resistance to the laws of the country or participates in political activity would be instantly dismissed. Even if therefore it was possible to increase the number of militant teachers who would be prepared to risk 'their bread' in order to serve the interests of the people, these conditions of employment combined with the spying activities of some Principals (which will no doubt be intensified because of the 'enhanced' prospects of becoming a sub-inspector) make it unlikely that such militant teachers would remain teachers for long. It should also be borne in mind that the prospects of raising the political consciousness of teachers are no better now than they were a year ago. In fact, because of their conditions of employment, and the distrust which is bound to grow amongst them, the teachers can be expected to be more reticent and less responsive to the voice of the people, and a little more 'bread conscious.'

The prospects of using teachers in schools is further diminished by the fact that Dr. Verwoerd is going to train his own Bantu Education teachers. And he is going to train them not merely to be dumb tools for his policies and schemes but also to be active agents against the liberatory movement. Apart from the fact that it is a condition of a teacher's employment that his whole time should be at the disposal of the Native Affairs Department, Dr. Verwoerd has stated that he considers it the duty of teachers to agitate against the African National Congress and to discredit its campaigns. Recently, after he had dismissed 116 teachers on the Rand he said that he did not think that they had done sufficient work to sabotage the boycott of schools.

It is important to realize that Bantu Education is not merely designed to destroy the political consciousness and understanding of

the African child, so that he may be a dumb and contented serf, but it is positively designed to produce Nationalist cadres, who will sow seeds of hostility against the Liberatory movements, sabotage its campaigns and attempt to terrorise and intimidate progressive people. **Bantu Education thus constitutes a positive political front against the movements.** Since it is so fraught with danger for the liberatory movements which are the bulwark of the people's interests and aspirations, it deserves the utmost vigilance and most careful study and the most effective assault.

CAN THE CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS WIN MASS SUPPORT?

By J. JOHNSON

UNDER the impact of the Nationalist Party's fascist programme the majority of the non-white people of South Africa have taken their stand and are committed irrevocably to a struggle for democracy for all people.

A small number of White South Africans, in the Congress of Democrats, have committed themselves to this same struggle in alliance with the non-white peoples.

In the balance—still to be determined one way or the other—are the majority of anti-Nationalist whites.

Conditioned by tradition and social and economic privilege to the principle of "White Supremacy," will they succumb to the pressures of the Nationalist Party and fulfill actively or even passively the role required of them—the role of "defenders of white civilisation?" A role which inevitably must make them parties to the inhuman theories and practices of the Nationalist Government and which may require of them that they take up arms in defence of these foul things. Or will they—can they—be won to take their stand on fundamental democratic principles in alliance with the non-white majority?

It is certain that some of these white anti-nationalists will find their way into the democratic camp. But what of the rest—the majority?

There are those who believe that it is inevitable that this majority must end up in the Nationalist camp. Then there are those who believe that, in the process, the majority of anti-Nat whites can be won to take their stand together with the non-whites in a common struggle for the Freedom Charter.

The first opinion arises out of a lack of understanding of the situation and of the nature of majority of anti-Nationalist whites. The factors affecting the issue are as follows:

While fascism represents the need of the capitalist class as whole, **it is the most reactionary section** of this class which gives effective

expression to that need. This is not an accident; it is a logical and inevitable development of the historical process.

Hampered by its own tradition of liberalism and *laissez-faire* and by the moral, ethical and democratic concepts adhered to by the majority of the population and the world in general, the less reactionary section of the capitalist class is unable to give expression to its class need for fascism. Nor is it, in competition with the most reactionary section, able to find sufficient support from among the population. It is inevitable therefore that the most reactionary section inherits political leadership of the class and eventually captures power and the machinery of State.

Because of its predatory nature—the nature of the capitalist class as a whole—it uses the machinery of State not only against the working class and in the interest of the capitalist class but also and increasingly, to enlarge its own share of the economic spoil. It does this at the expense of the other sections of its own class.

This creates a conflict within the class; conflict between the less reactionary sections, and the most reactionary, which has control of the State. The less reactionary sections are caught in the contradiction between their class interests and their own need to protect and increase their share of the spoil. The consequence of this is that, if they are to survive, they find themselves—howbeit unwillingly—allies of the anti-fascist majority. It is true that they are unreliable and vacillating allies, but they are potential support.

Since the most reactionary section achieves and retains power and control of the State with the aid of the most backward element of the population, it is compelled to afford this element special social privileges and economic gains and to pander to its prejudices. It does this at the expense of the other sections of the population. It must do this increasingly more to ensure the continued support of the backward element. Sooner or later it must arouse the enmity and opposition of the whole population with the exception only of those who directly gain from fascism.

These are the relevant factors in the situation. It is with the aid of and through these two main basic contradictions that the majority of the anti-Nationalist whites can be won to take their stand on fundamental principles in alliance with the non-white anti-fascist majority.

The assumption that all whites, with the exception of the enlightened few, must end up in the Nationalist camp in support of “white supremacy” is based on racial patterns of thought and not on objective factors. It has its roots in another unwarranted assumption, that the Nationalist Party will be able permanently to obscure the nature of the real issues and that in consequence the struggle has to be fought out on a “white vs. non-white” basis. On the contrary, the nature of the real issues must emerge more clearly as the process develops since the Nationalist Party cannot impose its fascist programme without exposing these issues for what they are. Nor can the democratic opposition effectively and successfully struggle without proclaiming them for what they are and educating the people as to their true character.

The nature of the majority of the white anti-Nationalists also has

a bearing on the question of whether or not they can be won for democracy.

Until recently white South Africans, workers and petty bourgeoisie, have had a stake in the colonial exploitation of the non-white people in the shape of relatively high living standards and advantageous social and political privileges. Because of this they have given their political allegiance to one or other of the two capitalist parties. They have assisted in the maintenance of this colonial exploitation. They have subscribed to and supported the principle of "White Supremacy."

Both of the capitalist parties, the Nationalist Party and the United Party, intend in their theory and practice that these white South Africans shall continue to assist in this exploitation and to support the principle of "White Supremacy." They reckon, however, without the manifold contradictions and conflicts which fascism engenders and the effects of these on the economic, social and political conditions of this group and more especially of that section of it which is discriminated against in favour of the supporters of the regime.

Already, in the process of achieving power, to gain the support of the most backward element, the Nationalist Party has had to divide the group. It has had to drive a wedge into it. It has had to provoke conflict between the two main nationalities which make up the group. It has deprived them of civil rights and robbed the majority of legitimate effective political expression. It has robbed them of effective protection of their economic standards by its onslaught on and subversion of their trade union movement.

Because the Nationalist Party has done all this **for the avowed purpose of maintaining "White Supremacy"** it is presenting the anti-Nat white with the choice of submitting to these conditions (and the many similar and more wretched which are to follow) or of rejecting this principle of "White Supremacy" and ceasing to support it.

As the Nationalist Party, in the process of maintaining power and of imposing its programme, makes further inroads on the rights of the anti-Nationalist whites, and as the loss of legitimate political expression makes itself felt, as it must do, on their economic and social conditions, the nature of the choice before them will emerge more clearly.

Already the effects are beginning to make themselves felt. The allegiance of the anti-Nat whites is becoming fluid. The U.P. no longer enjoys a monopoly of this allegiance. Groups such as the Covenanters, the Women's League for the Defence of the Constitution, the Anti-Republic League, etc. indicate that some of the anti-Nat whites are beginning to look for a new political home and groping for new and more effective methods of struggle. The growing consciousness of the futility of a purely electoral and parliamentary fight and the need for more militant and realistic methods is evident from the nature of these organisations.

Left to flounder on their own, at the mercy of every political opportunist offering them stunt politics, subjected to the pressure of the Nationalist Party and inanities of the U.P., they can be lost to the democratic camp.

This must not happen. It is vital to the National Liberatory Movement that they should be won to it. Without them to support and defend "white supremacy" the colonial exploitation of the non-white peoples becomes increasingly more difficult for the imperialists. With them fighting in alliance with the non-white peoples, the Nationalist Party's programme for a fascist republic can be defeated more surely.

It is a task for the whole Congress Movement and in particular, for the Congress of Democrats, **to win them to the Congress Movement for an extra-parliamentary struggle, for the aims of the Freedom Charter.**

Its rank and file members in particular, must be clear that numerically weak as it is and despite the difficulties of the task, the Congress of Democrats has a vital role and function. It is in fact challenging all comers, including the U.P., the Bernard Friedmans, the Covenanters and Anti-Republic Leagues, for the leadership of the militant white opposition to the Nationalist Party and its programme. It must do so increasingly as the process develops.

To do this it must avoid the tendency to "tail on" to the more progressive elements among the white population. The Congress of Democrats must be itself the most progressive in that sphere and strive to draw those elements to itself. It must avoid the tendency to regard itself as an auxiliary of the A.N.C., the S.A.I.C., and the S.A.C.P.O.

To fulfil its role and perform its function it must act in European affairs as an independent organisation presenting an independent policy and programme. It must go forward to the task with confidence.

THE SPECTRE OF BELSEN AND BUCHENWALD

By NELSON MANDELA

RACHEL Musi is fifty-three years of age. She and her husband had lived in Krugersdorp for thirty-two years. Throughout this period, he had worked for the Krugersdorp Municipality for seven pounds, ten shillings a month. They had seven children ranging from nineteen to two years of age. One was doing the final year of the Junior Certificate at the Krugersdorp Bantu High School and three were in primary schools also in Krugersdorp. She had several convictions for brewing kaffir beer. During December last year, because of these convictions she was arrested as an undesirable person in terms of the provisions of the Natives Urban Areas Act and brought before the Additional Native Commissioner of Krugersdorp.

After the arrest but before trial her husband collapsed suddenly and died. Thereafter the Commissioner adjudged her an undesirable person and ordered her deportation to Lichtenburg. Bereaved and

broken-hearted, and with the tremendous responsibility of maintaining seven children weighing heavily on her shoulders, an aged woman was exiled from her home and forcibly separated from her children to fend for herself among strangers in a strange environment.

In June, 1952, I and about fifty other friends were arrested in Johannesburg while taking part in a defiance campaign and removed to Marshall Square. As we were being jostled into the drill yard one of our prisoners was pushed from behind by a young European constable so violently that he fell down some steps and broke his ankle. I protested, whereupon the young warrior kicked me on the leg in cow-boy style. We were indignant and started a demonstration.

Eventually, the deputy-commissioner and other senior police officers entered the yard to investigate. We drew his attention to the injured man and demanded medical attention. The commissioner, with a snarling smile, curtly told us that we could repeat our request the next day. And so it was that Samuel Makae spent a frightful night in the cells reeling and groaning desperately with pain, maliciously denied medical assistance by those who had deliberately crippled him and whose duty it is to preserve and uphold the law.

In 1941 an African lad appeared before the Native Commissioner in Johannesburg charged with failing to give a good and satisfactory account of himself in terms of the above Act. The previous year he had passed the Junior Certificate with a couple of distinctions. He had planned to study Matric in the Cape but because of illness, on the advice of the family doctor he decided to spend the year at home in Alexandra Township. Called upon by the police to produce proof that he had sufficient honest means of earning his livelihood, he explained that he was still a student and was maintained by his parents. He was then arrested and subsequently ordered to work at Leeuwkop Farm Colony for six months as an idle and disorderly person. This order was subsequently set aside on review by the Supreme Court but only after the young man had languished in jail for seven weeks, with serious repercussions to his poor health.

The breaking up of African homes and families and the forcible separation of children from mothers; the harsh treatment meted out to African prisoners and the forcible detention of Africans in farm colonies for spurious statutory offences are a few examples of the actual workings of the hideous and pernicious doctrines of racial inequality. To these can be added scores of thousands of foul misdeeds committed against the people by the Government: The denial to the Non-European people of the elementary rights of free citizenship; the expropriation of the people from their lands and homes to assuage the insatiable appetites of European land barons and industrialists; the flogging and calculated murder of African labourers by European farmers in the countryside for being "cheeky to the baas;" the vicious manner in which African workers are beaten up by the police and flung into jails when they down tools to win their demands; the fostering of contempt and hatred for Non-Europeans, the fanning of racial prejudice between whites and non-whites, between the various non-white groups; the splitting of Africans into small hostile tribal units; the

instigation of one group or tribe against another; the banning of active workers from the people's organisations, and their confinement into certain areas.

All these rapacious misdemeanours are weapons resorted to by the mining and farming cliques of this country to protect their interests and to prevent the rise of an all-powerful organised mass struggle. To them, the end justifies the means, and that end is the creation of a vast market of cheap labour for mine magnates and farmers. Everything must be made to conform rigorously to this. That is why homes are broken up and people removed from cities to the countryside to ensure enough labour for the farms. That is why Non-European political opponents of the Government are treated with such brutality. In such a set-up African youth with distinguished scholastic careers are not a credit to the country, but a serious threat to the governing circles for they may not like to descend to the bowels of the earth and cough their lungs out to enrich the mining magnates nor will they elect to dig potatoes in farms for wretched rations.

Nevertheless, these methods are failing to achieve their objective. True enough they have scared and deterred certain groups and individuals, and at times even upset and temporarily dislocated our plans and schemes. But they have not halted the growing struggle of the people for liberation. Capable fighters and organisers are arising from amongst the people. The people are increasingly becoming alive to the necessity of the solidarity of all democratic forces regardless of race, party affiliation, religious belief and ideological conviction.

Taking advantage of this situation, the people's organisations have embarked on a broad programme of mutual co-operation and closer relations. The Freedom Charter recently adopted by people of all races and from all walks of life now forms the ground-plan for future action.

However, the Fascist regime that governs this country is not meeting this situation with arms folded. Cabinet ministers are arming themselves with inquisitorial and arbitrary powers to destroy their opponents and hostile organisations. They are building a monoparty State, the essence of which is the identification of the Nationalist Party with state power. All opposition to the Nationalists has become opposition to the State. Every facet of the national life is being subordinated to the overriding necessity of the party's retention of power. All constitutional safeguards are being thrown overboard and individual liberties ruthlessly suppressed. Lynchings and pogroms are the logical weapons to be resorted to, should the onward march of the liberation movement continue to manifest itself.

The spectre of Belsen and Buchenwald is haunting South Africa. It can only be repelled by the united strength of the people of South Africa. Every situation must be used to raise the people's level of political understanding. If attacks on the people's organisations, if all discriminatory measures, be they the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act, Bantu Education or the classification of the Coloured people, are used as a rallying point around which a united front will be built, the spectre of Belsen and Buchenwald will never descend upon us.