



# Voice of AFRICA



UNITY, fellow freedom fighters, must be the watchword of those who are leading the masses into the battle for independence in many parts of Africa which, alas, are still under the dragging yoke of colonialism. You must close your ranks and stand firmly together. You must forget your theoretical differences and minor political polemics. The forces that are massed against you, as I have explained, are mighty indeed, and though they have their differences in many things, they are united in their determination to keep Africa as their rich economic province. Division among us is a luxury we cannot afford. Our open squabbles are the advantages which the enemy loses no time to exploit and thereby decimate our forces, and undermine our purpose. This is an aspect that we must examine most seriously so as to find means of clearing away such differences as we have, and coming together in a solid phalanx, to meet the enemy on a common front.

— Dr. KWAME NKRUMAH

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Editor-in-Chief  
**KOFI BATSA**

## OUR OPINION

### **A S S A S S I N A T I O N ?**

**T**HE enemies of African freedom and unity are desperate; and there is nothing that a desperate person will not do, but when that desperate person is the very quintessence of imperialism and neo-colonialism, then we know that it is the devil himself that is unchained. For there are no depths too low, no means too foul and no crimes too heinous that the imperialists and their agents will not employ to achieve their ends.

The brutal murders of Patrice Lumumba of the Congo and Dr. Felix Moumie of the Cameroun bear eloquent testimony to this.

Now their darts are aimed at Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, a stalwart in the African Revolution. But to shield themselves, these exploiters who have in their pay some of our own people, are telling the world that the bomb explosion at Kulungugu was indicative of seething discontent in Ghana. But the mass demonstrations of tens of thousands throughout the length and breadth of Africa since the abortive attempt give the lie to this deliberate distortion of facts. Is it any wonder then that these solid demonstrations of the unquestionable popularity of our Leader have received no mention in the imperialist press?

But why this dastardly attempt at assassination? The answer is not far to seek. The workers of Sekondi-Takoradi have aptly said: "No Nkrumah, No Ghana." Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is the embodiment of all that Ghana stands for, and Ghana is a thorn in the flesh of the imperialists and neo-colonialists.

It is not a mere accident of history that the Egyptian Revolution in July 1952 followed hard in the wake of the release of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah from prison in February 1951 and the great resurgence of the C.P.P. in the struggle for independence. The moving of the waters in Ghana supplied the necessary impetus for those who were ready to act. Then came, in 1955, the freedom of the people of Sudan. But when on March 6, 1957, Ghana won her independence, the sceptics had no more doubts and the drowsy slept no more.

After the achievement of independence in Ghana, Dr. Nkrumah promptly called the All-African Peoples Conference in 1958. This was the clarion call to all freedom fighters; and the torch of freedom lighted at that conference has been sweeping over the African continent like a wild

conflagration. At that time Ghana stood alone as the African nation that had removed her neck from the yoke of imperialism. Today there are thirty-one others.

Having learnt the futility of opposing or retarding the struggle for freedom, the imperial powers, where convenient, now began to grant independence without much ado, in the hope that when these countries became free, they would afford bases for para-imperialist and neo-colonialist military and economic domination. But Ghana, under the inspired leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Nkrumah, has stood as a watchdog for the interests of all African peoples, with the result that most independent countries have sooner or later sought to sever any strings that may attach them to their former overlords.

Thus Ghana's decision for a republican status has set a pattern which is bound to be followed by all former colonies of imperial Britain. This of course has tolled the knell for any hopes of using the Commonwealth for subtle domination that Britain may have. Likewise Ghana's policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment has become the acclaimed policy of all other independent African States. This, too, is the death of the dreams of the imperial powers to draw the African states into the cold war. Worse than this, it cuts at the roots of their economic interests. For such a policy throws the gates open to all sellers and buyers with the consequent influx of competition and the loss of the monopoly of trade in Africa.

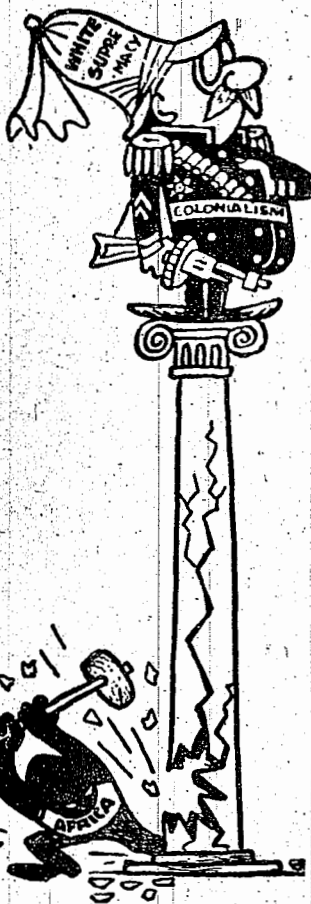
And what if Ghana's cry for socialism should be answered by the other African states? It will not only mean the shattering of all the hopes of the capitalists for economic exploitation but also the loss of their accumulated capital.

Truly the history of Ghana's struggle for freedom has been a record of disasters for colonial empires, and her dreams of African unity, a vision of further misfortunes for all imperialists and capitalists.

But is this objective of African unity just a dream? The imperialists know better. The Ghana - Guinea - Mali Union, the African High Command, the All-African Trade Union Federation and the other Pan-African organisations and conferences are unmistakable landmarks on the road towards the realization of this practical project.

Surely what is more salutary to those who stand to lose by the success of this stupendous undertaking than to remove the man who has dedicated his life for its materialization? He must die. So say the imperialists and their agents. And they are merely repeating the cry of saboteurs throughout recorded history. For men with great missions have always been the targets for the assassins' instruments of murder. Socrates was condemned to death because he sought to free the minds of the youth; Toussaint l'Ouverture, the gallant African statesman and warrior, was starved to death by Napoleon; General Maceo, another African warrior, was killed by the Spaniards; Abraham Lincoln, the liberator of American slaves, fell to the assassin's bullet; and so did Lenin, the architect of the U.S.S.R.

But the enemies of freedom have misfired this time, and we know that they can never succeed. For we are vigilant and shall neither sleep nor slumber until the flag of liberty has risen unfurled over a free and united Africa.



*Up goes Africa's crushing hammer to fell Colonialism with its bed-fellow White Supremacy. The pedestal already shows damaging cracks, and the last blow is being struck to bring the toppling structure crumbling to the ground with its load of pot-bellied bashaw of colonialism and white supremacy. Indeed, the last days of colonialism and imperialism in Africa are numbered.*



OPPENHEIMER

## AND SO WHAT?

*In the April 1962 issue of the Voice we carried the profile of Harry Frederick Oppenheimer, the notorious financial tycoon of Southern Africa. The White press in South Africa have been pouring vituperations on us. We have decided to publish the article again, this time with Harry's picture.*

"It is a great misfortune that the slogan 'one man one vote' should have taken such a hold on liberal opinion," declared Harry Frederick Oppenheimer as Chairman of the Rhodesian Anglo-American Ltd. on November 17, 1960.

"Far from being a guarantee of democracy, experience suggests strongly that in present conditions in Africa, it is a guarantee that there will not be a democracy."

The 53-year-old Harry Oppenheimer who was born in Kimberley, the first South African industrial city to exploit the African people ruthlessly, is today the richest settler in Africa.

Harry's Politics, Philosophy and Economics learnt at Christ Church, Oxford, never included definition of the essence of democracy as a rule by the majority.

Today Harry controls one-quarter of South Africa's gold mines and ninety-five per cent of the world diamond market.

In 1896 Harry's gold mines paid the African worker 3/- per day while today they pay him 3/4 per day. The 4d. rise in 66 years to which the African has been subjected is the only real "democracy" Harry knows.

In 1946 when the African miners went on strike for better and improved living conditions, Harry and his father the late Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, called upon the South African settler regime, which they virtually controlled, to mow them down. And they did — with a vengeance.

Harry is *inter alia* Chairman of the Anglo-American Co-operation, the De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. and the Rhodesian Anglo-America. These control most of the Orange Free State Gold Mines, the total diamond output of African diamonds and the whole marketing of world diamonds and a substantial slice of the Copperbelt both in Katanga and Northern Rhodesia. And hence the headache of both Cyrille Adoula and Kenneth Kaunda.

These three concerns have a subscribed capital of £336 million and total reserves of £268 million.

Officially he has belonged to the settler opposition United Party to which he has contributed £250,000 through the United South Africa Trust Fund.

The United Party, like Harry himself, is against 'apartheid' but all out for 'segregation' the original version of apartheid. Since apartheid is mainly directed at curbing the influence of non-Afrikaner capital and industry in the "Bantu" homeland, it is understandable why Harry and Verwoerd differ on these details.

After November 1959, Harry identified himself with the Progressive Party, a splinter group of the United Party.

Oppenheimer is the worst exploiter of the African masses and the various colonial governments including that of Dr. Verwoerd merely exist to help him to exploit the Africans more. That in itself is a grave crime although it has often been glossed over.

Oppenheimer's latest crime cannot be easily glossed over. This crime is his decision to manufacture arms for the South African settler Government for the purpose of shooting the African people who demand the implementation of the principle of universal franchise which he scornfully dubs the slogan of 'one man one vote.'

Through his African Explosives Company he has entered into contract with the settler Government of South Africa to build arms factories both on the Rand and in the Cape. This fact has been confirmed by his fellow criminal, J. J. Fouche, the settler Minister for Aggression against the African people and by a spokesman of Imperial Chemical Industries, the parent company of African Explosives.

Harry Frederick Oppenheimer, you stand charged with the crimes of sucking the blood of the African peoples, of murdering African workers and now of making the tools for murdering more just because they have dared to seek 'one man one vote' in their own country. Whatever changes you want for the African people it is within the framework of their enslavement.

You are found guilty on all three charges.



## The Unholy Alliance

by Rosalynde Ainslie

EDWARD Ngubeni and Uhilip Sobral were born in Mozambique, but having spent most of their working lives in Johannesburg, married and brought up families there. On March 2, 1962, Ngubeni was visited by the police at his home, questioned on any connection he might have with "the Mozambique organisation", and his passport was taken away. A month later, he and Sobral were arrested, handcuffed together and escorted across the Mozambique border, where an African policeman who accompanied them alleged that they were brutally beaten up by the Portuguese.

This was a totally illegal act on the part of the South African authorities. When questioned by the Press, neither the Portuguese consul nor the head of the South African Special Branch knew anything about the incident; but a policeman at the location police station confirmed that the men had been returned "on instructions from the Portuguese Government."

Not long before, a political refugee from South Africa, Mr. Jordan, who had been living in Bechuanaland since 1960, was offered a post in Salisbury. On his arrival in the Federation, he was met by immigration officers who said they had instructions to return him to the Republic. Fortunately for him, he escaped from his escort on the train, and managed to get back to safety in Bechuanaland. Ordinarily, a prohibited immigrant would have been given the choice of being returned either to the country from which he came — in this case, a British Protectorate.

### Political Police

There are other stories that betray a degree of co-operation between police and civil authorities in South Africa, the Federation and the Portuguese colonies well beyond the requirements of courtesy between friendly governments.

The Rev. Willie Simango, a Dutch Reformed Church

missionary from Mozambique who was living at the beginning of this year in Salisbury, has alleged that he was so harassed by agents of the Portuguese political police who questioned him in Southern Rhodesia about the political activities of Africans from Mozambique in Salisbury, that he had to flee with his family to Tanganyika. And the Rev. Wendell Golden, an American Methodist missionary expelled from Angola, has been refused permission to reside in the Federation, it is believed on representations from the Portuguese.

These are examples of the unholy alliance in action. They indicate that information is being exchanged among the three governments, and that the police force of one country is sometimes prepared to do the dirty work of another.

### The Mercenaries

But there is some evidence that the alliance is already affecting policy at a military level. Mr. Kozonguizi, President of the South-West African Union, has published information, given him by Mr. Holden Roberto, President of the Uniao das Populacoes de Angola, that South African soldiers have been fighting with Portuguese troops in Angola. At a mercenary level, South Africans and Rhodesians were prominent among the Katangan forces opposing the United Nations in the Congo; but co-operation with the Portuguese may, in fact, be more official.

The Portuguese have been putting a great deal of pressure on the Republic for help in Angola, and it has been reported that the South African Air Force base being built in the Caprivi strip is intended for use by both South African and Portuguese planes. Over the past years or so, South African, Southern Rhodesian and Mozambique troops have been training together and Defence Ministers of all three governments have exchanged visits.

The truth is that the intransigence of the white governments in Southern Africa has at last made them a serious embarrassment to their traditional allies — the Western powers. For direct help, they must now turn to each other, and whether the alliance is based upon the formal recognition of identity of interest, it is a reality. But to understand the extent of their interdependence, one must analyse not only the

expressions of sympathy for each other appearing in the press, or the sudden rush of consultation at government and military level, but the economic bonds that unite them.

One look at the map makes the first point — that the Federation (and Katanga) have no port of their own, and depend upon Beira and Lourenco Marques on the one hand, and the Benguela railway to Lobito, on the other. The Portuguese claim that increased traffic on the Benguela railway since Katanga secession has actually compensated for loss of taxation during the Angola war; and as for Mozambique, the R52m annually paid by South Africa and the Federation for the use of Mozambique ports and railways more than meets the annual trading deficit of about R44m.

### They Trade in men

The Portuguese territories also supply nearly 200,000

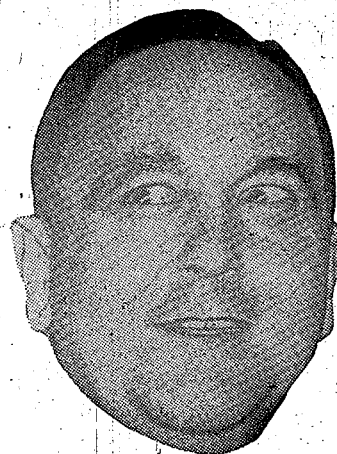
migrant workers annually for the mines on the Rand, and for the farms and industries of Southern Rhodesia. This trade in human beings brings a valuable income to the Portuguese Government — and supplies, for example, some 20 per cent of the total labour force of the Rand.

Trade, too, links the territories together — the Federation is South Africa's second biggest customer, and though the Republic's trade with the Portuguese territories is small, she cannot in face of boycotts and contracting trade elsewhere, afford to lose it. She also provides Mozambique with a large proportion of the consumer goods she needs.

### Capital Causes

These are reasons enough for an alliance; but beneath the flesh of common interests, lie the bare bones of the matter — the skeleton of private capital. The great

## Three Imperialist Vampires



Welensky



Salazar



Verwoerd

gold and diamond companies of South Africa are the centre of a network of companies and their subsidiaries which control copper mining interests in Northern Rhodesia, Katanga and South West Africa; diamond mining and selling in South-West Africa, Angola and Tanganyika; transport, real estate and financial interests throughout the sub-continent.

To take the most obvious example — the Oppenheimer empire — Anglo-American (gold) is connected with four of the seven companies mining copper in Northern Rhodesia; and with Tanganyika Concessions, which accounts for a large proportion of shares in the Union Minière du Haut Katanga, which in turn holds mineral rights over 60,000 sq. miles of Katanga.

#### Armament Factories

Tanks also control the Benguela railway. While De Beers controls both diamond mining and selling practically throughout the area, sells 80 per cent of the total Western diamond output, and has subsidiaries in each estate, industry (including African Explosives and Chemical Industries, which is setting up three armament factories for the South African Government), and finance. Both Anglo-American and De Beers are linked with the British South Africa Company in the Federation and Bechuanaland. That these interests have played their part in the unholy alliance is

clear from the record of the Union Minière in Katanga and the part played by directors of Tanks in the Katanga lobby abroad; from the role of British South Africa directors in the pro-Federation lobby in Britain; and from the armaments factories deal in the Republic.

#### The Armed Threat

And now, the arms built-up in South Africa makes the alliance not only a threat to the non-white people of South Africa, but possibly also a risk to world peace. There are now 20,000 trained troops in South Africa, increasing by 15,000 a year to 60,000 in 1966; there are 20,000 Portuguese troops in Angola and 10,000 in Mozambique; the Federation has a force of some 3,500 men, and both it and the Republic are to be armed with modern jet bombers and other military equipment. Verwoerd, Salazar and Welensky are all conducting vigorous propaganda campaigns against the United Nations, and expressing their determination to defend their interests against the world, with force if necessary. The long and futile Algerian war has ended. Must the whole bloody business start again in the South?

A careful study reveals elements of a common political and economic structure in the territories constituting the Unholy Alliance: white minority Governments (in Katanga, a black Government acting largely as agent of white capital interests), industrial and agricultural

enterprise in white hands needing plentiful unskilled cheap labour, and common methods of ensuring such labour, such as alienation of land, cash taxation, pass systems for Africans. A common pattern of economic inequality, industrial and social colour bar, and political repression of those who demand change, logically follows.

Yet this is not the full extent of connection between the allies. Behind similarities in political and economic systems, lies a picture of a high degree of actual economic integration. The main industrial centre in the sub-continent, the Rand, absorbs migrant labour not only from the Republic itself, but from the Protectorates, the Federation, and the Portuguese territories.

#### Financial Interests

The Federation and Katanga have no ports of their own; and the traffic they send through Mozambique and Angola is helping to bail Salazar out of the economic difficulties consequent on the Angola war.

These alone are reasons enough for an alliance; a change of regime in one member country might mean not only a hostile state on the borders of the rest, but could fundamentally upset their economies. Just how close is the economic integration can only be understood by examining some of the private financial interests that form the very skeleton of the

sub-continent. By far the most important of these are the great mining groups.

#### Cape-to-Katanga Miners

Of all the giant companies and groups of companies operating in Southern Africa, the biggest is the Anglo-American group run by Harry Oppenheimer. Because of their size and the proportion of total national wealth they control, these groups have considerable influence in both economic and political spheres. They have direct control over thousands of employees, special relations with the Governments and political pressure groups, and substantial power over the international markets for their products. In South Africa, they have unusually close connections with the Press and Information Services.

Each group discussed here is vast by itself, but the groups do not act in isolation or in competition with each other: There is a complex set of inter-communications between the Cape-to-Katanga Miners: there are few secrets where directorships\* interlock, and although a group may act independently in fields which do not impinge on the interests of the others, on most questions it must have at least the tacit agreement of the rest.

The fields in which the biggest companies are most active, are diamonds throughout Southern Africa,

\* See pages 20/21 for detailed accounts of the interlock companies.

gold in South Africa, copper in Northern Rhodesia and Katanga, and a vast range of other valuable minerals in Katanga. The diamond industry is controlled by De Beers, part of the Anglo-American group. Until recently, De Beers, through its selling organisation, the Diamond Corporation, controlled 95 per cent of world diamond sales outside the Soviet bloc. Exclusive agreements with Ghana and Guinea lapsed, and though Guinea is only a minor diamond producer, Ghana is responsible for over 10 per cent of diamond production in the West. Some of the loss to De Beers was offset by agreement from the Soviet Union, after long negotiations, to sell through the Diamond Corporation, which now controls 80 per cent of the Western market. Sales in 1960 were worth R176 million.

#### Military Expenditure

In addition to the marketing organisation, De Beers directly owns and controls major diamond mines in South and South West Africa and Tanganyika.

All diamonds in Angola, about 3½ per cent of Western production, go to the Companhia de Diamantes de Angola on whose Board sit Harry Oppenheimer and H. J. Joël (both of De Beers). This company recently loaned the Portuguese Government R2 million at only 1 per cent interest to help bail Angola out of its economic crisis. A sum which offset the increased military expenditure

incurred in suppressing the Angola Nationalist Movement.

The value of gold production is far greater, but unlike diamonds, this industry is not dominated by one group alone. Most of the gold is produced in South Africa, where production is worth well over R500 million a year.

#### Cheap Labour

Profits are about 25 per cent of total revenue, largely because labour is cheap. About 370,000 Africans are employed in the South African gold mines earning about R8 per month.

A recent development has been the extraction of uranium as a by-product of gold, under contract for the United Kingdom and United States Governments. 1958 profits from uranium were R75.4 million, but new contracts are unlikely to prove so profitable since uranium is now more plentiful and the world demand is small.

Loans from America have been important. The Export-Import Bank, a United States Federal Agency, has lent more than R66-million to South African gold companies at a low interest of 4 per cent. Millions of rands of this were lent to Anglo-American subsidiaries, which then used their own funds to get a higher interest rate, making a good profit on the transactions.

The Northern Rhodesian copper companies have fairly close connections with South African gold companies. Copper, of course, dominates the

whole economy of the Central African Federation and is its major source of wealth.

There are seven copper mining companies, three controlled by the Rhodesian Selection Trust, the other four by Oppenheimer's Rhodesian Anglo-American. Nevertheless, there is some connection between R. S. T. and Anglo-American, though they are apparently rivals. There are Anglo-American directors, including Harry Oppenheimer, on R. S. T. subsidiaries of which Prain is chairman. There is also a connection through Consolidated Gold Fields, which has financial interests in both Rhodesian Anglo-American and R. S. T.

### Tshombe's Treasure

The third major source of wealth in white Africa is Katanga. Katanga is the chief mining area of the Congo, and is responsible for 34 per cent of the copper, 86 per cent of the cobalt, 53 per cent of the tungsten and zinc, and 51 per cent of the silver produced in Africa, as well as other important minerals (1953) figures.

The Katanga mines are almost entirely in the hands of one company, the Union Minière, which is closely associated with Tanganyika Concessions (TANKS), an old British Company. Tanks has widespread interests in forestry, property, and mines in Katanga, Tanganyika and Central Africa. The R20 million capital is British, and in 1959-60 dividends were R6m. Tanganyika Conces-

sions performs an important function in Southern Africa, connecting Belgian and Anglo-American groups financially. Some of the directors are among the most powerful political pressure groups in the United Kingdom parliament, and they were especially active in the Congo crisis. They have also lobbied successfully on Central African Federation and other issues.

### Bumper Profits

The Benguela Railway Company was formed by Tanks to build a railway to the West Coast of Africa to export the Katanga minerals. Over 90 per cent of its capital is owned by Tanganyika Concessions, and since Katanga secession the company has enjoyed bumper profits due to increased traffic, as the route through the Congo Republic is closed to Katanga products.

There are many second and third rank companies of some political and economic importance, which have not been discussed here; but of all the big groups in Southern Africa, Anglo-American is outstanding. Oppenheimer, the Anglo-American tycoon, is the chairman of many other companies, and he is on the boards of two big gold groups other than his own, one Rhodesian Selection Trust Copper Company, and Tanks. He has a hold in nearly all of the important groups, and thus is in position to know what his rivals are doing. Often his control reaches much further and

influences or even controls decisions of other companies. Oppenheimer has his friends in the United Kingdom, just as the other groups have friends in the United States and the United Kingdom, and is perhaps the single most powerful person in Southern Africa.

### Ubiquitous Oppenheimer

The western powers are involved in Southern Africa up to their necks. By the end of 1958, total foreign investment in South Africa alone was R3,160m., of this R1,000 million was British, R400m. American, and the rest mainly French, Swiss and West German — Germany's share is increasing.

Investment takes place either through British companies with Southern African subsidiaries, or directly through British individuals with shares in Southern African companies. Of the companies discussed, Tanks has more influential British directors than any other: Lord Robins of Rhodesian fame ("why should it be supposed that a black African just because he washes, speaks English, and wears European dress, must of necessity, be accepted in the society of whitemen of the top grade?"); Captain Waterhouse, the Chairman, Suez rebel and leader of the Katanga lobby; Lord Selborne, Cochrane and Alexander and the ubiquitous Oppenheimer. De Beers directors include a British ex-Ambassador to

Continued on page 36

## Angola's Struggle for Freedom

by B. Stanislav

FOR five centuries the Portuguese have ruled Angola. Five centuries of brutal murder, slave trade, racial discrimination, the bloody repression of innumerable uprisings and inhuman exploitation. After five centuries of Portuguese rule Angola remains one of the most backward countries in the world — four and half million Africans have no political rights, no education, they do not know what modern medicine means and consequently suffer from malnutrition and disease. On the other hand ten foreign companies make an annual profit of 18 million dollars out of the toil of 20,000 Africans who receive 18 or 20 cents a day under forced labour conditions.

Like the other Portuguese colonies, Angola is one of the last countries in the world to retain a system of forced labour which applies to practically all the male inhabitants. This so-called "contract labour" under which the Portuguese administrative and police authorities get hold of *contractados* — workers whom they supply to the plantations and mines of European monopolies — is a source of enrichment not only for the plantation owners and bankers, but also for Portuguese officials who receive a bonus for each worker they supply. And while the men work under dreadful conditions, the women, children and the aged are tilling their neglected plots of land with the most primitive means imaginable in order to keep body and soul together.

The Portuguese like to boast that they have no racial barriers. They say that an African can become an *assimilado* and gain full civil rights, provided he has the necessary education and passes the

stipulated examinations. After five centuries of Portuguese rule there is less than one per cent of these *assimilados* in Angola. And the few thousand Africans who, in spite of the most cruel persecution, managed to gain some degree of education, have now become the first victims of the terrible wave of terror by which the Portuguese authorities are trying to suppress the struggle of the people of Angola.

On March 15th, the whole of Africa commemorated the first anniversary of the Angola rising. In a heroic battle against unimaginable odds and sustaining heavy losses, the people of Angola have

Continued on page 11



An Angola forced labourer with hands tied behind him, is being tortured by Portuguese settler farmers for failing to work owing to ill-health.



An armed settler farmer mounts guard over Angolan forced labourers.



# African Literature

by Ismael Abdul Rahman

WITH the great awakening of Africa and the emergency of a number of new, independent African states, the whole picture in that continent is bound to change. Apart from radical changes in the political, economic and social fields, the last few years have witnessed a wide range of activities on the cultural front. The whole question of African history and particularly of pre-European Africa are being considered in a new light.

Contrary to the allegations of the imperialist, it has been proved beyond doubt that the Africans had created an indigenous culture centuries before the advent of the European. The Africans, like other peoples, gave artistic expression to their deepest thoughts and feelings about abstract as well as concrete things, and in emotional and rhythmic language they showed their admiration for courage in the usual contest between the various tribes and clans.

A wealth of myths and legends, tales and animal stories, proverbs and songs, lyrics and odes have been discovered in the vernacular spoken in various parts of the continent. Many of the poets of those days regarded the then existing tribal institutions as backward and, only serving to delay the progress of their societies.

Even after the European advent, and in spite of all the imperialist endeavours to nip in the bud any

form of genuine African culture and to oppress any genuine African voice there were poets such as Mqhayi of South Africa, who addressed himself in one of his poems to Great Britain:

She sent us the preacher: she sent us the bottle,

She sent us the bible, and barrels of brandy:

She sent us the breechloader, she sent us cannon:

O, Roaring Britain! which must we embrace?

You sent us the truth, denied us the truth;

You sent us the life, deprived us of life:

You sent us the light, we sit in the dark,

Shivering benighted in the bright noonday sun.

Hand in hand with this "rediscovery" of African history, the rising generation of African writers is striving to revive and develop African literature in the light of the present awakening of the whole continent. In point of fact, these two tasks complement each other. It is only natural that African writers should look to their own traditions and institutions for inspiration in their cultural development. For only when they dig down to their roots can they know themselves and be in a position to express their African Personality.

## Profound Content

Conscious of these tasks, African writers and artists discussed problems of African literature at congresses held in 1956 and 1959 and gave special attention to the role of the African writer in the context of the growing national liberation movement of the African peoples and the emergence of new independent African states.

From all the discussions on the subject, one concludes that the central question of today's African literature is its positive and profound content which makes it useful to the society from which it has sprung. The potentialities and activities of men of letters will be valueless if not placed at the disposal of the people's struggle against colonialism and if they do not give expression to the hopes and aspirations of the new African society.

This conclusion acquires a particular significance because the colonisers who tried, through education, to shape the mentality of the African intellectual, have succeeded in influencing a number of them. This group of westernised African intellectuals evaluates any literary work only through its cultural subordination to colonialism. For it, any literary work is of no importance unless it is a cheap imitation of the latest literary trends in the West. This group of intellectuals failed to realise that African literature has different tasks to shoulder and that genuine African literary activities, no matter how limited, are a valuable contribution to the life of the African peoples.

## Western Influence

Such a group of writers is practically isolating literature from the people, and art from the realities of life. The Africa which Camara Laye, a young Guinean novelist, portrays in his novel *Black Boy*, for example, is an idyllic place. The writer here has abstracted himself not only from the problem of colonialism, but also from the very fact of its existence. Furthermore Laye's novel sacrifices, in more than one place, truth to the picturesque,

He is not concerned about the usefulness of his work to his people in their struggle to build a new prosperous society. In point of fact, he is not even writing for his people, but for the elite and the European reader who regards such reading as exotic. This fact is more clearly demonstrated in Laye's second novel, *Le Regard Du Roi* which is of a purely surrealistic character. Yet Camara Laye's example is not exceptional. On the contrary, the influence of so-called "modernism" in literature is more felt in poetry. A wave of surrealistic influence has swept over many African poets, including such an outstanding poet as Leopold Sedor Senghor.

It is regrettable that the majority of African writers cannot communicate with the peasants of their countries, first because their peasants are illiterate, but mainly because their works are written in European languages. Still, the extremely subjective allusions and subtle terms and subjects chosen by these writers sharpen this tragedy, separating the writer or poet even from that relatively limited, educated social strata which constitutes his readers.

Diametrically opposed to this "modernist trend is another realistic school which is rapidly flourishing in Africa. A notable place among the pioneers of this school is occupied by such young writers of Camerouns as Ferdinand Oyono, a young novelist. Esa Boto, who also used the pen name Mongo Beti, and Benjamin Matip. Among the older generation we find the Senegalese Abdoulaye Sadj, Ousmane Sembene and Bernard Dadie.

In the works of these writers and poets we detect the first sincere attempts to blaze new paths for African literature, and to present a new picture of the young African who is brushing aside the humility and submissiveness forced upon him in the past, the young African who begins to have faith in his own force, in the force of his own people and country, the young African who is not only capable of hating colonialism, but who can also put his hatred into action. An example of this new

young African is very well illustrated in Sembene's second novel *Oh My Land, My Wonderful People*.

## Realists

In the *People of the City*, by the young Nigerian writer, Cyprian Ekwensi, an attempt was made to create a realistic novel about modern urban life to show its wretched poor who are huddled in dirty slums, a theme which has also been tackled by Abdoulaye Sadj in his novel *Maimouna* about life in Dakar, and by Esa Boto in his novel *The Cruel City*.

In poetry, a prominent place is occupied by Agostinho Neto, Variato Kruz and Mario de Andrade all leaders of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola Party. Through the poems of these three, the world has come to know the truth about the fate of the peoples who are living under the yoke of colonialism for five long centuries, and who are determined now to gain their freedom and independence. Keita Fodeba, from Guinea, has also been praised by African critics for his poems, especially *Down Over Africa*, to a great extent based on Guinea folklore, in which he speaks of an African peasant soldier murdered by the French authorities.

## New Forms

No matter how critics may differ in their evaluations of these attempts, the realistic trend in African literature is already making itself felt. There may be many shortcomings in the works influenced by this trend but it is gratifying to note that its pioneers have succeeded in understanding the role of African literature, in giving a true picture of the new forces of Africa and its liberation movement. It is expected that in the course of these new literary forms inspired by their national cultural heritage in order to rid themselves of the traditional forms of the West.

Conscious of the task awaiting the African writer, Efua Theodora Sutherland, representing the Ghana Society of Writers in the Afro-Asian Writers Conference held in October 1958, has rightly said: "The African writer has the mission of removing the poison from the

system of his people; he must be the doctor who administers the antidote Africa needs to recover from the Cancer of colonialism. Thus he must be both doctor and soldier."

## Angola's Struggle

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succeeded, almost with their bare hands, in liberating a considerable area in the north of the country. True enough, the Portuguese fascists who sent large reinforcements to Angola, made use of the drought at the end of last year to recapture part of this liberated area. Planes and tanks, heavy guns and napalm bombs for the time being proved stronger than the enthusiasm and resolution of the patriotic fighter.

However, the rulers in Lisbon are mistaken if they think they have crushed the uprising. Journalists who might send out unbiased reports are not allowed into Angola, yet some of them managed to penetrate into the country and sent out news that the rising continues. Frederic Kuh, a correspondent of the *Chicago Sun* and *Times*, who returned from Angola recently, has written that the rebels are in control of 16,000 square miles in North Angola.

The most important political party leading the struggle for Angola's liberation is the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), headed by Mario de Andrade. Unfortunately not all Angolan patriots have as yet been able to form a united front which is indispensable if victory over the Portuguese colonialists is to be won. A united front which the MPLA has called for a number of times in the past. The entire progressive world follows the struggle of the people of Angola with the greatest sympathy. Everybody hopes that the Angolan patriots will soon overcome their differences. For the example of Africa as a whole shows that differences in the ranks of the patriots play into the hands of the colonial powers, whereas their unity is the first prerequisite for final victory.

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# Economic Planning In Black Africa

by Professor Charles Bettelheim

(Director of Studies at Ecole Pratique, Des Hautes  
Etudes of the Sorbonne, Paris, France).

**W**E are told that the year 1960 was the year of independence in Black Africa. In a political sense, this is true but it is certainly not true in an economic sense. Economic independence for Black Africa will come about only gradually, on the basis of a long and sustained development effort. In Black Africa, the problems of economic development are identified with those of the struggle for real independence, the struggle for economic independence.

## Deformations

The dependence of one country on one or several others is due not only to the inadequate level of development of its productive forces. It is due also to the internal structure of its economy, to the deformations which this structure may have suffered under the influence of a foreign economy. These deformations result in the stagnation or even retrogression of important branches of the economy and in the partial development and eventual hypertrophy of other branches which depend principally on external markets.

## Importance

All this confers upon the problems of economic development in Africa an importance of the first rank, with respect to both the welfare of the African populations and the place which Africa will be called upon to occupy on the economic and political world scene.

The nature of the development problems facing Africa and of their possible solutions is obviously de-

termined by the special characteristics of the colonial economy of Black Africa. It is therefore useful to begin our discussion by examining these special characteristics.

## Special Characteristics

The various countries of Black Africa or at least the French-speaking ones have enough traits to enable us to speak of the special characteristics of the economy of Black Africa. This does not mean that in one country or another certain of these characteristics may not be more or less marked. But in spite of this, the overall picture undoubtedly remains valid for each of these countries in particular.

## Agriculture

The first common trait of the countries of Black Africa is the predominance of agriculture. This predominance, obviously, does not mean a high degree of development: on the contrary, the level of productivity in agriculture is low. The techniques utilized are extremely inefficient. The necessary correlation between crops and livestock is generally ignored. The predominance of agricultural activity is therefore in terms of the number of persons involved rather than the importance of the income created by the agricultural sector.

## Institutions

A second common characteristic, more specific than the first, is the survival, at least in a formal sense, of traditional institutions. These have preserved their motivational power and their cultural prestige,

but at the same time they have been largely drained of their past economic and social content.

This internal mutation, which may be more or less advanced in one or another country of Black Africa, occurred principally under the influence of colonization of the development of a money economy, and of certain new market crops. Thus attacked simultaneously from the outside in the sphere of distribution, and from the inside through the introduction of new crops, the old institutions have deteriorated and their content has been modified.

This is clearly evident in the change which has taken place in the manner of exploitation both of the land itself and of its products.

## Devious Guise

Thus, new social relationships have come into being which are not always immediately apparent since they are masked by the forms of the old institutions, but which exist all the same. This means that the dominant capitalist economy has corrupted an ancient system from which the exploitation of man by man was absent and has introduced such exploitation under a devious guise which is not directly recognizable but is nevertheless real.

It is this degradation of old institutions which has made the problem of age groups and the problem of women as acute as they are today. The existence of these deteriorated, corroded institutions cannot be ignored when confronting the question of the conditions of rapid economic and social progress which implies the multiplication of initiative and the existence of real democracy.

## Bourgeoisie

*A third specific common characteristic, closely tied to the first two, is the weakness in the urban development of towns and of classes in general, resulting in the underdevelopment of the African bourgeoisie.*

Such weak bourgeois elements as do exist in Black Africa are dependent on imperialism for the foreign markets to which they export their raw products and for the supply of consumer goods of industrial origin which they sell in the African countryside.

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# Apartheid—a View From Down Under

by Michael Leyden  
(Sydney University)

**W**HAT is APARTHEID, what is Apartheid to the African, to the Dutch Afrikaner nationalist, to men like Menzies, and to ourselves?

To the African, Apartheid is economic, political, social, cultural, religious and racial subservience and separation. To the white ruler it is the psychological, physical and religious basis for supremacy and exploitation. To men like Verwoerd and Menzies, Apartheid means collaboration on economic and political basis. To ourselves Apartheid is mainly a name that symbolises life in a far-away country where the facts regarding the widespread sufferings of Africans remain hidden from our view.

In South Africa the name is Apartheid. In Central Africa it is partnership. In both cases the goal is the same: white supremacy. Sir Godfrey Higgins, author of *The Federation*, defined Central African partnership as the partnership between the rider and his horse.

South Africa is no exception to countries like Spain and Portugal where religion is the handmaiden of the state. The ruling nationalists receive religious "proof" of Apartheid in Calvinism. It was easy for these religious extremists to apply Calvin's doctrine of predestination to the multi-racial society which they formed by their presence, and to project the category of the damned on the non-whites of South Africa and see themselves as the "elect".

This racial projection of Calvinism has formed the most important psychological basis for the theory and practice of Apartheid. From this initial prejudice has been rationalised a superstructure of legislation and regulation aimed at giving effect to

the Afrikaners' passionate desire to hold greedily onto power and privilege by refusing to share the benefits of the country with the majority of its citizens.

Apartheid "entitles" coloured people to no vote, separate buses, trams, telephone boxes and post office counters. Pass books and tickets must be carried at ALL times to be rigorously checked at ANY time by ANY white policeman. Suspension of *habeas corpus* operates at regular intervals, e.g. attempted assassination of Verwoerd, shootings at Sharpeville.

To the African especially in the slum areas around gold and mining towns, "houses" of wood, cardboard and corrugated iron remain a stark example of Apartheid's degradation of the African population.

## Police State

Since the early twentieth century successive racialist governments have built South Africa into its present police state. In 1913 the Natives Land Act was passed which divided the whole of South Africa into two parts, black and white. The Africans who constitute over 70 per cent of the population were allocated less than 8 per cent of the land and the rest was "proclaimed" white. Over 400,000 Africans are employed in the mining industry in South Africa under semi-slave conditions. Their wages are about £4 a month, less than 5 per cent of that paid to Europeans.

On the Copperbelt in Northern Rhodesia a European is paid 17 times as much as an African who often works harder. In 1912 the Works and Mines Act was passed which prohibits Africans from being employed on any skilled work. In 1956 a new Industrial Conciliation Act was

passed which gives the Minister of Labour power to exclude any group of workers from any industry, trade or occupation and thus deprive them of their livelihood.

The Act also prohibits whites and non-white workers from belonging to the same Trade Union even where the workers concerned find it in their own interests to be united. Under the various Urban Areas Acts, Africans are prohibited from living in towns or building their own homes there even if they have the necessary funds. The Group Areas Act gives the Minister of the Interior power to uproot entire racial communities and banish them to any part of the country he chooses.

Under the Suppression of Opposition Act of 1950 gaol sentences are provided for ANY critic suspected on "ideological grounds".

The infamous Bantu Education Act, through syllabuses and teachers, aims at fastening passive acceptance of Apartheid on African children.

Up to 1955 the nationalists could issue, cancel or withdraw any passport at their discretion. In 1955 they closed the only loophole left—leaving the country without a passport. Mr. Alan Paton, world famous author of *Cry, The Beloved Country*, a moving indictment of Apartheid, recently received the Freedom Award in the USA. When he returned to South Africa his passport was withdrawn by the Minister of the Interior. Had he refused to surrender his passport he would, in terms of Act 34 1955, have run the risk of a maximum fine of £200 or a six months sentence. If any non-European wishes to travel anywhere he is forced to undergo a political investigation that our own Brigadier Spy would be proud of.

## Protests Ignored

These and many other laws that are not known to us have been implemented, being designed to oppress, degrade and humiliate over 11 million people just because of the colour of their skins. The present horrors in South Africa (Sharpeville, where over 70 Africans were literally mowed down, Langa, and Durban), are all due to Apartheid, but the black population has been suffering

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# The Bird of Truth Looks for Freedom

(Inside Portugal's Prisons)

MANY centuries ago a beautiful bird of truth was born in sunny Portugal.

Ignoble people wanted to kill, drown or burn the wonderful bird. It was, however, immortal. Then they imprisoned it. But when the Bird of Truth Sang, the wall fell to pieces and the bird was freed.

Sometimes this story is being related . . . In our time, this tale has become a reality like the bird, the truth has emerged from the sinister caverns of Portugal.

For thirty-three years, Salazar, the blood-thirsty fascist, has been reigning in Portugal. All the parties, except the fascist one, were outlawed, all progressive papers are suppressed, strikes and meetings are prohibited.

For thirty-three years the best sons of Portugal have been fighting for the freedom and happiness of their fatherland. For thirty-three years the agents of the PIDE (State Security), with unlimited powers, have broken open the doors of the homes of honest people, have arrested and thrown them into prison.

## Beyond the Law

Aljube, the old prison in Lisbon, the gathering place of the PIDE is always filled. The small cells along the corridors have no windows. The beds are suspended on wall. The prisoners have no benches, no soap or towels. The mattresses, bed sheets and pillows, which are soaked with blood, are never washed. The small low single cells which have no light and air, and where space is reduced to a minimum, are never empty.

The building of the PIDE is situated not far from Aljube. The law does not reach to the third floor

of this building — the agents of the PIDE declare cynically to their victims, while accompanying them to examination.

Once, Raul Alvece had been horribly tortured for several days. The prisoner, in his despair, threw himself from the window of the third floor. The passers-by witnessed his death. He was laying hold of a gutter to keep his balance. A big crowd gathered. The people saw how, behind the curtains of the windows, the agents of the PIDE had watched his suicide.

Raul Alvece called out for help, but the policeman did not move to assist him.

Another moment, the last cry . . . and he fell down lifeless on the pavement. Before the crowd were dispersed by the police, the people could see the bloody traces of the examination on the body of the young man.

Cachias, the old military fortress, turned into a prison by Salazar, is half buried. The solitary cells look into basement corridors. The sun never penetrates there. The walls are covered with humid moss which on rainy days, drips and forms pools on the floor.

## Escape

Many prisoners have been detained from 8 to 20 years, because the so-called "security law" makes it possible to keep people in prison for an unlimited period.

This is the fate of Alvaro Cugnalo, the general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party. He was arrested in 1949 and condemned to 6 years' imprisonment. In 1955, his penalty expired but he was not freed — the "security measures" made it possible to prolong his imprisonment by a year. An addi-

tional year passed and the "security measures" applied an extended imprisonment of three years.

If, at the end of 1961, Alvaro Cugnalo had not succeeded in escaping in a barge, he would have passed his entire life in that sinister prison.

The prisoners of Cachias entirely depend on their guards; they die of cold, famine, torture and due to the lack of medical attention. The women suffer particularly in Cachias.

Maria Angela de Campos has been in prison for 9 years. Her "case" has not even been brought to a hearing. For 9 years, she has been in prison without being tried. Due to torture and privations, Maria Angela is affected by a physical illness and, instead of transferring the unfortunate woman to a hospital specialised for such an illness, she is being imprisoned in a solitary cell with no medical treatment whatsoever.

Maria Louisa Costa Dias has been operated upon in the presence of PIDE agents. Following the operation, in spite of her protests she has been watched by a female guard. She has been forbidden to personally address herself to a physician.

We know that due to torture inflicted upon her, Maria Cantida Ventura has been delivered of her child prematurely; now, her two legs are paralysed.

We are well aware of the fact that the 64-year-old Maria Louisa Puala, who was arrested together with her daughter, Aida, died in a casemate.

Maria Angela Vidal, aged 26, has been arrested with her two-year-old son. Eleven days of her arrest, she has been separated from her son. Eight years have passed since that time.

Francisco Miguel, at present imprisoned in Cachias, has succeeded in sending a letter to the English magazine *New Statesman*, a letter in which he described the torture called "Statue." In 1947, he had been arrested for the third time. Although his health was undermined due to his former two imprisonments in the concentration camp of Tarrafal, for 272 hours

he had held the "statue" — without sitting down for a minute. Two days later, the hangmen of the PIDE put Francisco again against the wall and he stood there for 240 hours. They could not get anything out of him. Two weeks later, Francisco had to stand for 9 days.

The executioners of the PIDE always invent new tortures. The

peasants of Cuso, who were arrested in December 1960, after having suffered from the torture called the "statue," were fastened to chairs with only one foot. The women had to remain in that position for many hours. When they were taken back to their cells, their bodies were covered with black spots and their feet were swollen.

## Apartheid

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in silence for decades. Words alone, however strong they may be, do not impress the Nationalist Government's flagrant and systematic invasion of human rights. As PM Verwoerd unashamedly said: "Protests from abroad about our policies go straight into the waste-paper basket".

Yet the important question facing the people of Australia is why their own PM Menzies has consistently remained on the side of Apartheid in the United Nations Resolutions passed in the United Nations condemning Apartheid in April and November 1961 have been passed without the support of Australia. Yet is this action to be looked upon as unusual?

"Australia's segregation of natives is an example of what is necessary in South Africa". This was said by the pro-Nazi Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr. Malan (September 7th 1952; *Sydney Sun*). When Menzies returned from South Africa in 1953 he deplored people who engaged in "the luxury of what is supposed to be high moral criticism" of Apartheid and indicated that if Australia had a similarly numerous indigenous population "we would want to preserve our own civilization and culture, our religion, our Parliamentary system and our administration of justice" (S. M. H. August 3rd 1953). In plainer words Australia would have been justified in doing as Verwoerd did.

An investigation of company shares and capital shows that the Menzies family have large interests in numerous firms, especially the Cape Court Trusts and Felt and Textiles Ltd., who themselves say they are "the largest manufacturer of footwear in the Union".

Among Felt and Textiles directors is Colonel Allan Spowers, who with F. G. Menzies (PM Menzies' brother (directs ALL Cape Court Trusts (11 in all). It was more than coincidence that the Prime Minister's brother was appointed to the recent Lord Monckton Commission on Central Africa which even the right-wing British Labour Party was compelled to boycott, and which thus gave the Menzies family a direct part in frustrating national independence in the Rhodesia, Kenya, Tanganyika and Nyasaland.

Lord Robins, President of British South Africa Company — also moving into Australia — Tanganyika Concessions, and largest hold in Union Miniere of Katanga in the Congo, declares his faith in Apartheid: "Why should it be supposed that a black African, just because he washes, speaks English, and wears European dress, must of necessity be accepted into the society of white men of the top grade".

South African police do not shoot for the Verwoerd government alone, but for British and American monopolies and for Australian monopolists with whom Robert Gordon Menzies is involved in various ways.

Let the students make it utterly clear that they condemn APARTHEID in all its brutality and effects upon the African people.

## Christmas Cruelty

Once a year — at Christmas — according to tradition, the prisoners are allowed to embrace their children, wives and mothers. Last year, at Christmas, the authorities prohibited the usual rendezvous and permitted only the ordinary interviews between the two great walls. The 500 persons who gathered there refused these ordinary rendezvous. The agents of the PIDE appealed to the Police who attacked the people . . . One of the women began to sing the national anthem, whereupon the crowd and the prisoners immediately joined her.

As a sign of protest, the prisoners have refused to eat their Christmas meal. Almost all of them were condemned to solitary confinement for 10 to 20 days.

But wind cannot be stopped and, likewise the will of a genuine patriot cannot be crushed.

"Angolan Soldiers . . ."

Time flies. The peoples of Goa, Daman, Diu, the former Portuguese colonies have rejected the yoke of colonialism. Salazar has issued a decree on national mourning and has prohibited the broadcast of light music.

The year of 1962, however, has brought a new element. On New Year's night, a group of patriots, led by Captain Verela-Golis, seized the barracks of the Third Regiment of the infantry in Bege and heroically resisted the regular forces of Salazar.

On 1st January, great demonstrations took place in Portugal. Clashes occurred with the police. The demonstrators demanded: "Down with war", "Soldiers of Angola, throw away your arms and come back", "Freedom to the political prisoner."

The entire progressive mankind identify themselves with these demands which have been stepped up from month to month.

\*Another dramatic escape recently was that of the Angolan MPLA leader, Agostinho Neto, who managed last month to slip out of Portugal with his family.



# White Supremacy in Africa

By Dr. Conor O'Brien

(Vice-Chancellor, University of Ghana)

THE feeling has been rather general among liberally-minded people that the "wind of change" in Africa is irresistible and will, in the near future, automatically end the caste system of minority rule in those parts of Africa where this system survives. No doubt in the long run the "wind of change" will prevail, but it would be a great mistake to suppose that it will do so automatically or quickly.

In Katanga, I came to feel that I was living at the point where the "wind of change" begins to veer: that is, the point where it encounters the escarpment of a relatively solid area of European settlement and rule. The 30,000 or so Europeans of Katanga felt themselves to be backed by the 300,000 or so of the Rhodesias and by more than 3,000,000 in South Africa. The Republic of South Africa casts a long shadow right over the southern part of the continent, right up as far as Katanga.

The nature of Mr. Tshombe's regime may be gauged from the fact that two of his ministers, including his Vice-President, Mr. Kibwe, toured South Africa in August, 1961, and found nothing to criticise in their tour. The controlled press in Katanga also upholds the Portuguese action against the rebels in Angola. There is little sign that those in control throughout Southern Africa are disposed to accept genuine change and real political rights for Africans peacefully.

It is very likely, however, that further efforts will be made to hoodwink Western opinion on the line

of Rhodesian "partnership", Portuguese "no-colour-bar" and especially what *The Times* has called "that phenomenon of African nationalism, Mr. Tshombe's Government." Unfortunately, a large and even relatively liberal section of Western opinion shows a strong propensity to content itself with such simulacra of freedom, as is strikingly evidenced by prevailing Western attitudes towards Dr. Verwoerd's Government and that of Sir Roy Welensky.

Almost everyone outside South Africa regards Dr. Verwoerd's regime with well-founded abhorrence. Relatively few people, however, have much fault to find with the system prevailing in Rhodesia, although the uncontroverted facts set out in such a book as Cyril Dunn's *Central African Witness* make it clear that the underlying realities in both cases are similar, and that Sir Roy Welensky differs from Dr. Verwoerd on tactics rather than on principle. Any moral difference there may be would tell in favour of Dr. Verwoerd, who is at least honest about what he is doing.

## Economic Planning

Continued from page 12

This dependence has an ambivalent significance: on the one hand it drives these elements to free themselves of their dependence, and on the other hand it often encourages

them to maintain the already established ties on which rests the relative prosperity of their business. Although numerically unimportant the existence of these bourgeois elements in commerce and also in transport cannot be ignored if one wants to obtain an overall view of the effective structure of the present economy of Africa.

These elements quite often occupy a strategic position, since they have in their hands the networks through which commodities are gathered and distributed and they realise profits which, in the aggregate, make up an appreciable fraction of the cash portion of the national income.

### Domination of big Business

A fourth specific common trait is the domination of big business and wholesale trade and a large part of the semi-wholesale trade by foreign capital. This domination occurs essentially in two forms: on the one hand, in a minor form through the insertion into the commercial networks of traders who have come from abroad but have established themselves in African countries—generally traders of Syrian and Lebanese origin, on the other hand, and more fundamentally, in the form of big trading firms which perform a major part of the big import and export operations and which make considerable profits through these operations.

These profits usually do not figure in the national accounts of the countries concerned, since they are realised outside of their borders.

### Economic Enclaves

A fifth specific trait consists in the establishment of extractive industries, which, at least in French-speaking Africa, is of recent origin. This has given rise to economic enclaves which undergo an autonomous development closely linked to the international market but which are virtually without influence on the internal development of the African countries.

## IN NORTHERN RHODESIA—

# Education for the few

by Richard B.N. Masuku

NORTHERN Rhodesia, the copper country right in the heart of Africa, has known British imperialism for 70 long years in which there has been little, if any, educational progress. In the early twenties of this century the colonial government set up a pseudo-education department which promised the people it would provide them with education, so that they would be fit to govern their homeland. In the meantime, they were not to worry about who was running their country.

The British educationalists could not turn out the first African graduate until 1951, when ambitious John Mwanakatwe gained an extramural Bachelor of Arts degree after much burning of midnight oil. He was followed by a slow intermittent trickle of college-graduated and home-study B. A.s and B. S.s.

### No Woman Graduate

Even to this day there is only one African lawyer, one African agricultural engineer and two indigenous doctors; that is all. The lawyer, British trained, is denied opportunity to qualify for practice in this so-called British territory. The two doctors could not tolerate the conditions of government service and have since resigned. One is operating his own surgery, the other is on the staff of a private corporation. The engineer arrived in the country only in the last days of December 1961. In the whole country there has not yet been a single indigenous woman graduate.

Architecture, town-planning, journalism, accountancy, social and political sciences: all these and many

other professions vital for a young country—cannot claim even one African specialist. The big idea being of course to try by denying Africans the necessary education, to make Northern Rhodesia eternally dependent on high-salaried British expatriate specialists. Moreover, these wanderers bring along with them their many sons, daughters, nephews and nieces who misappropriate the schooling chances which rightly belong to the true children of Africa.

### Status Scramble

Worst of all, by the lure of money and other corrupting inducements British imperialism has created out of the few graduates an arrogant class of phoney intellectuals. Because of what I prefer to call the "colonised education" they received in England or America, these men are now captive to money-mania which blinds them to everything else except how to concentrate all their energies on ways and means to acquire more and more money, more and more promotions, even at the expense of their people's freedom. Thus they lose sight of their foremost obligation, namely, to extend social and political enlightenment to the less educated.

Thus they bury themselves in the cocoon of "faithful service" to the imperialist regime, fighting for puppet positions in government offices but never rising beyond that of perpetual assistants to semi-illiterate white officers in every government department. Often they are used in various kinds of committees which evolve bogus schemes to exploit the African people and, not infrequently they become agents of the government,

informing against the African nationalists.

Thanks to the educational programme of the United National Independence Party, under the able leadership of Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, many youths have in the last year or two left the country to specialise abroad in many fields of study at universities which are open to men of diverse political opinions. Among these youths are students of economics, sociology, engineering, journalism, medicine, agriculture, political science, international law and architecture.

### Oppressive Machinery

North Rhodesia's primary and secondary education is extremely cumbersome and insufficient. There is an oppressive machinery whereby out of the thousands of school-age children in the country only a few are chosen to go to school. Fewer still will be selected for the awards of the Primary School Leaving Certificate. The same process is applied for the award of the Junior Secondary Certificate. They call it the "pyramid education system". At the end of it all, only a very negligible proportion of students manage with much drudgery to filter through.

Smugly superior education officers will tell you from behind their large desks that Northern Rhodesia has not enough money to build adequate schools for all its children. And this in a country with well over £100m of copper profits annually and many million pounds of profit from other commodities, to support only 3 million inhabitants.

### Naked Disparity

If one examines the country's schools one finds nothing but discrepancy, naked disparity and gross social injustice between schools for white children and those for their black counterparts. Take Munali Secondary School, the largest African Secondary School in the country and also a boarding school, catering for up to the Higher School Certificate of Cambridge University in Britain. Take also a very small European primary school, Silver Rest, for settler children up to the age of 10. But the ironical contrast between the two accurately depicts

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the lunacy and fanaticism of the government that planned them.

Munali, catering as it does for university entrants, looks a mere collection of toy houses beside a skyscraper city in comparison with Silver Rest which is for settler kids. As if to emphasise the malicious intentions of the planners, the two schools are situated at only a couple of miles or so away from each other and along the same road, just outside the Northern Rhodesia capital, Lusaka. Also just a few miles away in another direction is Gilbert Rennie School, the biggest European secondary school, catering for the same standards as Munali.

### Hindrances

And between the grandiose splendour of Rennie and squalour of Munali, their existence has no unit of ratio nor medium of comparison. But that is not the end of the story, for the list of imperialist-contrived hindrances to educational progress in Northern Rhodesia is endless.

There are two prunings in the primary school. Another two in the secondary school. The rejected victims of these retrogressive weeding are compelled to accept mean jobs in industry and agriculture to maintain an inexhaustible source of cheap labour. Parents are underpaid, consequently they are unable to maintain their children well, much less send them to school.

In Northern Rhodesia, school fees have no relative proportion to the wages of the parents and guardians of the children. Almost impossible; working conditions repel would-be teachers and the shortage of teaching staff is in abundant evidence, everywhere. Children or relations of politicians are either neglected or expelled from school on the slightest excuse. Lack of medical services, malnutrition, lack of social workers to take extramural care of the children and other social deficiencies are contributory factors to increasing delinquency and, therefore, decreasing or stagnant education in Northern Rhodesia.

In secondary schools, a very low intake is subjected to very intensive pruning leaving a bare handful of

final survivors. Then the curriculum is so planned as to allow only very few to proceed to higher studies or training. The scarcity of textbooks, the narrow scope of libraries (where they exist at all) and the general absence of science laboratories are the normal order of the day in the African secondary schools of Northern Rhodesia. Facilities such as audio-visual aids are unheard of. The student is left absolutely dependent on and at the mercy of the teacher, who may quite often be just half-qualified.

In all the schools, the English language is given the most prominent position in the syllabus. It is a failing subject at all levels. No indigenous language is taught well. This suggests that this is just one more of those futile British attempts to try and stifle the African's pride in his own culture and impose a foreign way on the people. However, the young men of Zambia (the name reserved for a free Northern Rhodesia) are up to these monkey-tricks and are hard at it producing their own literature.

Individual and mass expulsions, and even complete closures of secondary schools for no apparent reason, occur with monotonous frequency.

### Victimisation.

Naturally, mature students cannot help taking an interest in the social, economic and political situation of their country. When they follow the press reports regularly, or show particular talent in oratory and debating, they are labelled "subversive elements" and thrown out of school immediately.

Between 1956 and 1959 no less than 10 large schools and training institutes were arbitrarily closed down for such disputes as objecting to sing the British National Anthem. In other places students were summarily dismissed merely for requesting more hygienic meals than the rotten, vermin-riddled food which they were often asked to eat.

The white-dominated university selection boards always make it a point to exclude from university scholarship awards any African stu-

dent suspected of holding definite political convictions. In this way these selections are able to "sit on" some of the country's finest university potential. Openings for specialised vocational training are almost nil.

Huge companies like the Rhodesian Selection Trust, the Anglo-American Corporation, the Vacuum Oil Company, British Petroleum (BP) and Shell Company, who are sucking the country dry, have always had scholarships for the children of the settlers, but until recently none for the true sons and daughters of the country on which they are fattening. A miserable few have now begun to be awarded.

The tyrannical imposition of the hated Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland took place in 1953. Simultaneously with the introduction in South Africa of the racialist Bantu Education Act, Northern Rhodesia's former education department was resolved into the Ministry of African Education under the territorial government and the Ministry of European Education under the Federal Government.

As the Federal Government gets the lion's share of the wealth of Northern Rhodesia, it has spent a very large part of it on European education while the Northern Rhodesia Government pretends that it cannot spend as much on African education. It is, of course, an open secret that the point behind it all is to bring African education in Northern Rhodesia in line with that of South Africa, where education for Africans has CEASED TO BE, and is replaced by DE-EDUCATION.

### Partnership Hoax.

Out of Northern Rhodesia's copper, the Federalists have built a university in Southern Rhodesia in the anticipation of setting up another "apartheid state" there and joining it to South Africa.

One remarkable thing about this Salisbury University is that, it is a university built in blackman's land but ever since it opened, the black students have never formed more than one-third of the total student

*Continued on page 24*

## South-West Africa at a Glance

by our Correspondent

**S**OUTH West-Africa, formerly a mandate of the League of Nations should today, under the United Nations Trusteeship system, be on the way to full independence. Instead it has been stolen by the Republic of South Africa, which is trying to force its half million population into the prison of apartheid.

The territory is 318,000 square miles—about three quarters of the size of its expropriator, the Republic of South Africa—with total population of 575,000. Whites (mostly farmers) 83,000; Bushmen who live by hunting and fruit and root gathering 10,000; Namas or Hottentots 30,000; then the Bantu-speaking people, the Hereros 30,000; Damaras 30,000; Ovambos 370,000; Okavangos 30,000; and finally the Rehobóthers, a community of mixed origin, partly whites, partly Africans, partly Namas, number about 10,000.

### The Coming of White man

The first white man to come to South West Africa was Diego Cam, who made a landing at Cape Cross in 1486. During the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries the territory was visited by an increasing number of hunters, explorers, traders and missionaries, who began to clamour for "protection" from our overwhelming numbers of non-whites who surrounded them.

In 1878. Britain occupied Walvis Bay and the surrounding territory of some 400 miles. The rest remained no-man's-land.

The Berlin Conference of 1885 which carved up Africa among the imperialist powers awarded South West Africa to Germany (Walvis Bay still remained British and has in

fact never formed part of South West Africa proper. It later became part of the Cape Province and then of the Union, and is even now claimed by the Republican Government as wholly South African).

German occupation saw terrible wars of extermination against the indigenous population. By the end of the German occupation the Hereros had lost all their land and cattle and their own numbers had been reduced from 80,000 to 15,000.

### When did South Africa Come in?

Germany lost all her colonies by the Versailles Treaty after the First World War. South West Africa was entrusted to the King of England to be administered on his behalf by the Government of the Union of South Africa as a C class mandate.

C class mandate were to be "administered under the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the principle that the well-being and development of the indigenous peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation." Article 2 of the mandate added: "The Mandatory shall promote to the utmost, the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory."

How the South African Government carried out its sacred trust can be revealed by a few facts:

The 83,000 whites have twice as much land at their disposal as the 492,000 non-whites and the whites have absolute title to the land, whereas the non-whites do not, being for the most part confined to reserves.

Non-whites have no vote and no representation in government. Little

more than 10 per cent of the Budget is allocated to non-whites.

The report of the U.N. Trusteeship Council in 1948 stated that educational facilities for the indigenous peoples were "hopelessly inadequate." There is only one high school for Africans in the whole territory. There is no University. The territory has produced only one non-white doctor.

### The Economy

The economy is dominated by farming, but with heavy American and British investment in mining. Several thousand Africans work in the American controlled mines at Tsumeb for 1s 9d. a day—half the wage of a miner on the Rand. The Tsumeb mines returned 8 million dollars net earnings in the first three years of operation—1 MILLION DOLLARS MORE THAN THE INITIAL CAPITAL OUTLAY.

### South West Africa and UNO

In 1946 the United Nations recommended that South West Africa be placed under the international trusteeship system, which the South African Government has consistently refused to do for the succeeding 16 years.

Liberia and Ethiopia are bringing a case against South Africa before the International Court of Justice to secure enforcement of the U.N. decision.

Messrs Carpio and de Alva visited South West Africa in terms of the decision of the last U.N. General Assembly giving the U.N. Committee on SWA the task of achieving the following objectives: (a) A visit to SWA before May 1, 1962; (b) the evacuation of all S.A. military forces; (c) the release of all political prisoners; (d) the repeal of all apartheid laws; (e) general elections based on universal adult suffrage; (f) preparations for full independence; (g) economic and social assistance; (h) the return of all exiles without risk of imprisonment.

### The Demand of the People

Both the South West African People's Organisation (leader Karina) and the South West Africa National Union (leader Kozonguizi) demand full independence and are asking the United Nations to take immediate action to bring this about.

# SYSTEM OF INTERLOCKING DIRECTORATES IN MINERAL INDUSTRY OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Societe Generale de Belgique	Union Miniere du Haut Katanga	Tanganyika Concessions	British South Africa Company	Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa	De Beers Consolidated Mines	Rhokana Corporation	Mufulira Copper Mines	Chibuluma Mines	Roan Antelope Copper Mines	Rhodesian Selection Trust	American Metal Climax Inc.
Gillet	Gillet	Oppenheimer, H.	Oppenheimer, H.	Oppenheimer, H.	Oppenheimer, H.	Oppenheimer, H.	Oppenheimer, H.		Hochschild, W.	Hochschild, W.	Hochschild, W.
Van der Straeten	Van der Straeten	Van der Straeten	Wilson, A.	Wilson, A.	Wilson, A.	Rowlandson	Hochschild, H.		Hochschild, H.	Hochschild, H.	Hochschild, H.
							Bradford	Bradford	Bradford	Bradford	Bradford
Devillez	Devillez	Robins	Robins	Robins	Robins	Seys	Clark	Moore		Moore	Dean, A.H.
Bonvoisin	Selborne	Selborne	Annan	Clark	Clark	Clark	Newson	Newson	Newson	Coolbaugh	Coolbaugh
Robiliart	Robiliart	Robiliart	Emrys-Evans	Emrys-Evans	Joel	Newson	Taylor	Taylor	Finn	Finn	Childs
Dubois-Pelerin	Guillaume	Guillaume	M. of Salisbury	Hagart	Hagart	Taylor	Goudie		Goudie	Goudie	Goudie
							Lascelles	Lascelles	Lascelles	Lascelles	Bunker
de Spirlet		de Spirlet	d' Erlanger	Wilson, W.		Wilson, W.	Richardson	Richardson	Irwin	Irwin	Irwin
Marthoz	Marthoz	Hudson	Berry	Oppenheimer, P.	Oppenheimer, P.	Bennett	Prain	Prain	Prain	Prain	Burden
De Merre	Hutchinson	Hutchinson	Grenfell	Albu	Compton	Richardson	Beckingham		Kirkpatrick	Kirkpatrick	Mudd
Wallef	Wallef	Strachan	Malvern	Coulter	Rudd		Peterson		Peterson	Thomson	
Smits	Blaise	Cochran	Kiek	Beckingham		Beckingham	Murphy		Murphy	Murphy	de Neufville
Nokin	Terwagne	Dickinson	Hambro	Smits			Maclaren	Maclaren	Maclaren	Maclaren	Loeb
Lambert	Alexander	Alexander	Robson	Koch	McHardy		Buch	Buch	Buch	Buch	MacGregor
Renders	Sengier	Pinto Basto	Hawksley	Harrison	Leeper		Tucker				Searls
	Consin	Turner		Baring	de Villiers						Szold
	Waterhouse	Waterhouse			Crokaert						
	Paulus				Rothschild						

# Southern Africa

by our Correspondent

**S**OUTH Africa—This is the simmering pot of persecution and white racial arrogance. South Africa covers 472,000 square miles with a total population of 16,000,000.

It is correct to point out without any reservation here that one of the major tasks of the Conference of Nationalist Organisations from dependent African countries will be to work out and implement a dynamic programme of action which will result in speedy and successful liberation of Southern Africa—S.W. Africa, the S.A. Settler Republic, and three Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

It is a well known fact that it is in this part of Africa where the arrogant blood-suckers and oppressive European minority of exploiters have more or less succeeded in entrenching their interests.

## Racialist Fanatics

The temperate climate of this part of the continent is very suitable for European settlement. Here, they have entrenched themselves completely and to the detriment of the oppressed African masses.

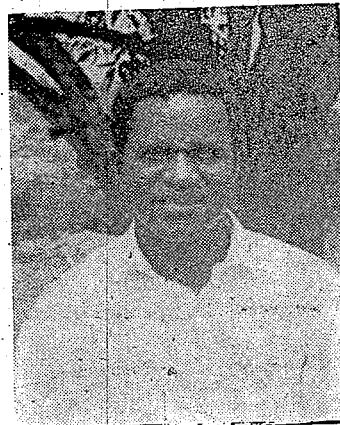
It is from this part of the continent that they get gold, diamonds, coal and where almost all their wicked designs have been planned in such a manner that they must perpetuate the exploitation of the indigenous African majority by a minority of apartheid-infested racia-

list fanatics. The Algerian struggle for freedom has been very painful and long. Even after the ceasefire agreement the French hooligan Secret Army Organisation continued to slaughter Algerian people like rats in their own country.

## Settler Army

But it looks as if the South African struggle for liberation will be the toughest test ever to confront the dedicated forces of African freedom. It is in the Settler South African Republic where we are told that Verwoerd and his henchmen form the Government of the country, yet a careful analysis of the South African situation would reveal the fact that Harry Oppenheimer and his Anglo-American foreign exploiters are the real Government of South Africa. Verwoerd can rightly be regarded as a colonialist puppet perched on top of a volcano which can erupt at any moment.

It is in the South African Settler Republic where we are told that the Army is being strengthened to meet the danger from the North, yet the fact is that this Settler Army is meant to crush the very indigenous people of South Africa. It is not necessary to state that this Army still has at its disposal highly qualified Army training experts from the United Kingdom. The Settler South African Air Force continues to get Air Force experts from the British Royal Air Force.

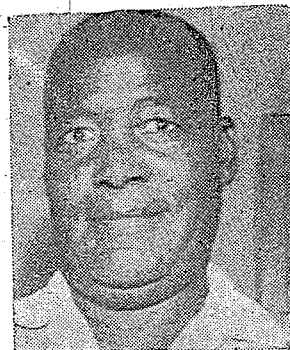


N. Mokhehle, President of Basutoland Congress Party

So in South Africa, the final obstacle which will retard our progress of liberation will be the combined armed strength of England and the United States and not that of little confounded Verwoerd, who is merely a puppet which dances according to the puppet strings manipulated both from London and Washington, D.C.

The solution to the problem therefore lies in the major African political organisations in the Settler Republic working out a common basis for co-operation.

The basis must, of course, be the unconditional acceptance of the basic principles of African Nationalism. As long as certain of our



Motsete  
President of B.P.P.

African Leaders in the South continue to base their course of action on the meaningless and God-forsaken philosophy of multi-racialism, they will always be unconsciously postponing the day of reckoning for the white tyrant in South Africa.

The lip-service type of "Unity" in South Africa without the dynamic basis of African nationalism can never help us achieve our aims in Africa of our times.

The challenge of the epoch is therefore to defeat Verwoerd, Montgomery, Salazar and Welensky.

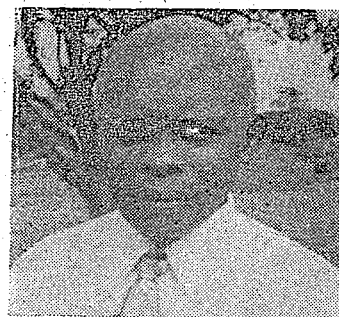
The three so-called British High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland are faced with exactly the same problem and evils which if not destroyed in time, will entrench themselves in exactly the same manner as they did in the Settler South African Republic.

These territories are plagued by the evil and cruel disease of British oppression and exploitation.

Several political factors contribute greatly towards strengthening and perpetuating British colonial oppression in these countries.

In Basutoland (11,000 square miles pop—800,000), despite the presence of a strong and well-organised Basutoland Congress Party, there is a disgruntled microscopic minority of pseudo-communists led by a multi-racial fanatic who lacked the courage to face the consequences of his actions and convictions in the Settler Republic.

This man has been blowing the horn of the cowardly and capitalistic minded white pseudo-communists in South Africa. If there is one dangerous and undesirable element which requires immediate and unconditional destruction, it is this group. Surprisingly enough, one of the principal architects of this new force of anti-African subversion is a woman who fled to Basutoland with panic and confusion flying from the sharp claws of the Verwoerdian apartheid monster. Needless to state that the only nationalistic party in Basutoland accorded her all the necessary material assistance she needed. Today she shamelessly bites and spites the very hand that fed



J. J. Nguku  
President of Swaziland  
Progressive Party

her during the time of stress. Nor does she realize that Basutoland will soon be under an African Government of the very political party they are currently trying to undermine.

In Bechuanaland (275,000 sq. miles pop—350,000), the position is in no way different from the one obtains in Basutoland, though it is mainly a difference of degrees. This is in regard to the opportunistic-minded chiefs who are trying to forsake their tribal privileges of chieftainship and endeavour to meddle in the country's political set-up. Nor is this country free from the plagues and the influence of the puppet pseudo-communist regime of the neighbouring white Settler Republic. Several stooges have been carefully planted throughout the land to intimidate and mislead the dedicated



Kozonguizi  
President of SWANU  
South-West Africa

and determined members of the Bechuanaland People's Party into accepting the evil doctrine that, it is possible for certain countries in Africa to be jointly owned by both black and white together. It will be among the main responsibilities of the Conference of dependent Africa to make it abundantly clear to all concerned that the time will never come when even one square inch of this continent can ever be under joint black-white ownership.

It is in Bechuanaland where the hypocritical minded British have given themselves the impression that they have succeeded in misleading the world to believe that Bechuanaland has got a Legislative Council. Contrary to what the White Hall capitalistic oppressors might think, we know that the people of Bechuanaland are not proud of the legislative mockery imposed on them by the symbol of British imperialism and colonial slavery in Southern Africa—British High Commissioner John Maud. Yet Bechuanaland will (under the leadership of the B.P.P.) rid herself of the manning ills of the joint oppressive designs of John Maud-Seretse Khama.

Swaziland (6,704 sq. miles pop—254,000). This is one country which calls for urgent attention before the hostile forces of foreign interests mislead the oppressed masses of the land.

The unfortunate and tragic disagreement motivated more by personal loyalties than by fundamental political or ideological differences (but which differences have most fortunately been brushed aside for the general good of the oppressed people of Swaziland), nearly provided an opportunity for the disruptive foreign elements to divide the nationalist forces in the country into numerous helpless cliques.

This country is so small but so rich that Africans cannot tolerate any political divisions purposely meant to retard the progress of the Swazi nation towards its cherished goal of true independence from the grinding iron hand of British imperial despotism and persecution.

Swaziland is among the wealthiest African countries in as far as the na-



tural resources are concerned. It is only for this reason that we must hasten to give a timely warning that unless the nationalist forces in the country are not only united but properly co-ordinated and strengthened, the greedy eye of Harry Frederick Oppenheimer (the notorious capitalistic blood-sucker of the S.A. Settler Republic) is already fixed on the natural resources of this particular country.

Already about half the land is under private ownership of some Dutch feudal reactionaries of the Settler Republic. The notorious Colonial Development Corporation has covered half of the land with pine forests for their paper and pulp industry at Osutu. Some American capitalists have already launched pineapple growing and canning industry in Swaziland. How about Swaziland struggling for immediate self-Government so as to be able to lay claim on the eastern side of what is today called the Transvaal Province which has always belonged to the Swazi people? With regard to Basutoland it is just a question of time before her people exert their efforts to recover their stolen land—the whole of the so-called Orange Free State. For obvious legal reasons such moves must be taken before independence.

**South-West Africa** (318,000 sq. miles pop—575,000).—This is a mandated territory governed by the South African Settler Republic. The South African Government was charged, with the obligation of promoting "to the utmost the material and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the territory."

The United Nations Organisation with an advisory opinion of the World Court, contends that it has inherited the supervisory function of the League's Permanent Mandates Commission. The UN has, on this ground, repeatedly asked South Africa to place the territory under its Trusteeship.

A formal case was filed in the World Court in 1960 by Liberia and Ethiopia asking the Court to rule that South Africa had violated the mandate.

Unfortunately it is a bit difficult to obtain accurate statistics with regard to the territory's economic output as they are usually combined with those of the hated Settler Republic.

The executive administration of this country is vested in an Executive Committee presided over by a settler Administrator with five members of the Council chosen by the Territory's all-white so-called Legislative Assembly or at first meeting after the general elections. Needless to state that Africans in South-West Africa are subjected to horror striking humiliation and apartheid oppression in accordance with the instructions from Pretoria.

Africans live under slave conditions of forced labour despite the provisions of Article 3 of the Treaty of Versailles of June, 28, 1919, which among other things states that: "The Mandatory shall see that slave trade is prohibited, and that no forced labour is permitted."

The two major nationalist organisations are the South-West Africa National Union (SWANU) and the South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) with a total membership of about 80,000 and 50,000 respectively.

The two political parties have long been petitioning the United Nations Organisation to take the necessary steps which will result in the Settler Republic being prevented from extending its vile apartheid practices to the territory and also to accord the inhabitants all the necessary material assistance which will result in S.W. Africa emerging as an independent African state.

The challenge of the ugly situation prevailing in Southern Africa should be among the prime responsibilities of the Freedom Fighters, attending this historic Conference.

## Northern Rhodesia Education

*Continued from page 18*

intake in any one year. Its function is to try and propagate the hoax ideology of racial partnership or multi-racialism. But the experiment has gone to pieces. The African students have already raised a strong voice against the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and have adamantly objected in university terms to any attempt to make the fact that their study together with settler students serves as proof of the existence of racial harmony in the college and in the country.

In the final analysis, education in Northern Rhodesia is but strictly for the children of the settlers and an infinitesimal small chip of the African population. Such is the system in Northern Rhodesia. It is the education for the CHOSEN: the children of the settlers and not those of Africa. It is a structure so streamlined as to perpetuate ignorance and illiteracy. The knowledge Africans gain from it may at best turn them into half-starved industrial and agricultural labourers unable to send or maintain their children in school, for lack of money. And so the vicious cycle of illiteracy goes on.

Paradoxically, these 3 million "slaves in their own land" are the hunger-stricken owners of a tremendous amount of mineral and agricultural wealth with copper alone yielding annual profits of £100m. But the colonialist exploiters still dare to say that this is not enough to educate the children of the country.

Meanwhile the British imperialists have the audacity to maintain that they went to Africa to illuminate the "dark continent". How hollow! An education system worth its name will only be established in our country when Africans will be free, as they surely must and shall be in the not too distant future.

## International Organisation in Africa

by J. Acka Yankson

**T**HOUGH Africans are, by nature gregarious, fellow-feeling and would share the minutest morsel with a needy neighbour, social organisation on the internal level in Africa on the whole, is of very recent origin. International Conferences, on nation-wide basis do not go back in modern times, later than April 1958, in Africa, South of the Sahara. The initiative for this, was at Dr. Nkrumah's First Press Conference as Prime Minister of Free Ghana: "The independence of Ghana is absolutely meaningless, unless it is linked with the complete and total liberation of the rest of Colonial Africa."

This was a hair-raising declaration and few people took it very seriously then. Those who had read the signs on the wall, however, knew and felt in their bones that the future did not bode well for those who still thought of the relationship between Black and White on the age-old lines of Master and Servant, or "Baaskap and Boana".

### Freedom

To most African Freedom Fighters, however, this simple yet startling declaration at Dr. Nkrumah's First Press Conference, as Prime Minister, was nothing new. It was an extension of the African's innate desire to share the slightest morsel with his needy neighbour. Freedom was a good thing for Ghana. The political freedom which was the genesis of the road to national reconstruction and self-discovery in Africa had been won in Ghana.

If freedom was good for Ghana it could not be bad for the other Africans who had not yet won it. Therefore it must be extended to them. Those who had made the start towards winning it, must be helped in the tactical organisation to its completion, even if this be by the "one step forward two steps backward" method. The struggle for freedom was the thing, and the fight must be kept going.

### Starting-Point

To those on whom the idea of the fight for freedom had not dawned, it must be made known, not indeed like the Crusaders of old in Europe, or present-day fire-eaters in North Africa and the Limpopo Basin, nor the mercenaries, South of Matadi. The idea must be made attractive to these sleeping brethren, by the way other free African States manage their domestic affairs, and participate in international organisations. This, if you like, is our historical starting-point.

But the declaration at the Accra Press Conference by Dr. Nkrumah did not remain mere words; and I shall come back to this later. In modern Africa, South of the Sahara, whatever may have gone on in the Arab States, since World War II, the first real foundation of International Organisation, properly so called, on a supra-national or beyond purely national or regional basis, was the Accra Conference of April, 1958. It was the first real international conference in Africa, South of the Sahara, which had attracted to its Council Chambers, the

Foreign Ministers of almost all free Africa and others less free as observers, including the late Patrice Lumumba, except the then Union of South Africa and the Rhodesias, who then as now, play on a different band-wagon and different notes.

In the technical language of international organisation, the first Accra Conference of 1958, was an inter-governmental Organisation. The representatives at it, and the delegates to it, except a few observers, had all come to it, as duly accredited Government Delegations, each with a specially appointed Head of Delegation, who had full powers to speak in the name of his Government.

There have since been other African international Conferences in Accra, Tunisia, Morocco, Ethiopia, Cairo, Casablanca, Monrovia, Brazzaville, Congo-Leopoldville and Lagos. These have either been on delegates level, or have been attended by specially appointed Government Delegations. But in modern Africa, at least since the late 1950's, it can safely be said that the nucleus of all international organisations was the first Accra Conference of April, 1958, the direct follow-up of the grain sown at Dr. Nkrumah's first Press Conference as Prime Minister at Independence.

### Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union

As the direct result of the First Accra Conference, there was the Ghana-Guinea Union, which in time, came second only to the now dismantled United Arab Republic between Egypt and Syria. Still in Africa South of the Sahara, Mali has now joined the Ghana-Guinea Union, after the disintegration on the Algerian Altar, of the Federation of Mali, composed of Senegal, the African Alpha, of Napoleon's Black Empire, and what was then the "French Soudan".

Whilst these various Unions have risen and fallen, since the First Accra Conference, my main purpose in this paper is to examine the rationale that runs through all these international organisations in Africa, and show what is woof and what is waff, and how these otherwise inchoate international organisations



are given flesh and sinews for their survival. What is the underlying mortar that makes them stand or fall?

#### Modern Africa

Since modern Africa is now breaking fresh ground, in the field of International Organisation, it might, perhaps, be a useful guide to look a bit more closely into other European Organisations, both Regional and International, which have become more systematised. How are such Regional Organisations, as the Council of Europe, NATO, the Organisation of American States, and the Arab League formed? What are their powers? How are they governed? What people run them? How are they financed? Who form their administrative personnel? How are they paid, and in what currency? What privileges and immunities do their senior officials and permanent staff have in the capitals of Member-States where they have their seat?

These are all practical and relevant questions in that branch of practical diplomacy, called International Conferences and International Organisation. A whole lifetime would be too short to study all these different national, regional, or international organisations in their various minutiae. But I hope will be able to give you a bird's-eye-view of the common thread which runs through them all. For these are certain characteristic features common to almost all international organisations. Those engaged in international organisations study only these common features which they then apply to the particular organism with which they are concerned.

#### New States of Africa

For the new States of Africa, now entering on the hallowed ground of international diplomacy, the grasping of these basic fundamental principles of international Organisation is the crying need of the hour.

What then is an International Organisation, and how does it begin?

I have just dealt with the origins of International Organisation in modern Africa. It now remains for

me to deal with the conclusions of multilateral international conventions which lie at the root of all international organisations. The object now, that is to say, is to study the privileges and immunities, as well as the way in which their precedence is organised, both inside the organisation itself, and between the organisation and other similar Organisations, e.g. Casablanca and Monrovia, vis-a-vis Governments and diplomatic missions.

#### Commissions

International Institutions and organisms which have, in the course of the twentieth century, taken such an impressive form did not appear till quite late in diplomatic life. The internal commission of the Rhine (1815), then the Commission of the Danube in (1859), were the first to appear in Europe. Then came the International Telegraphic Union (1865), followed by the Universal Postal Union which takes its present name and present form, from 1874.

With the success achieved by these organisations, States retained the advantages they could get by entrusting to certain adequate international organisations to take care of the general problems of administrative, social and connected character, which did not require the employment of permanent diplomacy. Thus were born considerable number of international organisms of non-political character. They cover a collection of set-ups, more or less developed, of wide and diverse complexity created empirically to meet certain problems which had arisen, they grow and disappear as much by reason of the usefulness of their object as by the way they are able to adapt themselves to changing circumstances.

#### Universal Peace

Although the aspirations towards a Universal Peace, guaranteed by some form of Association of States have been ancient, the creation of international organisms with political attributes is quite recent. After the Treaty of Vienna, 1815, the Prime Ministers of the Five Great European Powers made it

a habit of meeting almost once every year, to proceed to what was called the "Turn of Horizon". The living example of this, is the annual or perennial Commonwealth Prime Ministers and Presidents Conference in London. But this practice never turned itself into an organised institution, for the political development of Europe did not permit its consolidation.

"The Concert of Europe, at one time rendered the same service. It took the First World War, for the League of Nations, a permanent organisation of political character, to be produced from the Treaty of Versailles. The United Nations, the aftermath of the 1939-45 War has taken its place, and embraces in its ambit. The several international organisms with various and varied duties.

Since the establishment of the United Nations, it had been thought that all the existing international activities, and those that might arise, as a consequence, will develop around her. The Economic and Social Council, (UNESCO), was conceived to control and direct all the international groupings, concerning themselves with tasks of general interest, in the economic, social, and cultural field, and public Health, and connected problems.

Quite a large number of existing international organisations, then reattached themselves to the United Nations. Such was the case with the Universal Postal Union, the Universal Telegraphic Union, the International Labour Office, all three then well established, and quite ancient. Others like the World Health Organisation (WHO); or the World Civil Aviation Organisation, were the result of the fusion of organisations already in existence previously. Some others, like the United Nations Children Aid Fund (UNICEF), the International Monetary Organisation, were the outcome of the War.

This movement was interrupted, when the scission between Western and Eastern European Powers taught international organisations, that they ran the risk of getting

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## The Land Question in South Africa

by Lionel Morrison

MUCH of the interest intellectual circles have displayed in the land question may be ascribed to the acquisitive habits of a predacious society. This is especially true of South Africans, where as a result of a singular historical evolution, the majority, having been reduced to a parish status, are rigorously denied ownership rights in land property.

It is understandable then, that as a bitter reaction to what is regarded as an "unfair" line of social development, the respect for real property and an engrossing interest in it should pervale the life of the "educated" classes. To be sure, there is an indissoluble link between their ideological life and that typical stubborn devotion to their daily bread. **Veblen**

The land question is, in truth, pretty much of a personal affair. Everyone wants to own "a nice little property" in the hope that, by dint of business enterprise, it will one day be a "nice big property."

Since historical developments in this country has run counter to their interest in personal aggrandisement - in what **VEBLEN** in "The Theory of the Leisure Class" calls 'conspicuous accumulation' - it is in the nature of things to expect that our toiling intellectuals would vent their spleen on the historical process and enter into a conspiracy to reverse it. They are, therefore, heard to preach an agrarianism which seeks to assail and render nugatory our technical and industrial conquests.

For not only must the right to unfettered ownership be established for all: the workers in industry, commerce and transport are exhorted to return to "the ancestral lands" on the morrow of the democratic struggle and exercise individual ownership rights over them. That such a mass exodus from the cities spells the doom of the machine age means little to them. They are determined to demonstrate that they can cheat

the historical process; or rather that the historical process should not contrive to cheat them.

Political radicalism is the philosophy of the small middle class. It is a philosophy that embraces the inimical elements of proletarian equality, on the one side, and bourgeois private enterprise, on the other. This philosophic dualism stems from the intermediate position they occupy in society, sandwiched as they are between the capitalists and wage earners. There is, first of all, the accent on property writ large.

Woe betides the intellectual who confounds possession or usufructuary rights with ownership. His approach to the land question must be juridically sound. He will, for instance, be told that the enjoyment of usufructuary rights over landed property, no matter how profitable, is at variance with the avowed aim of ownership, as a plenary power. For ownership, so they aver, is a thing in itself, and has no bearing on the economic functions it may or may not fulfil. It has honorific value. They are obviously horrified at God's socialist injunction in Leviticus: "The land shall not be sold forever: for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me.

#### Egalitarian Zeal

But while they will not deny their bourgeois halves, the intermediate strata of society seek security lest, as a result of the fluctuating

tuating fortunes of capitalism, they be pushed down into the ranks of the proletariat. To guard against such a contingency, they envisage a nation of property owners by advocating an equitable distribution of the land. Their sense of social justice is indeed admirable when one bears how they intend dividing up the land into allotments of equal size. And in their egalitarian zeal they do not take into account whether some families will receive "baboon tracks" or tracks of sand worthless as those of Arabia.

"We may laugh and we may cry", says Spinoza, "as long as we understand."

Much of the laughter and the tears over the land question has been untimely. And therefore we must protest. The land area is limited. It cannot be increased like machines. Moreover, it is in unequal fertility. For these reasons, everyone cannot have land, while those with fertile allotments and enjoying the use of better implements must soon outstrip their less fortunate neighbours. Economic inequalities are, therefore, inevitable. And so too, are class schisms.

### History Epoch

Yet the darling voice of the naughty petty bourgeoisie is that they tear the land question out of the sum total of socio-economic conditions which give rise to it. They forget that a solution to any social problem must flow from the definitive conditions which have irrevocably

been handed down to us by the preceding historical epoch and that it is therefore bootless to combat irreversible social currents. They forget too, that as long as the power of money reigns supreme, the producer is dominated by the vagaries of the market. And under such conditions the impoverishment of the many are inevitable.

### Loss and Gain

The more radical elements seek to guard against the crystallization of classes in their Utopia by advocating the distribution of non-marketable land. This is equally useless, if we assume for the moment that it is all possible to withdraw the land from trade by mere legislative enactment. For the peasants in any event will have to exchange the produce of the land, and once this arises, as it inevitably must, unless our radicals envisage a post-industrial subsistence economy, then those with more fertile farms better implements and greater enthusiasm for work will soon have in their employ the owners of "hungry" lands and a paucity of tools.

It is not the intention of this analysis to carry on a vendetta or quarrel with the historical record by preaching a return to and division of the land to meet some claim based on abstract justice. On the contrary, we take assimilation of the expropriated people into the industrial system as an accomplished fact. Here history presents us with a

loss as well as a gain: a loss, that is, of the land and cattle, as well as of the equalitarian system of primitive society; a gain in that the industrial system furnishes us with ever-growing technical level with the communalism of tribal life. And here precisely lies the reason why History cannot be reversed: every society carries within itself those elements which will eventually abrogate the older, usher in the new and place human life on a higher order.

In terms of historical development, then an agrarian policy must have as its aim the development of the rural productive forces in harmony with the industrial sector to facilitate the transition to a classless society. The vehicle of such a social transformation is the working class. Such a land policy cannot therefore take into account, save for tactical requirements, the predilection and accumulated prejudices of those layers — the middle and small peasants — with vested interests in, or a patriarchal attainment to the soil.

### Racial Conflict

To those who frown upon our class approach as presumption to the times, this analysis will try to show that the class struggle in South Africa takes the ideological form of a racial conflict in which the so-called Non-White groups and the exploited sections are largely co-terminous. What is race but the class or economic factor in politics working

in a new guise? The class lines are mercilessly cutting across the lines of "race" and this, leading by an ineluctable law of capitalism to the polarity of capital and Labour groups. The reduction of the Afrikaner land-owners to wage workers has proved it; the transformation of the African peasantry into proletariat and the concessions being granted to a nascent African middle class have confirmed it. One may stand four-square behind the struggles of this or that "racial" group, but one's class interests show up through the thread-bare cloak of race by the demands one puts forward.

### Conclusive Proof

The liberals have, however, tried to steer a course between the Scylla of race and the Charybdis of the class struggle by elevating themselves above both race or class. And from those safe lofty heights, they, together with the epigones, are advocating a graveyard South African patriotism which someone called the last refuge of scoundrels. But their tremendous enthusiasm for capitalist enterprise, as well as their expectation that secondary industry will give battle on behalf of the democratic forces, is conclusive proof that they are attracted or repelled precisely by class interests, whether they know this or not.

If classes are the real driving force in society, then it is scientifically and politically indefensible to regard the land question in

South Africa as a Non-European problem or more specifically, as a question that only affects the African people. Nor, by the same token, can it be viewed as the problem of the so-called Bantu-Reserves. To do so is to subscribe to the ethnic trash of racial categories, to that trash which, in the words of Hegel, had been trampled underfoot by the passage of History. Our social problems belong to a country that is economically and politically and therefore psychologically one and indivisible. The class that boldly tackles those problems and shows a way out of the speak on behalf of the entire nation and without reference to special "racial" interests.

### The Historical Development of Land Question in South Africa

The land question in South Africa is unique. For this reason it is necessary to treat it historically. To throw into relief its cardinal character, consideration must be given to the development of the problems in a few selected countries.

The distinguishing feature of capitalism as a system of commodity production is that labour itself is a commodity to be bought like any other and then put to work to produce surplus value for the owners of the instruments of production. The worker who sells his labour power must be free in a double sense: "free" that is to say, from the land and the means of subsis-

tence generally, so that a propertyless person, he cannot subsist except by the regular sale of his labour power; "free" also in that no legal regulations exist to restrict the sale of that power. The creation of such a wage earning class is the signal mission of capitalism which, thereby also solves another problem: it creates the home market for its mass produced goods.

### How Capitalism Creates the Land Problem

Capitalism takes its rise in, and is fed by, non-capitalist or, in any event, by pre-capitalist economies. But all tribal, feudal and small peasant subsistence economies are useless for the purposes of Capitalism. And this is so because of the tie-up in these social systems of labour and the means of production. That is to say, the systems of labour and the means of production. That is to say, the workers are also those who own or possess the land and the instruments of toil. There is, moreover, a domestic unity between agriculture and industry which makes these economies self-contained. Production is largely in response to domestic needs and not to an external market. In short the producers of all goods are almost invariably the same people who consume them. The system of exchange and distribution therefore remains poorly developed. And so, too, the division of labour.

The internal solidity of these economies presents

obstacles to capitalist development. It has to devise ways and means to divorce the people from the land

## International Organisation

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their technical action compromised, if they were involved, even indirectly, in the political struggles tearing the United Nations in two. In modern Africa, we have a foretaste of what the future holds for the extension of the African personality, or what our French speaking friends call "La Presence Africaine", in the split of the continent into Casablanca. Powers, Brazzaville Powers, Monrovia. Powers, all running for the same reward of African Unity, but at different rates, and by different routes. If it remains purely on the plane of healthy competition for the freedom of Africa and its Unity, so much the better for us. But if in the effort to win converts to each camp, we start being at each other's throats, as recent signs seem to indicate, then the "Neo-colonial Cat" will be among the ex-Colonial Pigeons indeed!

Numerous new organisations thus arose in Europe, or grew up outside the United Nations. In the present State of the development of international Organisations, we find ourselves faced with a large collection, which can be divided into three large Groups.

### A World System—The United Nations Organisation

The United Nations Organisation, inside which all the other Organisms of the United Nations gravitate, and the Specialised Institutions International Organisms, bound by a special agreement to the United Nations, and several organisms with international jurisdiction, or Regional ones, endowed with very varied

which, in the absence of money economy and therefore of commercial transactions, permits of an aliena-

tributes. We shall examine them in more detail, much later on.

### The Three Great Regional Systems

The Organisation of American States which drew a Charter for itself at the Bogota Conference (April 30, 1948) with its permanent organs, (The Inter-American Economic and Social Council, The American Council of Jurists, and the American Cultural Council).

### A Group of Western European Organisations

Fifteen States are associated in the Council of Europe, a political Organism of general purpose, which has a Committee of Ministers, and a Consultative Assembly, composed of Parliamentarians; eighteen nations are grouped in the European Organisation of Economic Co-operation (OEEC), founded to redistribute Marshall Aid in 1948, which faces and where necessary, co-ordinates the political economy of the Associated States. The equivalent of this in present day Africa, is the Committee of African Economic Co-operation and Development, with headquarters now at Addis-Ababa, in Ethiopia. Two Alliances, The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), with fifteen members of which thirteen are European, and two American States; and the Union of Western Europe (WEU), with Seven members, have at the same time both Political and Military, Economic, Cultural and Administrative character. The nearest equivalent in Africa, is the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union, or more recently, the African High Command with Headquarters in Accra.

Finally, six west European countries, have integrated their economic relations in a much closer relationship, in three organisations: The European Iron Coal and Steel Community, (CECA), The European Economic Community, commonly called the Common Market, and Euroatom, which have a common Assembly.

But of these, more anon.

tion of sale. This task involves striking a death blow at the very root of these economies—the land. The dispossessed peoples are then bound to the capitalist system by the cash nexus. The first step in their dispossession is the separation of domestic industry from agriculture and the utter ruination of the former by flooding the country with the mass produced cheap goods against which the ancient crafts cannot compete. This partially destroys the self-sufficiency of these communities. The next step is the appropriation of their land which follows a similar pattern everywhere. The introduction of new forms of landed property, such as individual marketable plots, oppressive taxation, the squandering and monopolisation of the land are so-called legal means. Wars of dispossession on any frivolous pretext are another. Furthermore, all the mineral wealth, exotic flora and fauna are appropriated so that the mass of the people cannot obtain an independent livelihood.

These forms of landed property which capitalism meets in new countries are not in consonance with its needs for investment in and the exploitation of the soil. Such property must be refashioned, now violently, now by legal chicanery, to suit capitalist ends. Here, England furnishes us with the best example of the revolutionary methods used to adapt land

tenure to the needs of capitalist agriculture.

Thus the English Enclosure Acts of the eighteenth Century played an important part in driving the peasants from the land and in converting agricultural holdings into pastoral farms. This mass expropriation, euphemistically termed "the clearing of the estates," was undertaken to meet the growing demands of the Textile industry for wool. These Acts allowed the lords of the manorial estates to expel the peasants from the common and other lands and then to enclose them for sheep farming. In point of fact, however these Acts simply brought law into line with a practise which had been going on ever since the thirteenth Century; more especially since the fifteenth Century, when mass expropriation of the peasants was already under way.

### Hot-house Fashion

Where conditions did not coincide with the new conditions necessary for capitalist agriculture, the traditional rural economic centres were destroyed and their population evicted in hot-house fashion. In truth, the entire rural economy was renovated from top to bottom to make possible all profitable investment of capital in agriculture.

It is clear, then, that to the extent that capitalism remoulds agriculture relations to suit the profit motive, no landed property exists. The theory of the English economist, Ricardo, may come as a shock to those who regard property as sacrosanct or as a thing-in-itself. But capitalism everywhere diverts property of its legal trappings and traditional paraphernalia and invests it with an economic content that conduces to its profitable exploitation. Land becomes an instrument of production which is detached from property per se.

### Junker Estates

In this way, agriculture is rationalised and the land worked in response to market demands. Land becomes a money making instrument and it does not matter to the owner whether he is separated by great distances from his estate. The traditional sentimental attachment to the soil gives way to an attitude of class cupidity.

In Prussia, by contrast, the adaptation of agricultural conditions to capitalism proceeded in a gradual piecemeal manner. The feudal estates were slowly transformed into Junker estates. The emancipation of the serfs (1810), being effected from above, was a slow, agonising process because

they had to face a crushing burden of payment as compensation and were therefore subjected to usurious practices which means the retention of feudal bondage, not de jure, then at any rate de facto. Very slowly, the serfs were transformed into farm labourers. A small group of grossbauern—the big peasants—also emerged.

### Starting Point of Capitalism

In Northern America, again the starting point of capitalist agriculture was the small patriarchal peasant farms which quickly evolved into bourgeois farms. This swift and progressive development was possible because America did not pass through the feudal stage. Capitalist agriculture was therefore able to develop unshackled by outmoded rural institution. But in the southern states there was this striking difference, that the re-shaping of agrarian relations proceeded in a violent manner because their characteristic plantation system, based on slavery, was at variance with capitalist development which requires a free labour supply. After the emancipation of the slaves, these plantation were broken up into allotments which were the starting point for their evolution into capitalist farms.

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# Power Centres in South African Economy

by G. Fasulo

IN most capitalist countries the farmers, that is, the agricultural capitalists, are not a powerful monopolistic group within the capitalist class. By comparison with bankers, industrialists and mining magnates, individual farmers own rather small amounts of capital. Overseas they are also relatively unorganised economically and compete with one another to the benefit of the monopolistic sections of the capitalists. That is to say they sell their produce at prices determined by the laws of supply and demand, but they have to buy the machinery, fertilisers, petrol, etc. that they need at high prices determined by the big manufacturing and financial monopolies. This pattern does not exist in South Africa.

Here, because of their disproportionate and even dominating political power, the white farmers have been able to organise themselves as a state-supported monopolistic group. Monopolies in the selling of agricultural produce have been established through

the control boards. The position of farmers as buyers has been strengthened through the formation of co-operatives and the farmers have freed themselves of any great dependence on finance capital through the Land Bank, and a great variety of forms of state subsidies and assistance.

Government assistance to white farmers takes many forms. Railway rates are set so that farmers pay much less to transport their produce and supplies than do manufacturing or mining capitalists. High tariffs are charged to exclude various types of food imports. A great deal of irrigation, soil erosion control, agricultural education and research work is carried out by the government at the expense of all taxpayers and for the benefit of the farmers. In a variety of such ways the nation as a whole is made to subsidize the white farmers.

## Control Boards

The most significant thing, however, has been the development of the Co-operatives

and the Control Boards, as has been well described by J. M. Tinley in his book *"The Native Labour Problem of South Africa"*. The first step was taken in 1924 (about the time that the Nationalists first came to power) when an Act of Parliament vested in the Kooperatiwe Wynbouwers Vereniging full control over the sale of all distilling wine or spirits.

That is, K.W.V. was given by law a total monopoly in order to raise prices inside South Africa, to deal more effectively with middle men, to exploit consumers, develop exports, etc. As a result profits have been raised and stabilized, capital accumulated and exports built up until today K.W.V. is the third largest supplier of sherry to Britain.

In 1925 a Co-operative Societies Act was passed which provided for the centralized sale of products in a certain area if sixty-six per cent of the producers were in favour thereof and if the Minister of Agriculture approved. This was applied in 1926 to the marketing of tobacco in all the important producing areas. In 1935 a Tobacco Industry Control Board was established further to control production and sales in the interests of the farmers.

## Raising the Price

The protective tariff on sugar was raised from four shillings to sixteen shillings per hundred pounds between 1926 and 1932. In 1936 a Sugar Industry Control Board

was set up. One result was that in 1938 about half of South Africa's sugar production was exported to the United Kingdom where, after paying shipping and other charges, it was sold for less than the price charged to consumers in South Africa. In other words the state-established sugar farmers' monopoly was able to force South African consumers to subsidize the dumping of sugar overseas.

Control was set up for wheat and dairy products in 1930, in 1931 for maize and for livestock in 1932. An indication of the monopolistic powers granted is given by the Wheat Industry Control Board which in 1940 established local buying agents, determined prices to be paid to producers, set the wholesale prices of wheat and flour, and the retail prices of bread. It also regulated imports of wheat. Today all important agricultural products are controlled by Marketing Boards acting to exploit consumers for the benefit of the white farmers.

## "Kwashiorkor"

The results of this system can only be regarded as extremely wicked. It has been estimated that about half of all African babies born in large urban centres die within the first year of life, basically of starvation although this is often politely called *Kwashiorkor*. Yet for example, in 1942, the state-aided Milk and Butter Scheme for supplying milk or cheese free to school children and at half

price to poor families explicitly excluded Africans. This was during the Second World War, the period of the greatest progressiveness in the government.

Today school feeding has been stopped by the government and skim milk, bananas, and other fruits have been destroyed by the Control Boards to keep prices up and above what most Africans and many others can pay. Vast tonnages of maize are persistently exported at a severe loss. This process is paid for by the high monopolistic price maintained within South Africa where the main consumers are the malnourished African People.

All this recalls to mind how Nazi soldiers and police used to search starving Jewish children at the entrances to the Warsaw ghetto to prevent them smuggling food in to their blockaded people.

## The Double Exploitation

The farmers do not only exploit the non-Europeans as consumers. The way in which they exploit them as workers is even more important. Labour relations on the farms are the original source of the virulent race hatred and repression which poisons the whole of our society. The forms of exploitation on the farms have been various: chattel slavery in the old Cape; Labour tenancy — a form of serfdom — imposed on the conquered Africans, indentured Indian labour in the Natal sugar areas, farm jails both private and public,

shanghaiing "volunteer" labour under the influx control legislation, compound labour as for example at Bethal, the tot system in the Cape, etc., etc. The striking feature common to most if not all forms is the viciousness of the relationships, frequently involving murderous assaults on the workers for trivial or imagined offences, and the complete lack of freedom on the part of the workers.

The relations in agriculture are still of decisive significance for three reasons. Firstly, one-third of the entire African population lives on white farms. This means that the numbers exploited by the farmers are larger than for any other section of the ruling class. Thus too conditions on the farms tend to set standards of living for the entire non-European population.

## "Kaffir Wars"

Secondly, farm work was historically the first form and for a very long time the only form imposed on the original inhabitants of the country. Hence the attitudes and habits corresponding to such relations of production are the most deeply ingrained particularly in the customs and traditions of the Afrikaners. The "Kaffir Wars", the "Great Trek" and the imposition and maintenance of labour tenancy under which in return for the right to continue to live on a small plot of land the African tenants were required to give

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# The Land Question

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## India and South Africa

When the English East India Company began its rule in India, the social organisation of the country consisted of the ancient village communities who possessed the land in common. The village system was based on the domestic unity of agriculture and manufacturing. But despite the communal spirit that pervaded the life of the Indian village, a caste of officers had elevated itself above the *inhabitants*, and, having forged ties with the ruling dynasty, laid in germinal form the foundation of future social differentiation. They included the tax gatherer, judicial officials and the supervisors of the collective life of the village.

The greater portion of the products was directly consumed by the community and did not take the form of a commodity. But since time immemorial the state took a certain quantity of the products as rent, without in any way disturbing the attachment of the people to the soil. Herein lies the secret of the apparent immutability and unchanging character of the village system. Dynasties came and went, but political events had no effect on the fabric of village life: the Indian rulers did not and, as representatives of static social

relations, indeed, could not, divorce the inhabitants from their means of subsistence.

## Industrial Capitalism

As a predatory organisation, the English East India Company's policy was one of spoliation, of draining India of her resources by trade and plunder and a vicious system of extortion and tribute. This undermined the village system but did not bring about its dissolution.

This task devolved on industrial capitalism which spread its tentacles to India towards the end of the eighteenth century. The new English manufacturing class regarded India, not only as a source of raw material, but also as a market for its finished products. The policy of flooding the country with these goods broke the essential unity between agriculture and the ancient industries. The rural weavers and spinners were forced to depend on agriculture and over-crowded the villages which had now to produce raw material for the British market. In this way, India was transformed into an agricultural colony of Britain. The congested villages were about to crack and disintegrate.

## British, As Landlord-in-Chief

They were given the death blow by the introduction of private property in land and all this entails: registration of ownership rights, individual holdings, mortgage and sale. A new method of tax collec-

ting was devised to hasten the divorce of the producers from the soil. The King's portion was traditionally a proportion of the year's output which the peasants had to give as a form of tribute. This system was replaced by a new one of fixed money payments, irrespective of the year's output, and assessed on individuals in the majority of cases. This tribute became known as rent, thereby revealing that the peasants had become tenants and the British rulers the landlord-in-chief. In this way, Britain assumed direct economic and political control over the Indian masses.

Britain, however, realised that she could not rule India effectively with a mere handful of English settlers and administrators. It was imperatively necessary to create a social buttress for her rule in the shape of a new Indian class whose interests would be bound up with the perpetuation of British rule and which could act as a bulwark against social revolution. An Indian landlord class was created to this end. The existing *zemin-dars* or tax farmers were constituted landlords in perpetuity, subject to a permanent fixed payment to the Government, by the permanent Land Settlement Act of 1793. Many of them could not realise their fixed quota-tion and were driven out.

## Class Interests

A new class of "gentlemen proprietors" took their place. They stopped at nothing to squeeze the last anna out of the peasantry. Their social

purpose was clearly stated by Lord William Bentinck in 1829.

"If security was wanting against popular tumult or revolution" he observed, "I should say that the Permanent Settlement.....Has this great advantage at least, of having created a vast body of rich landed proprietors deeply interested in the continuation of the British Dominion and having control over the mass of the people." It is said by those with a supra-class approach to History that those who sell themselves to the foreigner are quislings. Call them what you will, in the final accounting, the people take their stand on the basis of their class interests. Can we ask them to betray those interests? Consideration of "national" interests are purely transitory.

## Moneylenders

The new method of tax collecting and individual land tenure hastened the process of dispossession and led to the spread of landlordism. The peasants were alienated from the soil because they could not pay. Since Britain deliberately discouraged and undermined at every turn local industrial enterprises lest these compete with English manufacturing, there was no outlet for their agrarian troubles. They had perforce therefore to cling to the soil at all cost. Many became deeply indebted to moneylenders in an endeavour to retain their allotments. Others again, embarked on the practice of

sub-letting, thereby contributing to the spread of landlordism.

## British Land Policy

The Madras Board of Revenue had this to say in 1818 on the land policy of Britain: "In pursuit of these supposed improvements (of tax collecting) we find them.....dissolving the ancient ties (of the village).....and by a kind of agrarian law..... assessing a parcelling out the lands which from time immemorial had belonged to the village community collectively.....professing to limit their demand to each field..... assessing the Ryot at discretion and.....binding (him) by force to the plough, compelling him to till the land acknowledged to be over-assessed, dragging him back to it if he absconded, deferring their demand upon him until his crop came to maturity, then taking from him all that could be obtained and leaving nothing but his bullocks and seed grain, nay, perhaps obliged to supply him even with these, in order to renew his melancholy task of cultivating, not for himself, but for them."

## Crucial Issue

As an agricultural appendage of Britain, more and more people came to be dependent on agriculture. In 1891 the percentage of the population dependent on the soil was 61.1 per cent; in 1921 it was 73 per cent. Since the Indian masses did not see another avenue of employment open to them, the problem of land

remained the crucial social issue in their lives. The sub-soil of the impending struggle against Britain was, indeed, the land question. And despite the fact that India is politically independent today, this basic problem—thanks to the deal struck between the Indian bourgeoisie and imperialism—remains unsolved.

## Exploitative Society

The land question in South Africa is not an agrarian problem in the classical connotation of the term. Indeed, this discussion sets out to establish the thesis that the problem of land, as the exclusive and predominant source of livelihood of independent farmers, is one that affects only a small stratum of the people. In this sense there is no land problem for the vast majority of the people. This statement, sweeping as it is, at first sight, bases itself on the unique social relations in our countryside as a result of a significant historical development.

Firstly, the predominant majority had been systematically uprooted from the land and swung into the orbit of an exploitative society as wage earners. This root and branch expropriation was undertaken and is at present being intensified to meet the insatiable labour requirements of agriculture, mining and manufacturing industry. The Africans were given no opportunity to settle down as small-holders on the smouldering ruins of tribalism and gain a livelihood as independent farmers. Nor were they

allowed to develop the tradition of private property in land.

### Rural Poverty

Since, however, a peasantry can arise and eke out some sort of existence under the most adverse conditions, it has always been ruling class policy, sanctified by custom and hallowed by tradition, to subject the oppressed to mass evictions from areas where they might take root and then remove them to districts where they may become more dependent on and accessible to the employers of labour. Our agrarian problem is certainly not a peasant problem. It is the problem of an agricultural proletariat on European farms, of ruined cultivators in the Reserves, the worker aspect of whose economic habits is being emphasised at the expense of their peasant character.

Secondly, under the impact of industrialisation and the irrevocable capitalist process of transforming ever larger layers into wage workers, the landless Africans today, like the landless Afrikaners of yesterday, are seeking to escape from rural poverty by migrating to the cities where industry offers them better scope for employment. Whereas in India a peasantry was deliberately created to supply Britain with raw material, South Africa was, in contrast, never regarded as an agricultural colony. Very early in her career, South Africa came to be regarded, not as a supplier of goods, but as a

supplier of labour, first to feed a predatory capitalist subsistence economy, and then the mines, capitalist agriculture and industry. In India the masses in industry can escape from rural employment, or otherwise they perforce become agricultural labourers, thereby developing down the years a psychology different from that of a landholder.

### Pack of Animals

And thirdly, inasmuch as industrialisation and its concomitant urbanisation is an irreversible trend, the problem of developing the rural productive forces, in a period of large scale production, cannot be solved by a return of the dispossessed to the land and their reversion to small scale farming. The peasant, as the pack of animals, is clearly an anachronism in such a dynamic set-up and it would therefore be anti-historical to call him to life again.

### The Unholy Alliance

*Continued from page 8*

Greece and Argentina, Sir B. Leeper, and Lord Robins again.

Consolidated Gold Fields has two prominent British Conservatives on its board, and the Union Corporation

has Sir Charles Hambro, as well as two Conservative peers with close connections with the leaders of their party. The British South Africa Company, which has large property interests in Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but no substantial mining interests, has been extremely active, especially over the Central African Federation. Lord Robins is the chairman of a board which includes Lord Salisbury, Oppenheimer, Hambro, Annan, Viscount Malvern of Rhodesia ("all Africans, until they are very much advanced, are liars"), and other prominent Conservatives.

### Pressure of Private Lobbies

This deep financial and economic involvement helps to explain the concern of the metropolitan powers not to jeopardise 'economic stability' in the countries of Southern Africa, and their tendency to help perpetuate the political status quo. It is not only treaty obligations which concern Governments, but also economic commitments, and the pressure of private lobbies—most of the activities of the company chiefs go unnoticed behind the scenes and can only be guessed at, except when crisis such as that in the Congo and the present one in the Federation bring them out into the light.

## FACTS ABOUT ALGERIA

### POPULATION OF ALGERIA 12,000,000

IN ALGERIA:		
Algerians	.....	10,000,000
Europeans:		
French	..... 390,000	
Other European	..... 450,000	
Jews	..... 160,000	1,000,000

OUTSIDE ALGERIA:		
Algerian workers in France	.....	400,000
Algerian workers in Germany and Belgium	.....	100,000
Algerian refugees in Tunisia and Morocco	.....	500,000
Total population of Algeria	.....	12,000,000

### INCOME AND STANDARD OF LIVING

	Milliards old francs
National Revenue	580
Total of 1954	480
Share of 800,000 Europeans	100
Share of 9 million Algerians	
Average Annual Income	Old francs 12,000
Algerian	450,000
European	
WAGES:	In agriculture they vary from 317 old francs per day.
	In industry they vary from 74 old francs to 91 old francs per day.

### MEDICAL SERVICES

Number of inhabitants per doctor in Algeria	5,050
Number of inhabitants per doctor in France	1,091
Number of inhabitants per dentist in Algeria	19,434
Number of inhabitants per dentist in France	3,199

### EDUCATION

Ninety per cent of the Algerian people were illiterate before the war commenced, while only 6.3 per cent of the Europeans in Algeria were illiterate.

### UNIVERSITY OF ALGIERS, 1954

FACULTY		TOTAL STUDENTS
OF LAW		1,713
Europeans	1,538	
Algerians	172	
Others	6	824
MEDICINE		
Europeans	714	
Algerians	110	427
PHARMACY		
Europeans	369	
Algerians	34	1,347
ARTS		
Europeans	1,175	
Algerians	172	835
SCIENCE		
Europeans	762	
Algerians	62	
Others	11	

Osagyefo le Président a fait à plusieurs reprises, mention de nécessité de l'unité africaine. Dans un discours prononcé au cours d'un dîner offert à la State House, le 22 janvier, 1962, à l'occasion de la signature de l'accord principal relatif au projet de la Volta, il a dit:

Au cours de mon allocution devant l'Assemblée Nationale, au sujet du Projet de la Volta, j'ai évoqué l'urgence de l'unité africaine et la mise en commun de nos ressources, en vue d'une planification économique, à l'échelle du Continent. La construction du barrage d'Inca, qu'aucun Etat d'Afrique ne pourrait financer de ses propres ressources, nous fournit un exemple. Cependant le barrage d'Inca, à supposer qu'il fût construit, pourrait à lui seul fournir 55 millions de kilowatt d'énergie électrique, ce que fait selon les estimations, quatre fois et demie l'énergie que l'on attend des gigantesques installations hydr-électriques de l'Union Soviétique. Le barrage d'Inca, à lui seul, pourrait fournir de l'électricité au Continent Africain dans son ensemble.

Le développement des potentialités économiques africaines à l'échelle du Continent, devrait être le point de mire des réalisations africaines, au cours de la présente décennie. Il n'y a qu'un moyen de donner à l'indépendance des Etats Africains une signification complète, c'est de les convaincre à mettre en commun leurs ressources économiques, susceptibles de fournir aux divers Etats les facilités nécessaires pour la promotion du bien être de leurs populations. En effet, pourquoi le Ghana devrait-il jouir tout seul des bénéfices du projet de la Volta, laissant à ses plus proches voisins le soin d'une lutte ardue en vue d'une survie économique? Pourquoi les lourdes dépenses de la construction du barrage d'Assouan, devraient-elles incomber à la seule République soeur d'Egypte?

## Certains Aspects de L'Unité Africaine d'Après Osagyefo le Président

Le vingt janvier 1962, Osagyefo le Docteur Kwame Nkrumah, Président de la République du Ghana, a prononcé un discours devant l'Assemblée Nationale du Ghana, sur le Projet de la Volta.

Osagyefo a profité de l'occasion pour faire une déclaration au sujet de la prise de position du Ghana, vis-à-vis de l'Unité Africaine.

Dans sa déclaration, Osagyefo le Président a souligné l'importance de l'Afrique d'être traitée comme un ensemble au sein de l'Union Politique Africaine.

Messieurs le Président de l'Assemblée Nationale,  
Messieurs les Députés :

Pendant plus de dix ans, ce projet a été un de mes rêves les plus chers, et aujourd'hui au moment où j'annonce

à l'Assemblée la prochaine signature de l'Accord de base, je devrais être l'homme le plus heureux entre tous. Mais malheureusement ma joie se trouve diminuée par la pensée que ce projet, comme d'

autres de pareille nature, qui auraient pu être l'effort conjugué de beaucoup de pays africains, a dû être entrepris par le Ghana tout seul. Si vous me demandez pourquoi, je dirai tout simplement que c'est parce que les Etats d'Afrique n'ont pas pu s'unir en surmontant les barrières artificielles que les puissances coloniales nous ont imposées.

Nous avons mis plus de dix ans de planification et de consultation à mener ce projet au stade de réalisation. Si d'autres Etats d'Afrique veulent suivre notre exemple, ils auront à passer par le même chemin long et ardu. Si nous étions unis à ces Etats d'Afrique, cela ne serait plus nécessaire, car nous aurions travaillé en équipe, et le Projet de la Volta aurait été une réalisation commune. En effet, si nous étions tous unis, le chemin n'aurait pas été si long ni si ardu.

Cela n'est qu'une seule illustration de l'importance vitale de l'unité africaine. De jour en jour, de semaine en semaine, de mois en mois, j'ai crié

sans trêve et sans répit sur tous les toits la nécessité de l'unité politique et économique. Je suis certain d'avoir été mal compris, parfois même, par des amis. Quant aux adversaires, eh bien, ils ont un intérêt acquis pour fausser mes intentions.

Notre Constitution prévoit, au besoin, l'abandon partiel ou complet de notre souveraineté dans l'intérêt de l'unité africaine. Je voudrais dire sans équivoque, que c'est là une condition que nous Ghanéens sommes disposés à accepter, afin de promouvoir la cause, de l'unité africaine. Nous n'aurons naturellement pas l'outrecuidance de légiférer pour les autres. En effet, j'envisage une union puissante et efficace sans aucun abandon de souveraineté.

A mon avis une Afrique unie, c'est à dire l'unification politique et économique du Continent Africain, devrait rechercher trois objectifs:

D'abord une planification d'ensemble à l'échelle du continent,

susceptible d'augmenter le potentiel industriel et économique de l'Afrique. Tant que nous resterons désunis et balkanisés, sur le plan régional ou territorial, nous demeurerons à la merci du colonialisme et de l'impérialisme.

Le contraste est frappant à cet égard, entre l'Afrique et l'Europe d'aujourd'hui. Tandis que l'Europe fait des efforts gigantesques dans la direction de l'intégration économique et politique, l'Afrique se laisse pitoyablement déchirer par les manœuvres et les intrigues du colonialisme.

En second lieu, la création d'un Commandement Militaire Commun. Je ne vois pas ce qu'il y a de sage dans les efforts que nous déployons maintenant pour constituer ou maintenir séparément de vastes forces militaires défensives, qui en cas de conflit majeur, seraient de toute façon inefficaces. Si nous faisons l'examen de ce problème en hommes réalistes nous pourrions nous poser cette question pertinente. Quel Etat d'Afrique d'aujourd'hui, à lui seul, peut se protéger contre un agresseur impérialiste?

Récemment des leaders anti-apartheid ont dit que l'Afrique du Sud se constitue en une grande force militaire avec des armes meurtrières les plus modernes, afin de supprimer le nationalisme africain. Si cela est vrai, seule l'unité africaine peut empêcher l'Afrique du Sud de réaliser un tel objectif. Si nous refusons de nous unir, et d'inscrire nos forces militaires dans un cadre de défense commune, les Etats séparés pourraient, par un sentiment d'insécurité, être tentés de conclure des pactes de défense qui menacent la sécurité de nous tous. Il y a aussi le côté financier de l'affaire. Le maintien de forces militaires impose un lourd fardeau financier, même aux Etats les plus riches. Pour les jeunes Etats d'Afrique, qui ont besoin de chaque Etat pour le développement, il est ridicule, c'est même un acte de suicide, que chaque Etat accepte, à lui seul, une si lourde charge, alors que celle-ci pourrait être facilement allégée par une simple répartition.

Le troisième objectif provient de la mise en vigueur des deux premiers, dont je viens de parler. Si nous établissons, nous Africains, un organisme de planification économique commun, et un commandement militaire commun, il s'ensuit que nous aurons à adopter une politique étrangère commune, afin que la défense nationale du continent, et la planification de son développement économique et industriel puissent bénéficier d'une direction politique.

Nous devrions pouvoir, par nos efforts, créer une structure constitutionnelle qui assurera ces objectifs, et en même temps préservera la souveraineté de chaque pays membre de l'Union. Par exemple, les pays de l'Union maintiendront naturellement leurs drapeaux nationaux, à eux comme dans le passé, leurs hymnes nationales et tous les autres symboles et attributs de la souveraineté. Ils ne seront pas appelés à les abandonner. Notre survie dépend de l'unité politique de l'Afrique. Les forces qui nous unissent sont beaucoup plus puissantes que les difficultés qui nous tiennent à l'écart les uns des autres.

J'ai fait allusion à la nécessité d'une planification économique à

l'échelle du continent. Il est d'une grande importance que les leaders africains commencent tout de suite à rechercher les moyens les plus efficaces et les plus rapides, pour que nous puissions mettre en commun nos ressources économiques à notre profit mutuel. Réaliser cela, c'est mettre sur pied en Afrique une grande puissance industrielle, économique et financière, comparable à tout ce que le monde aurait connu de notre vivant.

Cependant, il faut dire que nous ne pourrions pas forger des liens si puissants en Afrique, sans y imprimer une direction politique saine, sans les doter de force, sans y fixer un but. Nous devons donc venir aux prises avec la question majeure, question fondamentale, à savoir, l'unité africaine qui seule rendra périmées les frontières artificielles et les tracés régionaux hérités d'un colonialisme démodé et superflu.

A mon avis, des associations locales, des commonwealths régionaux, et des groupements territoriaux, équivaudront à la balkanisation sous une autre forme, à moins qu'ils ne soient inscrits dans le

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Certains Aspects de L'Unité Africaine d'Après OSAGYEFO Le PRÉSIDENT.

cadre d'une union plus large du type des Etats Unis d'Amérique ou de l'Union des Républiques Socialistes Soviétiques. Lorsque les treize premiers Etats d'Amérique du Nord ont essayé de promouvoir l'idée des Etats Unis d'Amérique, on s'est moqué de l'idée comme d'un vain rêve, et beaucoup y ont opposé une forte résistance. Au surplus, personne n'aurait cru qu'en Russie 75 nationalistes diverses à des stades de développement économique, social et politique différents auraient pu être soudées, pour créer la puissance qu'est l'Union Soviétique dans un temps relativement court. Je crois que la Russie a débuté même avec trois Etats. Il appartient donc aux leaders africains de continuer à travailler sans cesse, afin de donner de la consistance à la chère image, à ce cher espoir d'unité africaine à laquelle nous sommes absolument acquis et dévoués.

Nous devons tirer la leçon de l'exemple de l'Europe, qui se trouve dans un état chaotique après des siècles de luttes et de concurrences économiques, affaiblissantes pour les uns comme pour les autres. L'Europe en est là tout simplement parce qu'elle n'a pas pu poser des fondements solides d'une action politique et de la compréhension. Je sais que lorsque nous évoquons l'idée de l'union politique, nos détracteurs y voient tout de suite une manœuvre tendant vers une imposition de leadership ou une abrogation de souveraineté. Ce n'est pas le cas. Il serait vain de s'attendre à ce que des millions de nos populations, dès le moment où leur pays aura accédé à l'indépendance, acceptent de consentir l'abandon de leur souveraineté à un idéal, si grand et si louable fût-il. Nous sommes assez réalistes pour savoir que personne ne cherche inutilement à réviser les limites actuelles du sol national de nos pays. Il serait naïf de ne pas tenir compte de la réalité de ces vestiges de colonialisme. Toutefois, dans le cadre d'une union politique continentale, où nos présentes limites territoriales seraient respectées, il pourrait

surgir une Afrique unie, grande et puissante, oeuvrant pour la mobilisation totale et complète de l'organisation de la planification économique, sous une direction politique commune. Figurez-vous la force d'une telle puissance économique en Afrique, bénéficiant du potentiel réuni de tout ce que nous possédons à l'heure actuelle, et des ressources minières et agricoles fantastiques qui sont à découvrir. Une fois cela fait, il ne resterait qu'à établir une politique étrangère commune, tenant compte des besoins fondamentaux de l'Afrique dans son ensemble, sur le plan international. Et si on devait coiffer tout cela d'une force militaire unie, le tableau de

la restauration de la grandeur et de la dignité de l'Afrique serait achevé. Voilà notre objectif, notre but. Voilà la tâche que nous devons aborder.

J'ai souligné au cours de mes allocutions et de mes causeries, le fait que l'union politique de l'Afrique constituerait non seulement une forte garantie de paix, mais qu'elle serait aussi un grand instrument pour la prospérité économique du monde.

Monsieur le Président de l'Assemblée Nationale, Messieurs les Députés:

Je vous laisse maintenant à vos délibérations, qui se situeront, je l'espère, au niveau des intérêts supérieurs de la nation.

## Power Centres

*Continued from page 33*

usually 180 days labour a year (a form of serfdom and in particular of the labour rent of feudalism in Europe) this is the content of the Lekker lewe, and *die boer en sy roer* mythology of the Nat propagandists.

A somewhat analogous development occurred in Germany. In the Middle Ages the Teutonic Knights conquered the slavic Borussians, imposed serfdom and established the state of Prussia. The ruling land-owners of Prussia called Junkers were the social base of militarism and reaction in Germany and provided the army officer caste. In a cruder form the farmers here are very similar. They have always been the military backbone of white supremacy within South Africa and a motive force in the conquest of African lands. In the third place agricultural relations are important because the farmers have used their po-

litical power to pass legislation to prevent people from escaping to the towns such as pass laws and influx control.

### Force for Reaction

Politically, farmers were the original basis of the Nationalist movement. Although this movement now includes large numbers of civil servants, dependants of state capital, Nationalist Capitalists as well as reactionary white workers and urban middle class elements, the farmers are still probably the most influential section. The unusual monopolistic strength of the farmers in South Africa has enabled them to accumulate great wealth which provided the original capital for institutions like Volkskas and Sanlam. The increasing wealth of the farmers is shown by the rise in the number of tractors from 20,000 in 1946 to 110,000 in 1960, and by the rise in farm production of 5 per cent per year (compared with a 2 per cent per year rise in the total population).