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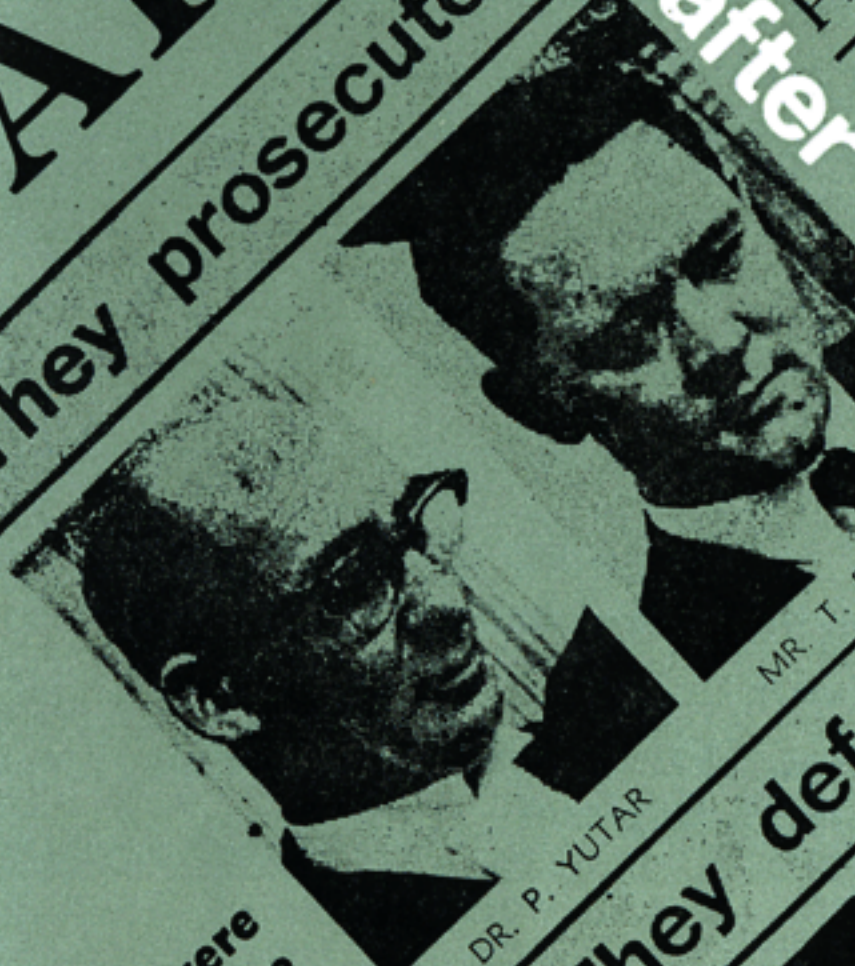
RAYMOND MHLIBA

South Africa after Apartheid

The Africanist

Sept 1964

They prosecuted



MR. T. B. VORSTER

They defended



DR. P. YUTAR

the Rivonia trial were acquitted and discharged, this morning. Mr. Justice Lionel Bernstein was immediately rearrested and taken down on all four counts.

was found guilty on all four counts. He was taken down on all four counts.

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correspondent The silent vigil of sympathy for Nelson Mandela and other defendants in Rivonia trial, arranged by the Cathedral from the Cape of Good Hope to the Transvaal. All police officers present in the courtroom were ordered to be silent.

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MR. A. FISCHER

300 sing African anthem outside court

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Police clasp on Protest

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Contents

3 EDITORIAL NOTES

THE PEOPLE UNCONQUERABLE
NIGERIAN WORKERS' VICTORY
SOUTH-WEST AFRICA
THE MARTYRDOM OF THE CONGO
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

30 BLUEPRINT FOR SLAVERY

Z. Nkozi

40 U.A.R.—A BASTION OF ANTI-COLONIALISM

Desmond Buckle

48 THE APARTHEID ECONOMY TODAY

P. Tlale

60 CONGO: THE LEGAL ASPECT

Kgang Dithata

71 MARXIST LENINIST STUDY

100 YEARS OF THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST
MOVEMENT - *Terence Africanus*

95 DOCUMENTS

POLITICAL TERRORISM IN LESOTHO

98 WHAT OUR READERS WRITE



EDITORIAL NOTES

THE PEOPLE UNCONQUERABLE **South Africa after Rivonia**

THE SAVAGE sentences in the 'Rivonia' trial have aroused a passionate storm of protest and indignation throughout the world. Statesmen of all democratic tendencies, religious leaders, trade unionists, students and cultural leaders and millions of ordinary freedom-loving men and women have spoken out against this monstrous thing. They have spoken in the Security Council of the United Nations and in Parliaments and legislatures of many countries; they have spoken in capital cities and small towns everywhere, in meeting-halls and open squares and in angry demonstrations outside South African embassies. Rarely, if ever, has a political trial anywhere aroused such deep and universal feeling. This was more than humanitarian sympathy with men unjustly condemned to rot away the rest of their lives on the hell of Robben Island. It was also a feeling of unqualified solidarity and admiration for Nelson Mandela and his brave fellow-patriots who had ventured their lives and their personal liberty in the fight against a hateful tyranny. The international protest was at the same time a mighty act of universal

identification with the Heroes of Rivonia in their lofty and pure ideal of a Free South Africa.

It was an outcome little foreseen by Verwoerd's Nazi Minister of Justice, Balthazar Vorster, and his exultant policemen when they raided Lilliesleaf Farm at Rivonia, near Johannesburg, on July 11, 1963. They had, indeed, made a sensational capture. Walter Sisulu was there, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Lionel Bernstein, Raymond Mhlaba and Dennis Goldberg. Many were in disguise for, like Sisulu, Kathrada and Mbeki, they had evaded house-arrest and were leading, underground and separated from their families, the lives of men hunted by the police. The police found many confidential documents, including 'Operation Mayibuye', the *Umkonto We Sizwe* draft plan for guerilla warfare. Later, on his return to the farm, the tenant, Arthur Goldreich was arrested, and the police found in his possession documents in his handwriting indicating that he had been sent abroad on a mission to find whether arms could be obtained for the *Umkonto* soldiers.

Each of the arrested leaders was a veteran in the epic freedom-struggle of the African National Congress and its partners in the liberation movement. All had experienced the prison-cells and court-rooms of fascist repression in South Africa, whether in the defiance campaign of 1953, the treason trial of 1956-61, the 'state of emergency' of 1960, or all of them. And each had made his own, important individual contribution to South African history.

Walter Sisulu was the general secretary, and the tireless organizing genius, of the African National Congress in its most vital period: the era of tremendous struggles which began with the national Freedom Day strike on June 26, 1950, and continued through the Campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws in 1953, that transformed the character of Congress, to the Congress of the People that gave birth to the Freedom Charter. Sisulu has been jailed time without number—in the defiance campaign, in the treason trial, in the 1960 emergency. He was arrested no less than six times in 1962 by Warrant Officer Dirker; his wife, Albertina and his eldest son Max were arrested during the Rivonia hearing, under the no-trial law. He was on appeal against a six-year sentence for his part in leading the 1961 three-day national general strike when he went underground. Truly a man of steel, an indestructible man, whom no force on earth can deter from fighting for the freedom of his people so long as he has life in his body.

Also seasoned veterans of the African National Congress are Raymond Mhlaba and Govan Mbeki. It was these two together with the late Gladstone Tshume—a formidable trio—who had organized Port Elizabeth and Eastern Cape into a fortress of Congress, the pride of the A.N.C. Outwardly these men seem very different. Mbeki is one of

the relatively few Africans who have managed to break through the colour barrier to achieve university education; he is a highly qualified educationist and economist; a gifted journalist and writer. Mhlaba, son of a poor Port Elizabeth family, is a man of the proletariat whose life was devoted to uniting his fellow workers in the organizations that fight for their rights, the trade unions, the Communist Party and the African National Congress. But both Mbeki and Mhlaba are men of the same mould: the mould of Sisulu, of Bernstein, Kathrada and Goldberg—fighters for South African freedom.

Sisulu, Mhlaba and Mbeki are Africans—like Nelson Mandela, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni, who were to stand together with them in the trial—sons of the indigenous majority of South Africans, and members of the community which is subjected to the fiercest national oppression and exploitation. But, just as the A.N.C. has never stood alone in its struggles down all the years, so at Rivonia were freedom-fighters of other national groups. Ahmed Kathrada is a South African of Indian origin: since his youth a front-rank fighter in the ranks of the Transvaal and South African Indian Congresses, against the oppression of the Indian minority and for freedom and equality for all, irrespective of race or colour. Lionel Bernstein and Dennis Goldberg are whites, members of the Congress of Democrats until that gallant body was outlawed. Dennis Goldberg, a young engineer, stood firm against intimidation by the police—he too has known the inside of jails more than once—and by ‘unofficial’ fascists who planted a bomb in his house. ‘Rusty’ Bernstein’s whole life has been spent in the fight against Nazism and any form of racism: in the Communist Party, in the South African armed forces in Italy, in the Springbok Legion of ex-servicemen, in the Congress of Democrats.

THE OBJECTS OF THE RIVONIA TRIAL

The capture of these outstanding leaders, in such circumstances, was a heavy blow to the oppressed people of South Africa—and to their countless millions of friends and well-wishers throughout the world. Verwoerd and Vorster rejoiced. They planned to stage a ‘treason trial’ of such a character as to panic the entire white population into their laager and behind their leadership. They banked on instilling such terror into the hearts of the non-white masses and their supporters as to still every vestige of rebellion. They hoped to spread demoralization and disunity in the ranks of the resistance movement, and break down its members into becoming informers. They wanted to win the sympathy of conservative circles by depicting the entire Congress movement as Communist. And they wanted to destroy as many of the top Congress leadership as possible physically, by securing death sentences.

Such were the political aims of the regime in staging the 'Rivonia' trial—else there would have been no trial at all, for legislation passed by the all-white Parliament is such that all the captured men could have been imprisoned for life without trial.

If the Government failed—as it certainly has failed—in every one of these objectives, it was not for want of trying. Never has there been such publicity for a political trial in South Africa. One of Verwoerd's newspapers went so far that it was successfully prosecuted, on the application of Govan Mbeki, for contempt of court. For the first time ever, the state-run radio corporation brought a microphone into court to broadcast the prosecutor's opening speech—it was only removed after strenuous objections by defence counsel. Foreign representatives, including an emissary of the U.S. State Department, were called in to be shown some of the evidence before the trial ever began. Hundreds of known supporters of the Congress and trade union movements were rounded up under the 'no-trial' law and subjected to solitary confinement and sadistic physical tortures to break their spirit and induce them to turn informer. The great majority who were tempered in this furnace proved true steel; a few, as we shall see, were broken.

In their plans, hopes and expectations the fascists left a number of factors out of account. They forgot that, to decent people everywhere, those who rebel against an intolerable tyranny which has left no alternative to rebellion, are not criminals but heroes. Braving fierce intimidation, the people of South Africa rallied to the call of the underground organizations to *stand by our leaders*. Inside and outside the courtroom, and throughout the country, the actions and attitudes of the masses left no doubt that they were heart and soul with the men on trial. And outside South Africa, wherever men are free to speak their minds, the world spoke out with one voice. The tone was set by the extraordinary 106-1 vote at the United Nations General Assembly demanding, after the Rivonia arrests, that the trial be dropped; the political prisoners released.

Also, in its aim to stage a political trial which would belittle the leaders of the true democratic opposition as foreign-inspired conspirators and terrorists, and vindicate the Government's policies of apartheid and police dictatorship, the prosecution had overlooked the most crucial factor of all: the type of men they were dealing with.

ENTER MANDELA

Among the documents discovered at Rivonia were manuscripts in the handwriting of Nelson Mandela, who had found refuge at the farm at one stage of his underground leadership. Next to Chief Lutuli, Mandela has become the best-known and most popular of the Congress leaders.

His brilliant leadership of the historic Maritzburg Conference in 1961 was followed by his outstanding conduct of the campaign which followed. The Maritzburg Conference marked the opening of the new phase of militant mass struggle in South Africa. It condemned the proclamation of the Republic—decided on by a ‘referendum’ of the white minority alone—as legally and morally invalid: it decided to oppose it by a national three-day strike on the inauguration of the Republic at the end of May. The strike was illegal, and all the resources of the state were mobilized to crush it—the ‘celebrations’ in the midst of a virtual period of martial law being a complete fiasco. Mandela, therefore, left his home and his family and organized the strike from underground, leading the hunted life of an outlaw. The strike over, he left, on the instructions of the Congress leadership, for a tour of Africa and Britain to mobilize support for South African freedom, making a profound impression on all the famous leaders and heads of state whom he met, from the Emperor of Ethiopia to the late Hugh Gaitskell.

On his return he continued his underground existence and organizational work until he was captured by the special branch of the police in August, 1962. He was sentenced to five years imprisonment for leading the illegal strike and leaving the country without a passport: his impassioned defence (published by the African National Congress abroad as a booklet: *I Accuse*) raising yet higher the standing of the Congress among the revolutionary youth and the masses in South Africa and among freedom-loving people everywhere. At the time of the ‘Rivonia’ arrests, Mandela had already been in prison for eight months. He was brought from jail to join the men captured at Rivonia as ‘Accused No. 1’.

Before the trial opened, a misfortune overtook the police. Two of the men due to be charged, Arthur Goldreich, the tenant of Lilliesleaf Farm, and Harold Wolpe, Johannesburg lawyer, escaped from the cells at Marshall Square police station with two other political prisoners—all four of them making their way to freedom outside South Africa.

The police spitefully retaliated by arresting James Kantor, Wolpe’s brother-in-law and partner; he was released at the end of the prosecution case, without a word being said in his defence, on the ground that there was no case for him to meet. But in the meantime his practice was ruined and his legal career destroyed.

When the trial opened in October, there were three more accused in addition to those already mentioned. Two of them, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni, have for many years been prominent and stalwart members of the South-West Johannesburg region of the A.N.C. Motsoaledi, a worker of peasant origin, was also prominent in the

trade union movement. Mlangeni achieved national prominence as one of Mandela's outstanding lieutenants at the Maritzburg Conference. Both had been subjected to ninety-day detention, and brutal assaults, by the police before the trial began.

The eleventh accused, Hepple, had also been arrested at Rivonia. He broke down under the strain of solitary confinement and made statements to the police. As a result, the prosecutor, Yutar, subsequently withdrew the charges against him and announced that he would give state evidence in the trial. He never did so. As has happened more than once to police witnesses in our political trials, he had been whisked over the border by the underground which the police had boasted was 'destroyed'.

THE POLICE CASE

The trial got off to a bad start. Yutar, bursting with self-importance, had prepared the indictment incompetently. Advocate A. Fischer, Q.C., for the defence, demanded that it be quashed, with legal arguments of such force that the judge, de Wet, had no alternative but to accept them. To the astonishment of the overseas lawyers and journalists who had come to observe the trial, the 'freed' men were immediately re-arrested and dragged off to the cells, while Yutar went off to prepare a new indictment.

This was submitted in November. It accused the nine men in the court of four charges: two under the 'Sabotage' Act—of organizing acts of sabotage, and of a conspiracy to recruit and train men for guerilla war; one under the Suppression of Communism Act; one under the General Laws Amendment Act; 193 acts of sabotage were listed on the charge sheet as having taken place between June 1962 and July 1963.

The police evidence in the Rivonia trial—in so far as it was relevant—fell into two main groups. Firstly the documents captured at Lilliesleaf, the chief of which was the plan 'Operation Mayibuye'. Although the sensational character of this document was much emphasized both by Yutar and by de Wet in his judgment, it was never shown—and could not have been—that it was ever officially adopted by the *Umkonto We Sizwe*, or the A.N.C. or the Communist Party, or that it was anything more than a draft to be considered for a hypothetical future situation.

Secondly, the evidence consisted of statements by a few former members of the resistance movement who had broken down under police interrogation and, to save their own necks, agreed to become informers against their one-time comrades. Chief among these was Bruno Mtolo, who said he had been a member of the A.N.C., the Communist Party and the Natal Regional Command of Umkonto.

(Yutar, always playing for melodrama, described him as a 'secret witness' and referred to him throughout as 'Mr. X'.) So anxious was Mtolo to co-operate with the police that he not only revealed all the secrets he had sworn to keep, but even invented a whole lot of extra fictitious 'evidence' to suit the prosecution.

THE DEFENCE CASE

The whole aspect of the trial was transformed by the opening of the defence case. From the opening speech of Mandela through all the other statements made by the accused men who spoke as witnesses in their own defence, the central theme became not the lurid details of military preparations which Yutar had been at such pains to emphasize, but the atrocious conditions of life in South Africa which had driven serious and responsible leaders of the majority of the people, well known for their past adherence to non-violent methods of struggle, to organizing acts of sabotage and preparations for civil war.

'The time comes in the life of any nation', *Umkonto We Sizwe* had declared in its manifesto, 'when there remain only two choices—submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit, and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom.' The leaders in the dock at Pretoria disdained to repudiate that ringing statement, or to deny the part that some of them had played in *Umkonto*. Instead they courageously defended it, explained the conditions which had thrust so grim a choice before the oppressed people, and justified their actions in the eyes of the majority of South Africans and the whole world. 'I admit immediately', said Mandela, 'that I was one of the persons who helped to form *Umkonto We Sizwe*, and that I played a prominent role in its affairs until I was arrested in August 1962.'

The captured leaders completely destroyed the lie that they had turned to revolution because they were reckless men who love violence. Some of them (Mandela, Sisulu, Bernstein, Kathrada) had been accused with Chief Lutuli in the marathon Treason Trial of 1956-60, which ended in the acquittal of all the accused and the acknowledgment that the Congress movement had consistently preached non-violence. It is not these men who have changed: it is the mounting terror and violence of government policy which has forced them to realize that there is no choice left but to meet force with force. 'I hate destruction of property and I hate the loss of life even more', Walter Sisulu said in the Rivonia Trial. 'But I am a realist, and I realize that the African people have a moral right to revolt against oppression.'

'I do not deny that I planned sabotage', said Mandela. 'I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love of violence. I planned

it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation and oppression of my people by the Whites.'

In order to explain this calm and sober assessment, it was necessary for the accused men to give a detailed account of the nature of apartheid and White domination in South Africa. 'The Whites enjoy what may well be the highest living standard in the world, whilst Africans live in poverty and misery', said Mandela, and he went on to give irrefutable facts and figures to prove this statement. And this was a state of affairs created and perpetuated by exclusive white rule. 'The complaint of the Africans . . . is not only that they are poor and Whites are rich, but that the laws which are made by the Whites are designed to preserve this situation.' Africans were prevented from learning and performing the skilled jobs that would bring them higher wages; their children were denied education. Forty per cent of African children between seven and fourteen years of age do not attend school (primary education is free and compulsory for Whites). And those who do go to school get a vastly inferior education: the Government spends R144.57 (£72 5s. 8d.) a year on the education of each White child, as against R12.46 (£6 4s. 7d.) for each African child who is at school; and the Bantu Education System is designed to indoctrinate for inferiority. In Verwoerd's words—'Natives will be taught from childhood to realize that equality with Europeans is not for them.'

With this goes a blatant denial of human dignity and human rights—even the right to family life. 'Whites tend to regard Africans as a separate breed. They do not look upon them as people with families of their own; they do not realize that they have emotions—that they fall in love, like White people do; that they want to be with their wives and children like White people want to be with theirs; that they want to earn enough money to support their families properly, to feed and clothe them and send them to school.'

Mandela and his colleagues put forward the simple, but vital demands of the oppressed people: a living wage, the right to do any work they were capable of doing; to live in security with their families and to move about freely. 'We want a just share in the whole of South Africa; we want security and a stake in society. Above all, we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent.'

And they showed how year after year, for half a century, the African National Congress and its allies had been patiently submitting these demands by peaceful means—in the famous words of Chief Lutuli: 'knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly, at a closed and barred door'. Instead of concessions, things got ever worse, until,

wrote Lutuli, 'today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all'. That was in 1952—the fourth year of Nationalist Party rule. The twelve years since then have seen Verwoerd's race-maniacs carrying the persecution of Africans to the uttermost extremes. The Communist Party was followed into illegality by the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Congress of Democrats. Passive resistance, political strikes, even public meetings were banned. The fascist Vorster was made Minister of Justice, with laws which enabled him to imprison anyone, without charge or trial, for as long as he liked, laws which made the chalking of a slogan on a wall the crime of 'sabotage'—legally equivalent to treason and punishable by death. Violence became normal in South Africa: in 1957 (Zeerust), in 1958 (Sekhukhuniland), 1959 (Cato Manor), 1960 (Sharpeville—also Pondoland, when thirty-nine Africans were killed) and 1961 (Warmbaths) armed police massacred unarmed African men and women.

THE A.N.C. AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The accused men completely refuted the attempts made by Yutar, spokesman of the special branch of the police, to depict the African National Congress as a 'Communist-dominated' organization. The A.N.C., said Mandela, was not 'a political party with one school of political thought, but a Parliament of the African people, accommodating people of various political convictions, all united by the common goal of national liberation'. While stating his personal differences with certain aspects of what he understood the Communist Party's policy to be, Mandela vigorously defended the A.N.C. policy of co-operation with the Party in the common struggle for national liberation. Leading Communists (he instanced J. B. Marks, Moses Kotane and the late Albert Nzula) had served on the National Executive of the A.N.C. This was not surprising, he pointed out. The Party had for very many years fought side by side with Congress: many Africans equated Communism with Freedom. Nor was this a phenomenon confined to South Africa. 'Communists have always played an active role in the fight by colonial countries', he said; they had played an 'important role in the freedom struggles fought in countries such as Malaya, Algeria and Indonesia' and also 'in the underground resistance movements which sprang up in Europe during the last world war'. In addition to the support of the South African Communists for the common cause, he instanced the consistent stand of the socialist countries, at the United Nations and elsewhere, in support of the struggle against apartheid, and of the Afro-Asian stand against colonialism.

The general picture was amplified by the evidence of other witnesses, for instance Mbeki, Bernstein and Kathrada, all of whom declared

themselves to be Communists and defended the programme and policy of the S.A.C.P. during the days of gruelling cross-examination. Govan Mbeki said he had not previously been a member of the former Communist Party of South Africa, banned in 1950; nevertheless he had been listed and banned as a Communist. His answer had been to join the underground South African Communist Party. Kathrada was asked what 'brand' of Communism he supported. His reply was that he supported the South African Communist Party, which fought for national liberation.

What emerged in the course of this historic trial was a true reflection of the South African national liberation movement: of an unbreakable unity tried and proven in the most severe and protracted tests over the past forty years, a unity of the African, Indian and Coloured people, and the consistently democratic Whites, of Communists and non-Communists, of African nationalists, principled trade unionists and upholders of the ethic of human brotherhood contained in various religious beliefs. For the past forty years this unity has been subjected to every conceivable attack, from outside and from within the movement. Especially in the years since 1948, with the take-over by the so-called Nationalist Party, the main spearhead of fascist attack has been directed against the Communists. By labelling all fighters for democracy and equality as Communists the Government sought to get the non-Communists to prove their 'innocence' by dissociating themselves from Communism and denouncing it. These efforts failed signally; they were totally repudiated by the masses and their leaders. When in the trial for 'Communism' following the Defiance Campaign, Dr. Moroka seemed to be tending in that direction, briefing separate counsel, it spelt the end of his political career. In the treason trial, in which the 156 accused covered the widest possible spectrum of democratic tendencies in the Congress, trade union, peace and other progressive movements, not a single one of the accused yielded to the temptation to save his own skin by denouncing 'Communism'. The various attempts to start African political movements on the basis of an anti-Communist, anti-Indian, anti-Coloured and indiscriminately anti-White policy—Benghu's 'Bantu Congress', Thema's 'National-Minded Bloc', and, for that matter, the Pan-Africanist Congress—have failed ignominiously to make any significant impact on the basic masses of the country, the workers, peasants and serious revolutionary intellectuals.

The liberation movement of South Africa has deep roots, unbreakable links with the people, it is of the people, deeply involved with and a part of the people. That is the source of its greatest strength, and that is why the Verwoerd-Vorster dictatorship cannot endure, cannot

win. The people are unconquerable. Vorster and his special branch may fill their jails with patriots and heroes; they may have their ephemeral 'victories'. They may capture some of our generals, torture and murder our finest sons and daughters. But the people are inexhaustible; they will bring forth many new sons and daughters. A thousand will come forward to replace every soldier captured on the battlefield. For every weakling whom the fascists break in their grisly torture-chambers, a thousand will be tempered into steel in the furnace.

WORTHY LEADERS

A great people has found leaders worthy of its greatness. Standing in the shadow of the gallows, erect and dignified after months of solitary confinement and ill treatment, their bearing was beyond praise. It struck an answering chord in the hearts of the people of every country.

'During my lifetime', said Mandela, 'I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against White domination and I have fought against Black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But, if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.'

As the trial progressed, the roles were reversed. The accused became the accusers. What was on trial was apartheid, white supremacy, the inner colonialism of South Africa that has deprived four-fifths of the population of land, liberty and independence. Yutar, the prosecutor, de Wet, the judge, became the spokesmen for the accused—the governing Nationalist Party, and behind it the vast mining and financial interests, the rich farmers and industrialists, who profit from apartheid at the expense of human suffering, degradation and blood. Time and again, Yutar and de Wet himself intervened to counter, with puny efforts, this overwhelming indictment. Yutar claimed that Sisulu was 'exaggerating' the persecution of non-whites. 'I wish you were an African', Sisulu told him. 'Then you would know what persecution is like.' Mbeki was asked whether he did not think Africans should be 'grateful' for the meagre hospital facilities, far inferior to those for Whites. Yutar put this question to the wrong man: no one in South Africa knows better the terrible harvest of malnutrition and avoidable disease reaped by apartheid. De Wet intervened, irrelevantly, to put forward the fallacious propaganda version of 'history' taught in South African schools—that the Africans 'arrived' in the country at about the same time as the Whites. It was a pathetically inept attempt to counter the overwhelming case of the accused. The judge had sacrificed the appearance of judicial impartiality, without the slightest impact on the real tribunal to which the accused men were appealing: the court of

South African and world opinion. Before *that* court the verdict is unanimous and clear; as stated by all the accused at the very opening of the trial, it is the Verwoerd government and those who back it who are guilty of the sabotage, the violence and the anguish of South Africa today.

But in the courtroom in Pretoria, under the laws of Verwoerd and Vorster, de Wet reached the foreordained verdict. Eight of the nine accused were found 'guilty'—Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Mhlaba, Goldberg, Kathrada, Motsoaledi and Mlangeni. Most were found guilty on all four counts: Kathrada on only one. Irrespective of the number of counts, each received the same sentence: lifetime imprisonment. Bernstein, the ninth, who was acquitted, was immediately re-arrested and dragged off to the cells to face new charges under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Outside the courtroom, with incredible daring and devotion, crowds of people braved the Sten guns, Alsatian dogs and batons of the massed police to protest. Banners were unfurled pledging devotion to the condemned leaders; led by Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, thousands joined in singing the people's anthem, *Nkosi Sikalel' iAfrika*, as the heavily-guarded prisoners were driven away.

The protest in Pretoria echoed round the world.

All the great statesmen of Africa and Asia spoke out in anger against the sentences.

In Britain, the Labour Party expressed 'anger and dismay at the savagery of the sentences'; fifty M.P.s marched from the House of Commons to South Africa House, thousands gathered at Trafalgar Square in London and at innumerable meetings in other parts of the country. The protest was heard in all the great capitals of the world, in Africa, Europe, Asia and the Americas. It was heard in the Security Council of the United Nations. It was a high point in the great, and still continuing, World Campaign for the Release of Political Prisoners, organized by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

And, though they will not admit it, it was heard in the fenced-in suburb of Pretoria, where the South African cabinet live under heavy guards, prisoners of their own fear of the masses whom they so sorely misgovern. World opinion so strongly felt, together with the powerful pressure of fourteen million voteless South Africans, is a potent and a mighty force, one which even the shameless fascists of South Africa cannot ignore. It was focused on the trial court in Pretoria, and it could not but influence the outcome. Mr. Justice de Wet could not disguise the fact that he would have liked to condemn Mandela and his colleagues to death. Even in the moment of passing judgment he stooped to impugn the sincerity of the accused, just as Yutar had

attempted to demean the nobility and dignity of the accused men with his unbelievably vulgar and witless jeers which served only to emphasize his own clownishness. But he did not demand, and de Wet did not pass, death sentences. The South African government tried to play down the entire international campaign as 'Communist'—the Pope, the governments of Britain and the United States and France had all spoken out for clemency, all, according to Verwoerd, Communists. But he does not believe it himself. It cannot be seriously doubted that the vast international campaign, together with the determination of the oppressed people of our country to stand by their leaders, had saved the lives of the men of Rivonia.

But no one should imagine for a moment that this is the end of the campaign. Mandela and his colleagues (with the exception of Goldberg, for this hell-camp is reserved for non-white prisoners only) have been sent to Robben Island. Ghastly reports have reached the outside world of the conditions and treatment of political prisoners in this waterless islet off the coast of Cape Town. Not only 'politicals' but also hardened criminals are sent there, and they are encouraged to commit assaults, including sexual assaults, on the political prisoners. Authenticated cases have been published of political prisoners buried up to their necks in the earth while warders urinate into their faces. Simon Khuboni, 27-year-old member of the Pan-Africanist Congress, died there in June—'from natural causes', said jail governor Wessels, though Khuboni's wife had received a letter from him a few days previously saying he was in good health.

World opinion cannot rest while such atrocities continue. It cannot rest while Vuyisile Mini, Wilson Khayingo and Zinakile Mkaba and many other patriots sentenced to death are awaiting Verwoerd's hangman. It cannot rest until every single political prisoner is released, whether he belong to the African National Congress or the Pan Africanist Congress, the Communist Party or the trade union movement, the *Umkonto We Sizwe*, the Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress, the Congress of Democrats, the National Liberation Front or *Poqo*. We demand the freedom not only of Albert Lutuli, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and their followers, but also of Robert Subukwe, of Neville Alexander, of all who have dared to stand up and fight against fascism, in whatever way they have chosen, or been compelled by events, to do so.

The sacrifices of the great heroes of the freedom struggle have not been in vain. Certainly the Rivonia arrests were a heavy blow to South Africa. Brilliant leaders, whose loss the people could ill afford, have been captured by the enemy on the field of battle, betrayed by traitors and spies. But it was a pyrrhic victory for the fascist government. Mandela

and his comrades made the 'Palace of Justice' at Pretoria a tribunal from which they addressed the entire world, and their words sank deep into the hearts of the people everywhere. Never before has the world understood so well not only the depth of our oppression, but also the duty of all good men to support our sacred right to rebel. Mandela's revolutionary words were solemnly repeated in St. Paul's Cathedral. Those who only yesterday spoke wishfully of the need for moderation and constitutional methods have been convinced, or shamed into silence. Only Sir Patrick Dean, spokesman of the discredited Tory government which has long lost the confidence of the British electorate, the voice of the foreign shareholders in South African oppression, still dared to speak at the Security Council of apartheid being ended 'by legislation, by a change of heart of all racial groups'.

Inside South Africa, Rivonia marks a turning point. Within days of the ending of the trial, a wave of fresh sabotage explosions broke out, all over the country. Once again, having announced that the trial had wiped out the 'subversive' opposition, Vorster's nazi 'special branch' policemen are working overtime, out on nationwide raids, arresting fresh victims under the 'no-trial' law which Vorster, following an unprecedented campaign in South Africa, had promised he would consider abandoning. These vicious measures will succeed no better than all those that have gone before in checking the tide of revolution. For this is not a matter, as the police mentality conceives it, of 'dealing with a few agitators'. An entire people is on the march; learning the bitter lessons of the past, with greater vigilance, greater determination, greater militancy than ever before. Such a people cannot be stopped and it cannot be beaten.

NIGERIAN WORKERS' VICTORY

WHEN FORMAL INDEPENDENCE for Nigeria was announced by the British Government in October 1960 this was front page news throughout the world. The British Government and the British Press pretended that a generous gift was being made in granting Nigeria her independence and told the world that the bad old days of imperialism were gone, never to return. In fact, the struggles of the Nigerian people left the colonialists with no alternative; the same imperialists and others have since striven to hang on to and augment their privileges and profits in Nigeria, using the tactics of neo-colonialism.

There was very good reason for the fuss that was made of Nigeria's independence. Not only the imperialists but the world as a whole and the liberation movements everywhere appreciated the significance of the occasion.

Nigeria is the most densely populated country in Africa, with a population of about 36 million in an area of 372,647 square miles. By comparison South Africa, the most highly industrialized and developed country in Africa, has a population of only 17 million in 472,000 square miles. In other words Nigeria is about 0.8 of the size of South Africa but has 2.25 times the population. The country has great potential wealth in minerals, timber, agricultural products. Numerous rivers cross her territory including the river Niger, the third largest waterway in Africa.

It is, therefore, all the more surprising that far greater attention was not focused on the great strike which shook Nigeria in June 1964. This strike was one of the greatest, most effective, ever to have taken place on the soil of Africa. We feel that we can say that Nigeria will never be the same again as she was before the strike, nor will West Africa and, very likely, the greater part of Africa too. This great united working class action, the general strike of June 1964, lasted thirteen days and brought out about one million workers.

The Nigerian trade union movement, whose joint action ensured both the extent and the success of the general strike, is today amongst the numerically most powerful in the whole of Africa. This is the fruit of over thirty years of hard and bitter struggle starting with the economic crisis of the early thirties. By 1942 there were 80 unions with a membership of 26,000. That year saw the struggle of the railway workers for a cost of living allowance. By 1945 there were 103 unions with over 30,000 workers as well as a Trade Union Congress. That year, too, saw the first great general strike which lasted for forty-four days and paralysed the country.

The unity of the trade unions was, however, disrupted in 1948 when there was a split in the Congress. It was no coincidence that the strike of coal miners at Enugu, the following year, was repressed violently by the police with twenty-one dead and fifty wounded. But eight years later the new centre, the All-Nigerian Trade Union Federation had 181,000 members and had become a force to be reckoned with. Nigeria, in 1955 and 1956, was the scene of huge strikes and demonstrations led by a strike of tin miners (who actually demanded the nationalization of the tin mines) and involving building workers and government employees.

Where the government, the employers, the chiefs and the tribalists had failed to prevent the impetuous growth and unity of the workers, the I.C.F.T.U. and the A.F.L. leaders to some extent succeeded, using, as their main weapon, the 'Communist' bogey. For the last few years there have been two main trade union centres in Nigeria, the Nigerian Trade Union Congress, which is not affiliated to either the W.F.T.U. or

the I.C.F.T.U., and the United Labour Congress, which is affiliated to the I.C.F.T.U.

The pre-independence strikes and demonstrations were directed mainly against the big foreign monopolies and inevitably took the form of struggles for national independence, bringing in other strata of the people, with the warm support of the majority of the population.

One hears so often that the working class, its organizations, its parties, has no real independent role to play in Africa. The attitude of some of Africa's leaders of national movements towards the working class, towards trade unions, has been and often still is ambiguous, suspicious and, indeed, often hostile.

The imperialists recognize that the working class and its trade unions and Communist Parties are their mortal enemies. A major tactic of neo-colonialism is to attempt to reduce such trade unions to tame appendages of governments or of monopolies or to split them and hinder their efforts to attain unity. In this way it is hoped not only to make it easier for the employers to make record profits but also to prevent the organized workers playing their necessary role in the liberation of their countries. A new book by George Lodge (son of Henry Cabot Lodge, leading American millionaire-Republican) entitled *Spearheads of Democracy—Labour Unions in the Developing Countries*, is a blatant revelation of the part played by the I.C.F.T.U., the A.F.L., and right-wing labour generally in the game of disrupting African trade unions.

Any African leader who attacks the working class or seeks to deprive it of its greatest strength, independent economic and political organization, is knowingly or unknowingly joining hands with the enemy and is prolonging the dependence and suffering of Africa. Such an attitude, where it exists, is due to the class background and outlook of the leader who holds it. N. Numadé, in his booklet *The African Revolution* (New Century Publishers), consisting of three essays published in this journal, says: 'In order to achieve the speedy and complete victory of the African Revolution, to carry it forward to its destined conclusion—the liquidation of colonialism, the expiration of all its survivals, the advance to a united, socialist Africa—it is essential that the *working class* . . . should play a full and decisive part within the leadership of the national united front.'

UNITED ACTION

The greatest successes of the Nigerian workers in the past followed upon the achievement of unity in their organizations. But their efforts to re-unite the various centres during the last few years have not, as yet, overcome the obstacles put in the way through the activities of the

I.C.F.T.U. In 1963, however, the two centres together with the Nigerian Workers' Council (affiliated to the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions) formed a Joint Action Committee which, on September 27, called a general strike in protest against the Government's wage policy. The 200,000 workers who took part returned to work three days later on a promise by the Government to set up a commission to investigate the whole position of wages.

What had made this unity in action possible was the strong public feeling over the action of the police and the army the previous February when 16,000 dockers came out on strike for two weeks. Three strike pickets were beaten to death and the wide support which the strikers received throughout the country swelled the demand for united action.

The Morgan Commission, set up after the September 1963 strike, sat for several months and presented its report to the Federal Government on April 30, 1964. The workers, feeling that there had already been more than enough delay, began to demand the publication of the report and of the Government's proposals. The Joint Action Committee called a mass rally on May 30 which decided upon strike action. The workers at the rally began a march which was attacked by the police. Dozens were injured and several leaders were arrested. Thoroughly roused now, the workers began their strike on the very next day.

Three days later the Government published the Commission's Report and its own White Paper.

Nearly four years after independence the wages of the Nigerians were still appallingly low. The basic pay in Lagos is only £7 12s. per month and £4 per month in the rural areas. Because of the high level of unemployment, wages are often a good deal lower.

At the same time prices have risen continually since independence and the workers' conditions have become intolerable.

The J.A.C., in the evidence which it submitted to the Morgan Commission, had proposed a minimum wage for town and country of £20 per month. The Commission's figures showed that even that figure, in some areas, was too low. They concluded, however, that the minimum wage should range from £12 per month in Lagos to £6 10s. per month in the Northern rural areas. The Government's proposals were even lower. They actually recommended a range of £9 2s. down to £4 15s. 4d. per month. There could be no clearer indication of the bankruptcy of the Government, of the tremendous gulf between it and the workers, of its complete disregard for the welfare of the people.

These proposals and the revelations contained in the Commission's report made the workers furious. Those in unions which had not yet joined the strike compelled them to do so and within a few days all the decisive sections of the working class both in Government employ and

in private employ, came out, until a million workers were on strike.

Nothing the Government or the employers could do could intimidate or divide the strikers. The country was virtually paralysed. The Government had to sue for terms.

THE AGREEMENT—A VICTORY

The agreement which ended the strike on June 13 provided for no victimization, no loss of pay and negotiations on the basis of the Morgan Report.

The strike shook Nigeria down to its grass roots. It was the third big industrial action since independence and it was directed mainly against the Government. It was a symptom of the growing revolt in Nigeria against a Government obviously more concerned with protecting the interests of the foreign monopolies, of the neo-colonialists, more interested in preserving their profits, than with the welfare of the people. The disillusionment of the people with the Federal and Regional Governments is clear. Had there been a strong opposition party it is quite likely that the Government might have been swept from office.

The general strike completely exposed the well-bedded lives of the Ministers, Members of Parliament, and their numerous hangers-on, their fat salaries and allowances, their cynicism and corruption. Big political issues are arising and will continue to arise from this strike and the way in which it has laid bare the rottenness of the regime and the desperate need for a sweeping change. Any economic surplus is absorbed by various forms of excess consumption by the upper class, by hoarding at home and abroad, by flamboyant spending for personal ostentation, by the maintenance of unnecessarily large and unproductive bureaucracies which have been encouraged very often by the former colonial power.

This mighty industrial action, even more than any other strike in Nigeria's history, revealed the absurdity of the present regional divisions, the tremendous burden placed upon the people to maintain five separate administrations. The strike cut right across all political and tribal divisions and is the first mighty step forward in the urgent task of creating a united single nation, and overcoming the divisions which were artificially created by the Constitution of 1947 imposed by a British Labour Government.

The strike showed that nothing can be expected from the leaders of the present bourgeois political parties in Nigeria. That there are progressive elements within these parties is clear but there is little hope of changing their policies under their present leadership. The present coalition between the Northern People's Congress and the National Council of Nigerian Citizens is likely to be dissolved before the coming

general election in October. The N.P.C. hopes to win on its own whilst the N.C.N.C., hopelessly compromised through its submission for the past four years to the N.P.C., may try to ally itself with the Action Group to oppose the N.P.C.

A new hope for Nigeria is the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party (S.W.A.F.P.) led by Dr. Otegbeye, the only political party to support the general strike. Formed in August 1963, it has already made a very big impact indeed. In the four capitals it has already won a mass response whilst branches have been formed in all important towns and villages. Among its leaders are many of the trade unionists who led the strike, and its programme, based on scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism, is attracting more and more people from the other, compromised parties. S.W.A.F.P. cannot, as yet, win at the coming elections but it will contest a number of seats and its campaigns will have an electrifying effect on the political situation in Nigeria.

The masses of Nigeria have had to wage big struggles to achieve whatever of independence they now have, to achieve a formidable trade union organization. They have had invaluable experience and the June Strike will inspire them to greater victories. And they now have a political voice which can be heard all over Nigeria and beyond.

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

IN AN ATTEMPT to stave off United Nations criticism of the administration of South-West Africa, and possible United Nations action to ensure the transfer of the mandate to the United Nations, the Verwoerd Government appointed the Odendaal Commission in 1962 to draw up a programme of development for the territory.

The Commission completed its report in record time (if one compares it with the Press Commission, which took from 1950 to 1964 to complete a portion of its terms of reference and then simply abandoned the rest). In January 1964 the Odendaal Commission was ready with its proposals.

These were (a) political and (b) economic.

The political proposals were more or less laid down for it in advance by the Commission's terms of reference, which required it to take into consideration 'what has already been planned and put into practice' in the territory. This was a more or less clear indication to the Commission that it had to take into account an apartheid situation even worse from the non-white point of view than that in South Africa itself. Naturally enough, the Commission reported that only further doses of apartheid would suit the bill.

South-West Africa is a large territory, with an area of 320,000 square



miles—greater than the combined area of the United Kingdom and France. But great parts of the territory are desert or semi-desert, and the total population is only 526,000 people of all races, of whom 73,000 are White. Shortage of water has been perhaps the greatest barrier to the economic development of the territory—apart from the restrictive effects of the apartheid policy itself on the productive capacity of the people.

The Odendaal Commission rejects the idea that South-West Africa can be developed as a single integrated state in which all peoples enjoy equal rights of citizenship. It rejects the notion of one central authority elected on the basis of one man, one vote. Such an authority, the Commission concludes, would be rendered powerless by friction and clashes between the various population groups, many of whom, the Commission said, harboured feelings of hostility towards one another.

But as if not satisfied that this was a good enough reason for opposing integration, the Commission found another—that in the past the progress of non-white interests had not been as fast as it might have

been because of the fact that South-West Africa had been controlled by whites and their legislative bodies had been reluctant to concern themselves with non-white needs and claims. The fact that this is a damning indictment of South Africa's administration of the mandate is apparently overlooked by the Commission, eager to find some sort of moral basis for its fantastic apartheid recommendations.

The Commission repeats the now-stale apartheid argument that only by developing on their own in their own area can the various population groups reach the full flower of their potential development. If the recommendations of the Commission are carried out, there will be in all twelve different ethnic groups and five different forms of government.

Seven 'homelands' will be created for seven indigenous groups—Ovamboland (with a population of 240,000), Okavangoland (28,000), Kaokoveld (9,000), Damaraland (44,000), Hereroland (35,000), East Caprivi (16,000) and Namaland (35,000).

Each of these peoples will have a 'legislative council'. All citizens over the age of eighteen should be entitled to vote in elections for these councils, says the Commission—but only 40 per cent of the members would be elected, the remainder consisting, on the Transkei model, of nominated chiefs and headmen who would be little more than central government stooges.

For the 12,000 'nomadic' Bushmen, says the Commission, there will also be a 'homeland', but they will be placed 'under the guidance and protection' of a White Commissioner because 'there is no conceivable form of self-government' in which they can participate.

The Tswana, who number less than 300, will also have their 'homeland', but they will be placed under a 'community authority' consisting of a headman and two councillors, with judicial authority in the hands of the magistrate of Gobabis 'until their numbers and further development justify the transfer of more responsibilities'.

The 11,000 Rehobothers, contemptuously referred to as 'Basters', will be given a form of self-government 'in terms of a constitution arrived at through consultation between the Baster community and the Government of South Africa'.

All these non-white groups are promised apartheid self-government now, and a pie-in-the-sky independence at some stage in the future.

The only group for whom there is apparently to be no prospect of independence are the whites, who will retain their present Legislative Assembly, Administrator and four-member Executive Committee, but who will hand over a 'large range of functions' to the central government in South Africa. White South-West Africa will have something of the status of the four South African provinces.

The Odendaal Commission makes great play of the fact that as a result of its recommendations, the areas occupied by the non-whites will be increased by 24 million acres—or 50 per cent of what they at present occupy. Most of the new land is owned by white farmers or by the State. Its value is estimated at £19 million, and the Commission recommends that £8.5 million be allocated by way of compensation in its budget for the first of its three five-year plans.

But even if the Odendaal Commission's plan is implemented, it will still leave only 40 per cent of the total area of South-West Africa for 450,000 of its people who are non-whites. The remaining 60 per cent will be reserved for the 73,000 whites.

And take a look at the map. For the creation of these homelands it will be necessary to go in for population removal on a grand scale. At the moment South-West Africa is divided into a police zone, which is the area occupied by whites and non-whites with a total population of 240,000, and the rest of the territory which is exclusively non-white reserve area, with only a few white missionaries and officials. Many of the existing reserves, especially for the Hereros, are enclaves inside the police zone.

Under the Odendaal plan, all the non-white homelands, with the exception of Rehoboth and Namaland, will be pushed to the desert fringes of the territory. One in three of the total population of the reserves inside the police zone are to be uprooted and moved. In the territory as a whole, almost 100,000 people will be forced to move. The Commission says these people will be 'persuaded in their own interests to move'. If the removals of the western areas of Johannesburg and in the South African reserves are to be any example, the removals will only take place at the point of a gun.

Maybe it is not really the Commission's (or the Nationalist Government's) intention that *all* the peoples of each ethnic group should be forced to move themselves into their homeland, just as little as it is the Government's intention that all the Xhosa people of South Africa should be forced to move to the Transkei. Two-thirds of the Xhosa people of South Africa (of all the African people for that matter) do not live in the reserves at all, but live and work in the white areas of South Africa, on the white man's farms, down his mines or in his factories and homes.

The same will no doubt apply in South-West Africa. Take the Hereros, for example, the fourth largest ethnic group amongst the indigenous people of South-West Africa. The Commission's figures show that more than half of them are living and working in the white rural and urban areas. And of the 44,353 Damaras, 18,000 are settled in the white urban areas and 20,000 in the white rural areas.

It is inconceivable that the whites will be content, or even make any attempt, to do without the labour power of these people. But what *will* happen is this—that after the creation of their homelands, the indigenous peoples will be told that they can no longer enjoy or expect any political rights in the white areas—just as under the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964 the African people in South Africa have been deprived of all citizenship rights in the white areas of South Africa even though so far only the Transkei has been set up as a Bantustan, and that catering only for a section of the Xhosa people.

The idea of complete partition and complete independence is as little valid in South-West Africa as in South Africa. The apartheid plan is merely another variation of the old imperialist tactic of divide and rule. It is a means of consolidating white domination and power.

For the truth is that the non-whites will be pushed into homelands which are not economically viable. Even the Commission admits that development prospects for at least three of the homelands are totally absent—Damaraland, Namaland and Kaokoveld. These territories can never be self-supporting or carry subsistence economies and will always have to import food.

The future of the other 'homelands' is just as unpromising. None of them has ever been self-supporting in the past, and none of them has the resources to develop. The 'homelands' will prove in South-West Africa, just as in South Africa, to be mere reservoirs of cheap labour on which the whites can draw at will. The major economic resources of South-West Africa—the best farming land, the cattle and karakul farms, the copper and diamonds and other base minerals, the fishing harbours and canning industries—will remain in the white areas, under white ownership and control.

The expenditure recommended by the Odendaal Commission for the development of South-West Africa makes it appear that South Africa is willing to spend more on Bantustan in South-West Africa than in South Africa itself. A sum of £78 million is proposed for the first five-year plan and £45.5 million for the second five-year plan, while tentative suggestions are even made for a third five-year plan to follow. But an examination of the concrete suggestions for the first five-year plan reveals that the main beneficiaries of the Government's largesse would be the established white interests, while the Africans' benefits would be marginal.

In the first five-year plan:

£24.5 million is for a hydro-electric scheme on the Kunene;

£12.5 million on water supplies;

£16.25 million on roads outside the reserves, i.e. in the white areas;

£4.2 million on roads in the Reserves;

£1.5 million on airfields.

The hydro-electric scheme seems to be designed mainly to solve South-West Africa's difficulties in getting coal, and the scheme will be of greater interest to the Tsumeb mine and existing industrial and mining interests elsewhere than to the African people concentrated in the Reserves without electricity or any means of using it. The roads and airfields seem to be intended (a) for strategic purposes, and (b) to facilitate the transport of labour from the Reserves to the white areas. Nowhere in the Report are there any suggestions as to how African agriculture, the mainstay of the reserve economies, is to be improved. There is provision for more land, but not better land, nothing about financial aid to African farmers, land bank loans, the provision of seed and fertilizers, tools and veterinary services which would enable the Reserves to be more self-supporting. Nor are there any suggestions for capital development in the Reserves to diversify their economies and enable them to start on the long road towards industrialization.

The financial recommendations therefore merely reinforce the conception that the Report is designed to strengthen the apartheid stranglehold on South-West Africa. But furthermore, it should be borne in mind that the Report is just a report, mainly designed, as was the Tomlinson Commission Report on Bantustans in South Africa, for propaganda purposes and not for serious application. The sums of money which the Tomlinson Commission said were *essential* if the South African reserves were to be made self-supporting have never been forthcoming from the Nationalist Government. There is just as little likelihood of the Odendaal Commission's plans ever being put into operation on the scale contemplated by its drafters.

Because the implementation of apartheid is one of the issues before the World Court in the case brought by Liberia and Ethiopia against South Africa, the Verwoerd Government has agreed to shelve temporarily the political recommendations, but has said it will proceed with the economic recommendations. This again is designed purely for international consumption. Even assuming the South African Government *does* spend the sums of money recommended by the Odendaal Commission, it must be borne in mind that the economic recommendations are *intimately bound up with, indeed inseparable* from the political. The implementation of the economic recommendations will merely pave the way for the subsequent carve-up of the country on Bantustan lines.

One figure quoted by the Odendaal Commission is significant both for what it reveals and for what it conceals, and that is the figure given for the average annual income per head of the whole population of South-West Africa in 1956—£82.4. Compared with many states in

Africa, this seems comparatively high and a tribute to South Africa's administration. But the truth is quite different. The average per capita income per year in the police zone, where the 73,000 whites live, is £176.1; but the figure for the reserve areas outside the police zone, occupied entirely by Africans apart from the handful of missionaries and officials, is a beggarly £8.5. The high white income lifts the figure in the police zone. But the true picture is shown outside—a picture of grinding poverty for the mass of the African people, who are compelled by their starvation conditions to seek employment in the police zone where their cheap labour makes possible the enormous profits derived from white agriculture and industry.

It is unlikely that the Odendaal Commission will succeed in fooling either the World Court at The Hague or international opinion. South Africa has been condemned precisely because of its apartheid policy. Increasing doses of apartheid are guaranteed, not to allay world criticism, but to increase it, and bring nearer the day when the United Nations will be forced to take action to restore to its people the land which has been stolen from them by the white settlers backed by the White Supremacist Government of Verwoerd and Vorster.

Nor has the Commission's report been accepted with enthusiasm by any section of the people of South-West Africa itself. The whites have been frankly shocked, though retaining sufficient confidence in the Verwoerd regime not to be seriously worried that their interests will be adversely affected. As for the non-whites, while a few stooges have given their grudging assent, the feelings of the majority were undoubtedly summed up by Chief Hosea Kutako, grand old man of the African resistance movement, who said that any attempt to force the Africans into the 'homelands' planned by the Odendaal Commission was likely to touch off a revolt. The chief and his ten councillors condemned the Report as a 'divide and rule' move, accused the Government of stealing their land, said they would have nothing to do with it and that they would resist all efforts to resettle the tribal peoples.

Stating that he would draw the attention of the United Nations to this new threat from the South African Government, the chief added: 'We want a national convention to plan a new constitution.' The peoples of South-West Africa have now started on the long road of struggle which will eventually lead them to this goal.

THE MARTYRDOM OF THE CONGO

THE DEPARTURE of the United Nations forces, followed immediately by the installation of Tshombe as Prime Minister, marks yet another and grimmer chapter in the tortured tale of the Congo. The United Nations

intervention in the Congo was one of the most disgraceful episodes in the chequered history of the world organization, comparable only with Korea; as Dr. O'Brien so lucidly and unanswerably demonstrated in his exposure *To Katanga and Back*. United Nations forces were called in by Lumumba to specifically expel Belgian and other mercenaries, and end Tshombe's Belgian-inspired attempt to split away copper-rich Katanga. Instead they became a pawn of an imperialist cabal, dominated by the United States, to destroy the Lumumba government, the soul of Congo independence, to subject the Congo to neo-colonialist domination, and to back up Tshombe's pretensions. The whole of the proceedings were completely illegal (as shown by an article in the current issue of this journal) and in gross violation both of the United Nations Charter and the Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Congo Republic.

Thus, the United Nations forces called in by Lumumba to quell the threat to unity and independence represented mainly by Tshombe, turned out to be a fifth column. They leave, three years after, with Lumumba murdered, and Tshombe—symbol all over Africa of neo-colonialism—installed as Prime Minister of the whole Congo. Their mission has been successfully accomplished.

There is no secret about who is responsible for this sordid and bloody tale of intrigue, murder, massacre, bribery and blatant intervention. The main culprits are the United States and its Central Intelligence Agency. Tshombe is their man, and that they should have him installed as 'Prime Minister' is a piece of brazen arrogance which spits in the face of African independence and dignity.

No doubt this new turn in the Congo has put fresh heart into the die-hard enemies of African freedom: Tshombe's allies, Welensky, Verwoerd, Salazar, Ian Smith, Goldwater and Lord Salisbury. They should not rejoice too soon. The excuse for Tshombe's appointment is that it will 'unite' the Congo. It may well, for the first time, bring about unity of all the people of the Congo—unity against Tshombe.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

IT IS DIFFICULT for South Africans to think without deep emotion of the passing of Jawaharlal Nehru, whose leadership and sacrifices played so great a part in winning India's independence, and whose personality predominated so powerfully from the birth of Indian liberation until the day of his death.

For us, he was first and foremost the tireless champion of South African freedom. The Nehru government was the first to raise the question of apartheid, as a world problem, at the United Nations; the

first to cut off diplomatic, commercial and other relations with the criminal regime which poses as the government of South Africa.

His advice to the South African Indian community—to follow the Dadoo-Naicker policy of unity in struggle with the African majority for freedom and equal opportunities for all—was of great and healthy significance in defeating the remnants of the bourgeois tendency to compromise with apartheid at the expense of the masses.

Nehru's part in the complicated hurly-burly of Indian politics was controversial. Himself a man of the Left, who did not conceal the debt his thinking owed to Marxism, his anxiety for national unity led him to concessions to the Indian capitalists which many regarded as impermissible and damaging. Although one of the two main pillars of Bandung, his role regarding Tibet and the subsequent border conflict with China laid him open to attack. But none could doubt his sincerity, his patriotism or his devotion to socialism.

One thing we know: we have lost a powerful and good friend of our people. All South Africa joins with the Indian nation in mourning a great man of our time.

BLUEPRINT FOR SLAVERY

BANTU LAWS AMENDMENT ACT 1964

Z. Nkosi

LEGISLATION PASSED during the last two sessions of Parliament has made clearer the Nationalist Government's conception of apartheid. A reading of the Transkei Constitution Act of 1963 and the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964 show that the Government is trying to promote the idea of Bantustan by (a) permitting the exercise of certain limited political rights only in the so-called African homelands and (b) altering the status of all Africans in the so-called White areas of the country to that of temporary migrant labourers.

This is not the place to deal exhaustively with the subject of Bantustan, which has already been discussed in previous issues of this journal. It suffices to say that the whole concept of Bantustan is a myth. So far only the Transkei has been granted what is called limited self-government, and the Government has no immediate plans for the establishment of similar Bantustans in relation to any other section of the African people. Plans which had been put forward for a Zulu Bantustan have been shelved, firstly because of the difficulty of consolidating the various areas occupied by the Zulu people, and secondly because of the unwillingness of the Zulu people to accept the Bantustan proposal. For the remaining sections of the African people there are no prospects of any form of self-government in the realizable future. The Transkei is thus likely to remain a showpiece for the time being—a specimen of a future which is unrealizable not only for the rest of the African people but even for the Xhosa people themselves.

Bantustan, as we have seen it in operation so far, does not mean self-government for the African people in their own areas. In the first place it was foisted on the African people against their will—as was made clear in the first Transkei election, when the overwhelming majority of voters supported anti-apartheid candidates, but were unable to constitute the government of the territory because of the majority of Government-appointed chiefs in the Legislative Assembly. Secondly, any laws passed by the Transkei Legislative Assembly in the limited spheres open to them can be vetoed by the central South African Government, which can also legislate directly in cases where

the Transkei Assembly fails to implement measures as desired by the Minister. The very elections for the Transkei Assembly were held under emergency conditions in terms of which public meetings could only be held with official permission and anybody could be held in jail indefinitely without trial under central Government proclamations 400 and 413 of 1960—a fate which overtook, amongst others, the leader of the People's Party of Eastern Pondoland, Leonard Mdingi, whilst other opposition candidates were refused permission to hold meetings or banned outright by the Minister of Justice under the Suppression of Communism Act. Finally, the powers of the Transkei Government extend only over the African residents of the Transkei—the whites remain citizens of the Republic and subject only to Republican laws. Never let it be said that while a Nationalist Government was in power in South Africa, any White man anywhere had to take orders from or be subject to the laws of a Black man!

This, then, is not what the ordinary man understands by self-government. Yet even if it were, it applies only to the 3½ million Xhosa people, while for the remaining 8 million Africans it remains merely a promise—one of the many promises made but never carried out by successive White Governments, and in return for which the African people have had to make immediate sacrifices of their existing rights. In 1936, when the African voters in the Cape were taken off the common roll, they were promised in return that 13 per cent of the total land area of South Africa would be reserved for their exclusive occupation. Approximately 30 per cent of this 13 per cent had still to be acquired by the Native Trust when the Africans were deprived of any representation in the South African Parliament by the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959. In 1964 there were still 2,031,095 morgen¹ of land to be acquired for African occupation in terms of the 1936 legislation when under the Bantu Laws Amendment Act the Africans were deprived of their citizenship rights in the so-called White areas of South Africa.

BANTUSTAN 'THEORY'

The theory behind the Bantu Laws Amendment Act is that in return for political rights in 'their own areas', the Africans must forfeit their claim to political rights in the White areas. This is a fair exchange and no robbery, claim the Nationalist Government. In fact it is barefaced theft not only of African property but also of their basic human rights.

The Nationalists claim that the reservation of 87 per cent of the

¹ 1 morgen: 2.1 acres: 0.84 hectare (approximately).

land of South Africa for non-Africans, mainly Whites, is historically justified. The areas reserved for African occupation are basically those occupied by the Africans when Black and White had their first confrontation in the eighteenth century, they say. South Africa was entered by the White man in the south and the Black man in the north at approximately the same time, the argument goes; therefore the Black man has no intrinsic claim to any of the 87 per cent of the land reserved for non-Africans by the law.

That this argument is demonstrably false has been proved beyond dispute in a recent paper by Professor Monica Wilson, head of the Department of African Studies in the University of Cape Town, who quotes *inter alia* the records of Portuguese sailors to show that Africans were in occupation of a considerable area of South Africa at present reserved for non-Africans long before the landing of Van Riebeeck in 1652. Van Riebeeck's own diary notes the presence of the Khoi-Khoin (or Hottentots) and strandlopers, etc., when the Dutch founded their first settlement. In terms of the Nats' 'first come first served' argument, should not this warrant the reservation of the whole of the Western Cape for the Coloured people? South Africa was by no means an 'empty' land in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As the Whites pushed further and further into the interior, they clashed again and again with groups and tribes of indigenous people. The Whites gained their ultimate ascendancy by brute force and conquest, in the course of which the majority of the land occupied by the African people was taken from them and they themselves were penned in the areas which eventually came to be known as the reserves. There is absolutely no justification, either historical or moral, for attempting to restrict the land and citizenship rights of 70 per cent of the people of South Africa to 13 per cent of the land.

Nor does the theory of Bantustan in any way correspond with the facts of life in present-day South Africa. Total territorial separation of Black and White is not and never will be possible. Right now two-thirds of the African people are resident, not in the reserves, but in the 'non-African' areas, mostly working on the White man's farms, down his mines or in his industries and homes. Even the Tomlinson Commission set up to consider whether the concept of Bantustan was practicable estimated that if the Reserves were developed to full capacity they would accommodate 10 million Africans by 1987, of whom 2 million would be dependent on wages earned in the European areas by 500,000 migratory workers. But the Tomlinson Commission estimated that in addition to the 10 million in the reserves, six million Africans would still be living in White South Africa, half of them on the farms and half in the towns. And it should be remembered that

the Tomlinson Commission based all its calculations on the idea that the three protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland would eventually be incorporated in South Africa—even then giving the Africans, who by the inclusion of the protectorate populations would form more than 70 per cent of the total population of ‘greater South Africa’, only 45 per cent of the total land area. Inadequate as even the Tomlinson Commission report was, it was scrapped by the Nationalist Government, who refused to spend the amount of money recommended by the Commission, and rejected the recommendation that White capital should be allowed into the reserves to stimulate economic development. The Government has finally been compelled to recognize now that the independence of the protectorates is in the offing, that their incorporation in South Africa is no longer on the agenda.

The true concept of Bantustan, as revealed through the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964, is that the African reserves should remain reservoirs of cheap labour for the White man’s economy, and that the Black man should be admitted into the White area of South Africa only to the extent that he is required to serve the needs of that economy. For the very essence of the Act is that it destroys the *right* of any African to a permanent home in 87 per cent of his country—and we can ignore for the moment the fact that even in ‘his own areas’ no African has either a right of freehold land ownership or security of person, land tenure or movement.

There is no room here to analyse in detail this 117-page, 101-clause Act. Suffice to say that it places the lives of every African man, woman and child in South Africa outside the reserves at the mercy of the Government, its Bantu Administration Department and its hordes of officials all over the country.

‘PEACE OFFICER’

All Africans in employment outside the reserves will come under the authority of labour bureaux, both in town and in country areas. The officer in charge of a labour bureau will be designated a ‘peace officer’ and will have powers of arrest and to search premises. Previously, any African who had been born in a proclaimed area (generally an urban area) and had worked there continuously, or who had worked for one employer for ten years or more or for more than one employer for fifteen years and who had no serious conviction against him, had an automatic right of residence in that area and could be removed only by order of the Minister or the Governor-General acting under the Native Administration Act of 1927.

Under the new Act this right of residence is abolished. ‘Proclaimed’

areas will cease to exist and the labour bureau machinery will control all aspects of the employment of Africans outside the African areas. The officer in charge of a labour bureau may refuse to sanction the employment of any African, or may cancel his service contract for a variety of reasons. The African may be endorsed out, for example, if the official finds that the service contract with the African is not *bona fide* (whatever that means); or if the African refuses to submit himself to medical examination by a medical officer or, having been medically examined, is 'not passed as healthy and vaccinated as prescribed or is found to be suffering from venereal disease or from tuberculosis or from some other ailment or disease which in the opinion of the medical officer is dangerous to public health'.

In other words, an unhealthy African must not be allowed to work in a White area, but must be packed off with his disease back to his 'homeland', where he can rot and die in peace as far as the bureau officer is concerned, so long as the White man is not disturbed. This is indeed something new in public health control—not to provide medical attention, but to deprive the invalid of his right to work and remove him from the prescribed area as quickly as possible.

But perhaps the most dangerous power of the labour bureau officer is that he can refuse an African employment if he is satisfied 'that such employment or continued employment impairs or is likely to impair the safety of the state or of the public or of a section thereof or threatens or is likely to threaten the maintenance of public order'. The only safeguard, and that a slender one, is that the Secretary (for Bantu Administration) must concur in any such refusal or cancellation of a permit. But what the clause means is that in future any person regarded by the Government as an 'agitator' can be summarily endorsed out of town. Nobody who effectively opposes any aspect of Government policy will have any security of home or job in a White area. The White Paper admitted 'it will be possible to invoke this paragraph in the case of foreign Bantu with subversive political aims'. It fails to add that local Bantu are also affected.

The right of an African to 'carry on any work on his own account in any remunerative activity or as an independent contractor' is also in the gift of a labour bureau official. We know that it is Government policy to discourage Africans setting up in business on their own account in the White areas, for the whole purpose of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act is to create a cheap African labour force for the White economy, not to help in the establishment of an African bourgeoisie or petty-bourgeoisie. It has been Government policy for some time that no African should be allowed to run more than one business in an urban area and that no African should be allowed to open a business

in an African location if the needs of the people could be satisfied by an existing White-owned business. By holding out the illusion that opportunities exist for economic development in the 'homelands', the Government wants to take the opportunity to eliminate the competition or potential competition of the African in the White areas of the country.

In addition to this stringent limitation of African business rights in the African urban locations, it is also provided in the Act that no African may carry on any trade or business as a hawker, pedlar, dealer or speculator in livestock or produce, or any street trade or business which the Minister may specify in a prescribed area outside an African residential area unless he has the permission of the local authority, which itself may not grant such permission unless the Minister has authorised it to do so.

The Act gives the Government power to channel African labour in certain directions. The Minister may decide that a municipal labour bureau shall have no jurisdiction over Africans in certain categories of employment (e.g., the mining industry). In such cases their employment will be controlled instead by the district labour bureau, which is more directly a creature of the Government. Regulations may be issued defining areas in which no Bantu labourers may be recruited, or in which no recruited labour may be employed. These regulations could be used for the enforcement of the lunatic 'Eiselen line' policy of driving Africans from the Western Cape, which the Government hopes to build up as a bastion against African nationalism by restricting its occupation to Whites and Coloureds only.

Under previous legislation Africans not permitted to work in a proclaimed area could be ordered to leave and not return. Under the new Act they may be referred to an 'aid centre' or to the district labour officer. They may then be offered work in the same area or any other area, or may, 'with due regard to the family ties or other obligations or commitments of such Bantu' be ordered to leave the prescribed area with their dependants and sent to their 'home or last place of residence, or to a *settlement, rehabilitation scheme or any other place indicated by such Bantu affairs commissioner or officer*'. (My italics).

Thus an unemployed African may be sent to a settlement, rehabilitation scheme or *any other place* indicated by a minor government official, for no other crime than that he is unemployed. This provides the legal basis for forced labour and the establishment of labour camps at any time. That this is not outside the thinking of the Government was revealed during the 1960 emergency, when 20,000 Africans were swept up by the police and sent off, sometimes in chains, to forced labour in various parts of the country. At that time action was taken

against the Africans in terms of emergency regulations published in terms of the Public Safety Act. In future, any action the Government may contemplate will be provided for in advance by the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964.

What are these 'aid centres' to which the Act refers? As the Bill was originally worded, it created the fear that these 'aid centres' would be little different from concentration camps, where unemployed Africans could be confined indefinitely until they were either placed in employment or endorsed out of the prescribed area. Sensitive to this criticism, the Minister stated in the White Paper that an 'aid centre will be no gaol and a Bantu will not be compulsorily detained therein'. But the criticism persisted, and the Minister was obliged to insert a provision in the Act to the effect that nothing in that section could be construed as 'authorising the detention of a Bantu in an aid centre'.

But still the Act is ambiguous. Africans who are arrested or convicted on charges of having contravened such provisions of laws and regulations relating to service contracts, reference books, presence in urban areas, etc., as the Minister may specify, may be admitted to aid centres. Courts may be held there. Those arrested without warrant may not be detained for longer than forty-eight hours unless a warrant for their further detention is obtained. Persons brought to aid centres may be released without charges being brought against them, or be released on bail, or be brought before a court. All these exceptions imply that an African may be forcibly detained in an aid centre at least for some length of time. And in any case, if it is illegal for an African to be anywhere else except in an aid centre (if he is unemployed and without a permit to hold work), then it is hypocrisy to pretend that the Act does not authorise the detention of an African in an aid centre.

'IDLE OR UNDESIRABLE PERSONS'

A considerable section of the Act is devoted to the treatment of so-called 'idle or undesirable' persons. An 'idle' person is defined in a number of clauses, some of which are taken over from Section 29 of the old Urban Areas Act, some of which are new. An African may be deemed 'idle' if he 'has been discharged from employment for any reason personal to himself on more than three occasions over any period of one year'. An 'undesirable' person is, *inter alia*, anyone who has been convicted of possessing an unlicensed firearm or of malicious injury to municipal property, or if he is convicted of certain *political* offences under the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Criminal Laws Amendment Act of 1953 (outlawing passive resistance), the Unlawful Organizations Act of 1960 (banning the A.N.C. and P.A.C.) or the General Law Amendment (Sabotage) Act of 1962.

An African arrested as 'idle or undesirable' must be brought before a Bantu Affairs Commissioner within seventy-two hours. The Bantu Affairs Commissioner, if he confirms that the African is 'idle' or 'disorderly' may order him to take up employment or return home or be detained in any rural village, settlement, rehabilitation scheme, retreat or other place indicated by the Secretary for Bantu Administration in the Reserves, and perform such labour as may be indicated by law. This again opens the way to forced labour and the concentration camp. Further, it opens the way to the continued detention of political prisoners who may have completed their sentence, but who in terms of this Act may be sentenced to an indefinite period of hard labour by a Bantu Affairs Commissioner.

Perhaps the worst feature of the Act, however, is that it is based on the conception that all African labour in the White areas will be migratory, and that family life among Africans in the prescribed areas is something to be discouraged. The Government wants to avoid the creation of a permanently urbanized African proletariat. In future, the gift of marriage and family life in White South Africa will be at the disposal of the labour bureau officer. Migratory labourers, even though married, should preferably be housed in barracks as 'bachelors'—their wives and children should stay in the Reserves.

Under the Act, a wife from the Reserves will have little chance of joining her husband in an urban area. Since the Act covers women as well as men workseekers, she must obtain permission to be allowed in a prescribed area for more than seventy-two hours, she must get permission to be in the same area as her husband, and accommodation must be available for her. She will only be able to live together with her husband in the same house if all these conditions are fulfilled to the satisfaction of the labour bureau—if they both have the right permits, and the local authority provides them with married quarters.

Not even those families already established in the towns are safe. At any moment for any of the variety of reasons set out in the Act, some of which have been mentioned in this article, a man or a woman may lose the right to remain in the area and be endorsed out. A wife may be sent out with her children and the husband be left on his own as a 'bachelor'. Nor is this something fanciful and far-fetched. It is happening every day in South Africa and has been happening for years. Husbands are separated from wives and parents from children. Families are destroyed at the stroke of a bureaucratic pen. In some cases even the act of conception is only possible by permission of the labour bureau, which may grant a woman permission to join her husband in an urban area for a short period for the purposes of procreation.

THINGS, NOT PEOPLE

The monstrous callousness of this provision of the Act roused a storm of protest in South Africa, but left the Nationalists unmoved. During the debate in Parliament, Nationalist M.P.s treated the whole matter with amusement. Back-benchers jeered and said Africans should not get married if they wanted to avoid these problems. The Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration said: 'Both the husband and the wife will have had prior knowledge of the implications of the step they have taken and will have to suffer the consequences'. This from a supposedly Christian Government which acknowledges the sovereignty and guidance of Providence in the constitution is perhaps the final proof that in the eyes of the Nationalists the Africans are to be treated as things, not people; as 'interchangeable labour units', statistics, figures, not warm flesh and blood with desires, hopes and fears like any other people.

Control of Africans in the White towns is paralleled in the Act by control of Africans in the White rural areas. The Government is given the power to determine the number of Africans that may be employed on any farm and the conditions of their employment. Regulations govern the position of squatters and labour tenants. White farmers may be refused permission to employ African labourers and may be directed to consider the availability of non-African labour—again a provision which may be used to help enforce the Eiselen line in the Western Cape.

If in the Minister's opinion the congregation of Africans on any land, or the situation of their accommodation, or their presence in any area they traverse for the purpose of congregating, is causing a nuisance to persons resident in the vicinity, or if the Minister considers it undesirable, having regard to the locality of any land, that Africans should congregate on it, he may prohibit the owner of the land from allowing Africans to reside or congregate thereon. With memories of the agitation over the 'church clause' of the 1957 Native Laws Amendment Act no doubt in mind, the Minister had the wit to exclude church and religious services from the provisions of this clause.

It has been possible in this article to mention only some of the more obnoxious of the clauses in the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964. But enough has been set out to indicate that this Act represents the culmination of Nationalist policy towards the Africans, the final denial to them of any rights of citizenship, the conversion of a majority of South Africa's people into foreigners in their own land. The whole concept would be ludicrous if it were not so tragic, for there is nothing comic about human suffering, and the implementation of this Act can only bring ruin and misery to the Africans in the White

dominated 87 per cent of the country, not to mention the remaining millions left to rot in the poverty-stricken 13 per cent which are to be the African 'homelands'.

The Bantu Laws Amendment Act, part of Verwoerd's final solution for the African people, is as unacceptable to world opinion as Hitler's final solution for the Jews. Even non-Nationalist Whites could not fail to express their disgust and indignation at this Bill. All churches except the Dutch Reformed Church voiced their protest. Meetings and demonstrations were held in many centres. Chambers of commerce and industry passed resolutions deploring the Bill. United Party members of Parliament called it 'slave labour' and Sir de Villiers Graaff, pointing at the Nationalist benches, said: 'If we are faced with a revolution in the future, there are the guilty men'. The *Rand Daily Mail* editorialized: 'For its callous disregard of human rights and dignity, its gross racial arrogance and its sheer political folly, the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill is a rare achievement even for a Government which has specialized in such legislative horrors . . . its only effect will be negative; not social surgery at all but social mutilation from which one day all South Africa will bleed'.

As for the African people themselves, the passage of this Bill can only help to convince them, if they are not already convinced, that the time for talking and pleading with the Nationalist Government has passed. The time has come to fight, just as Hitler's victims had to fight. The Verwoerd lunatics are beyond the reach of reason and argument. The solution for them is the same as that which was necessary for Hitler—they must be driven into their final bunker and destroyed so that South Africa may be freed and cleansed of the poison of apartheid. The Rivonia trial and subsequent events show that the people of South Africa are more and more refusing to live as slaves and are taking the road of struggle towards the future—a road which may be hard and bitter, but is the only one which can lead them to a South Africa in which all people can live in harmony on the basis of equal rights for all.

THE UNITED ARAB REPUBLIC

A Bastion of Anti-Colonialism

Desmond Buckle

IN RECENT YEARS Cairo, the ancient capital of the United Arab Republic, has won recognition throughout Africa as an impregnable fortress in the struggle against imperialism. It has provided refuge for



many of the heroic leaders of the African peoples who have been temporarily driven into exile and has gained renown as a strongpoint from which these leaders—in some cases far from the lands of their birth—are able to continue the fight for the liberation of their peoples.

Cairo is often the venue of historic conferences and meetings of the peoples of Asia and Africa at which plans are adopted for the final eradication of colonialism and for the defence of the newly-independent nations against the intrigues and machinations of the imperialists and neo-colonialists.

It is just and proper that Cairo should be so highly esteemed in the struggle against colonialism for, as Comrade Khrushchov recently noted, the United Arab Republic (Egypt) was the first to raise the banner of revolutionary struggle on the African continent and to bring it to a victorious conclusion. In expelling foreign occupation troops from its territory, nationalizing the banks and the Suez Canal, Egypt set a shining example for the Arab and African peoples in the struggle for national liberation.

Since 1952 Egypt has been engaged in carrying out measures designed to uproot from her territory all vestiges of colonialism, end the privileges enjoyed by the rich and to prepare the basis for a happier and more dignified life for millions of the fellahin and their families.

A highly significant stage in this struggle was reached towards the end of March this year with the elections for a new National Assembly, the proclamation of a Provisional Constitution by President Nasser and the formation of a new Council of Ministers.

In the elections held on March 10 and 19, no fewer than 1,748 candidates stood for election in 175 electoral districts.

It had been decreed that of the 350 members of the new Assembly at least half would have to be workers or small farmers owning not more than twenty-five acres of land. Candidates had to be members of the sole political party, the Arab Socialist Union, and before being approved had to show that they did not own more than £E.10,000, were not former owners of land or real estate whose property had been nationalized, and were not in any way connected with former regimes. They had also to undertake not to make any promises to voters and not to submit programmes of their own.

The Arab Socialist Union, with a membership of between 4 million and 5 million, replaced the National Union which was dissolved with the secession of Syria on September 28, 1961.

In a broadcast statement analysing the political mistakes which had led to the secession of Syria, President Nasser declared:

‘We over-estimated our power and our potentialities, while under-estimating those of reaction. As a result we came to terms with the

reactionaries while they were secretly plotting with imperialism. . . . We have suffered a serious setback in the organization of the people through opening the gates of the National Union to reactionary forces. That was why the leaders of the National Union in Syria became the leaders of the reactionary coup of September 28. It is now our task to re-organize this body on a genuinely popular and revolutionary basis . . .'

The Act of December 7, 1962, by which the Arab Socialist Union was established, provided for 6,000 basic units in villages, towns, factories with fifty or more workers, large companies, universities, schools, and hospitals. These basic units sent delegates to district councils, above which were provincial councils, while at the head of the pyramid was a 'Grand National Congress' of the Union. Each basic unit was to meet once every four months and elect once every two years a committee which would meet at least twice a month. The 'Grand National Congress' would have annual sessions and elect, every six years, a general committee from which the supreme party organ, the Supreme Executive Committee, would be appointed. The main objective of the Arab Socialist Union is stated to be the 'realization of the socialist revolution'.

STEPS TOWARDS NATIONALIZATION

For several months before the organization of the Arab Socialist Union measures were being adopted and were being carried out aimed at transforming the national economy on to a socialist basis.

Prior to July 1961, the State owned the railways, the power system and a small number of other public utilities. In 1957 and 1958, the banks and insurance companies were Egyptianized, but not nationalized.

On July 20, 1961, the nationalization in whole or in part of over 400 private firms, including banks, insurance companies, and manufacturing and trading concerns was decreed by President Nasser. In the process all banks and insurance companies (seventy-one in all) were nationalized outright. Another ninety-eight concerns (seventy-five in Egypt and twenty-three in Syria) were also nationalized, including hotel and marine companies, and timber, steel and cement industries. A further eighty-two companies (seventy in Egypt and twelve in Syria) were transformed into joint-stock companies with a State holding of at least 50 per cent of their share capital. Most of them were firms in the building industry, department stores and other trading companies, cotton-ginning companies, and oil companies. Among these were the British-owned Anglo-Egyptian Oilfields Company and Philips Orient, a subsidiary of the Dutch Philips Company. It was provided that the Government might make any staff changes it desired in the companies

affected, including changes in the membership of the boards of directors.

Shareholdings by private individuals or companies in other companies were restricted to a maximum of £E10,000 in Egypt and £S100,000 in Syria, the Government taking over that proportion of shareholdings in excess of these amounts. This decree affected 147 companies in Egypt and eleven in Syria, particularly textile and tobacco firms.

Cotton export companies allowed to continue to function were to be converted into joint-stock companies with a capital of £E200,000 each and a Government holding of at least 50 per cent.

Expropriated firms or shareholders would receive compensation in the form of 4 per cent Government bonds repayable after fifteen years.

On October 21, 1961, Mr. Zakaria Mohieddin, the Minister of the Interior, announced the sequestration of the property of 167 'capitalist reactionaries' who had 'exploited different classes of people'. These included many of the wealthiest industrialists, financiers and land-owners in Egypt who had been caught smuggling their property out of the country or were evading social legislation and tax regulations.

Nearly a year passed and then it was the turn of the shipping and ship repairing firms operating in Alexandria and the Suez Canal Zone to come under the nationalization hammer. Some 100 shipping agencies, cargo-handling companies and three ship-repair yards were affected by the measure, including five British firms as well as Egyptian, Greek, Italian, American and German companies.

Thus far a wide field of light industry remained unaffected by nationalization. But the immunity of firms in this category was not to last long. By presidential decree on August 12, 1963, a large number of these firms were brought under State control and the contracts and licences from private firms carrying on mining and quarrying operations (but not oil-drilling) were cancelled.

The newly-nationalized companies, both Egyptian and foreign-owned, included firms producing textiles, foodstuffs, cigarettes, soap, detergents, scent, fertilizers, paper, building materials, glass, chemicals, paint, batteries, rubber, metal and plastic goods, as well as breweries, distilleries, tanneries, printing works, and smaller transport enterprises not already nationalized by earlier decrees.

LAND REFORM

Earlier in the year a law had been approved by the Presidential Council forbidding foreigners (with the exception of Palestinian Arabs) to own 'cultivable, fallow or desert' agricultural land. It was estimated that by this measure 99,000 acres still in foreign ownership were taken over

by the Agrarian Reform Organization for distribution to small farmers and landless peasants, compensation to the former owners being payable in fifteen-year 4 per cent bonds.

The country's 167 flour-mills and 78 rice-mills, hitherto only half State-owned, were completely nationalized, and all pharmaceutical factories and distributing firms and all road transport firms were similarly dealt with. Thus by the end of 1963 virtually all important industries in Egypt had been brought under direct Government control.

Towards the end of 1952, the first Agrarian reform law was promulgated. It fixed a limit of 200 feddans (1 feddan=1.038 acres) as the maximum individual ownership of agricultural land. The same law authorized landlords to concede to their children another 100 feddans (fifty feddans to each child, with a maximum of 100 feddans for all the children of each landlord). The excess holdings were re-distributed among landless peasants with a maximum of five feddans each. In July 1961 this law was amended, reducing the maximum of individual ownership to 100 feddans.

The present cultivated area—almost equal to the inhabited area—is about 6 million feddans, which represent the main field of occupation and source of income for the existing 26 million Egyptians. Before 1952, about 1,176,801 feddans or 19.7 per cent of the cultivable area, were owned by 2,136 individuals (or 0.6 per cent of total land-owners). On the other hand, 2,121,864 feddans (35.5 per cent) were owned by as many as 2,641,878 persons or 94 per cent of total land-owners.

The first agrarian reform resulted in the Government taking over about 500,000 feddans of excess holdings. According to the new agrarian reform an estimated 300,000 feddans of excess holdings will be available for distribution. The following table shows the distribution of land ownership in 1952 (before the first agrarian reform), in 1961 (before the second agrarian reform) and an estimate for the situation after the distribution of lands which are available in accordance with the second agrarian reform.

The land available for redistribution (after the two agrarian reforms) totalled 954,505 feddans consisting of excess holdings, Wakf land (religious endowment system abolished in 1952) and confiscated property.

By the end of 1961, nearly 345,600 feddans had been allocated to 135,174 families. Taking into account the excess land disposed of by landlords according to the law (i.e. transferred to landlord's children, with a ceiling of 100 feddans per family), the total land re-distributed among 170,174 families reached 490,298 feddans. Thus the redistribu-

tion of the land directly taken over by the State was on the basis of about 2.5 feddans per landless family.

CHANGES IN LAND OWNERSHIP 1952-1961

(Numbers = thousand owners) (Area, in thousands of feddans)

Holdings	1951		1961 (estimate)		After July 1961 (estimate)	
	Number of Owners	Area Owned	Number of Owners	Area Owned	Number of Owners	Area Owned
Less than 5 feddans	2,642	2,122	2,870	2,660	2,920	3,040
5-10	79	526	79	530	79	530
10-50	69	1,291	69	1,300	69	1,300
50-100	6	429	11	630	11	630
100-200	3	437	3	450	5	500
Over 200	2	1,117	2	430	—	—
Total	2,801	5,982	3,034	6,000	3,084	6,000

(Source: *The Economic Bulletin of the National Bank of Egypt*, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1962.)

The Land Fragmentation Project aims at consolidating the dispersed agricultural holdings into comparatively larger plots, thus allowing for the efficient implementation of crop rotation.

The preliminary figures of the 1961 agricultural census reveal that holdings below three feddans constitute about 70 per cent of the total holdings. Originally it was envisaged that the project would cover all 'fragmented' holdings within ten years, but the duration has been reduced to five years. The scheme was put into operation in 1960-61 in 104 villages covering an area of 150,000 feddans. In 1961-62, it was implemented in 1,218 villages covering 1.7 million feddans (one-third of the total cultivated area).

VOLUNTARY CO-OPERATION

There is no legal obligation on the farmers to apply the fragmentation project. The project is based on the willingness of the farmers to gain the benefits of the scheme, and the assurance that its application does not affect their property rights or any other rights.

The consolidated agricultural holdings are cultivated through the organization of plots into divisions according to the crop rotation and as such the holder may plant several crops in the different divisions of the plot—at the same time—through exchange with other holders. Each holder is responsible for the services required for his various crops, and his profit is the net return of his cultivation. An agricultural engineer is assigned to one village or more. Local committees each headed by the agricultural engineer are formed to undertake in the villages the agricultural policy determined by the Ministry of Agriculture. Regional committees are formed in the provinces including representatives of all Government departments and offices which are concerned with the implementation of this project.

All farmers are required to join local co-operatives, which are under the control of the Ministry of Agriculture, in order to implement the agricultural policy. These co-operatives provide farmers during certain periods with seeds, fertilizers and agricultural machinery, besides marketing the agricultural crops and distributing the net yield among the holders.

. . . Expected benefits: avoiding the harmful repercussions of cultivating simultaneously different crops near each other; organizing the control of pests on a large scale by using modern methods and mechanical methods; organizing irrigation and drainage, thus allowing for more water for irrigation; facilitating the provision of agricultural services and controlling their application to specific purposes; and allowing for the use of agricultural machinery—which may be obtained through the co-operatives—on a large scale.

It was, indeed, a tribute well earned by the Egyptian people when Comrade Khrushchov, addressing a vast crowd of them on May 10 this year in Cairo stadium, said:

‘The present generation of Egyptian people can be justly proud not only of their ancient culture but also of the new things they are creating with their own hands: the developing modern industry and agriculture, the progress of culture, the new elements which are emerging in social and economic life

‘The nationalization of banks, large industrial enterprises and monopolies concerned with foreign trade, the establishment of a state sector in the economy, the land reform and the development of co-operation in agriculture—all this speaks louder than any words of the fact that the people of the United Arab Republic have rejected the capitalist system of oppression and exploitation and have risen to the struggle for their social emancipation.’

The speech was, of course, on the occasion of the completion of the first phase of the building of the Aswan High Dam, towards which

Soviet assistance is making a major contribution. When completed, this dam will effect a major transformation in Egypt's economy. It will add one million feddans to the cultivated area, control the Nile water and prevent devastating floods. It will also generate 10 milliard kilowatts of electric energy, multiplying the present power production by six times. This vast project is symbolic of the new and vigorous life burgeoning in Egypt's ancient land. It is pleasing indeed to note that the occasion was marked also by the release of the imprisoned Marxist patriots whom prejudices, buttressed by reactionary survivals and misunderstandings, had hitherto prevented from making the important contribution of which they are capable towards the building of the new Egypt.

THE APARTHEID ECONOMY TODAY

P. Tlale

SOUTH AFRICA'S ECONOMY has been going through what is claimed to be an unprecedented boom over the past two and a half years. The gross national income, which measures the value of the total output of goods and services, is estimated to have risen by an annual rate of 10 per cent since 1962. New private investment in plant and equipment as well as in construction went up by 12 per cent in 1963. Manufacturing production also rose by 12 per cent last year. The domestic expansion has been accompanied by a considerable measure of price stability and with little or no pressure on the country's balance of payments or on the reserves of gold and foreign exchange.

This economic performance has taken place against a background of increasing political difficulties and crisis for the Verwoerd regime. The threats of complete isolation, including all-embracing international sanctions, have markedly increased. Inside the country the resistance of the people has been intensified and as a measure of this resistance, the authorities have instituted the most far-reaching measures of repression on the liberation movement.

In ordinary circumstances these difficulties and crises would have further shaken the confidence of the country's capitalists, forcing them into policies of economic retrenchment, and to try to remove their capital to some haven of refuge abroad. Indeed, these were precisely the courses which South Africa's businessmen took after Sharpeville, and which precipitated the slump in the economy at the time. However, this has not happened now. Rather, the economy seems to have displayed what is variously described as an 'impressive resilience' to political crises; it has been expanding at rates higher than in previous post-war periods of boom, and most certainly higher than the rates of growth in most other capitalist countries in recent years. It is this experience which has given cause to Western commentators and other apologists of apartheid to draw exaggerated and superficial conclusions about the strength of the apartheid economy and to declare as one recent report put it, 'the great strength of the state and the growing strength of the economy will help to keep trouble under control'. (*Guardian*, March 25, 1964).

FOLLOWING THE NAZI MODEL

The South African boom, however impressive the official statistics, is by no means the outcome of any autonomous resurgence in economic activity following the post-Sharpeville slump. Rather, the recent economic expansion has been forced upon an otherwise ailing economy by the purposeful pursuit of economic policies not very different in content to those employed by Hitler in the 1930's to reconstruct and organise the German economy along fascist lines. Like Hitler, Verwoerd has imposed the most far-reaching controls and regimentation on the country's labour force: today virtually every aspect of African life and labour is subject to the severest control and direction; the little bargaining power which the African worker possessed has been systematically wittled away by the virtual destruction of organised trade unionism among the African working class.

Next, the authorities have extended and intensified the scope of state-private monopoly co-operation over a large and growing field of industry and trade, aiming in this way to secure a degree of national economic self-sufficiency. While this is the direct result of growing international movements for sanctions against South Africa, it is significant that the main imperialist interests abroad have joined with the Verwoerd regime to develop the South African apartheid economy by pumping in fresh capital and in other ways. All this bears a striking parallel to developments in Hitlerite Germany: the Nazi monopolies joined with interests in the United States and Britain to create giant international cartels and trusts which gave added economic strength and support to German fascism and Hitler's aggressive war policies and aims.

Pursuing the Nazi parallel further, the Verwoerd regime has placed South Africa in an iron framework of tight controls over the whole gamut of foreign trade, exchange and the movement of capital. By freezing the outflow of funds from the country, the authorities have forced into local employment and investment the big pool of idle and funk capital which has been trying to get abroad. But these controls have not impeded the inflow of new capital from the imperialist countries, for, as the South African Reserve Bank has pointed out recently, 'there is no evidence to suggest that the new restrictions on the outflow of capital had, in themselves, significantly discouraged new foreign investments'.

By far the most significant of the factors explaining the boom is the new emphasis on the South African *Wehrwirtschaft*—the war economy. The large and growing programme of armaments expenditure is proving to be a decisive factor in the current economic expansion, changing the country's industrial structure, adding new industries to the overall

industrial complex and giving new impetus to the growing concentration of economic power in the engineering and heavy industries. The *Wehrwirtschaft* has added a new dimension to the scope and scale of state-private capital co-operation. The war economy is also absorbing an ever-larger proportion of European man-power in the war industries, the armed services, the police and Special Branch and in the bloated bureaucracy of the apartheid state.

That these economic policies should be based on the Nazi pattern is no accident. Nor is it surprising. For in its present condition of deepening contradiction and crisis, only by a fuller-scale use of the fascist techniques of economic control and direction is it now possible for the Verwoerd regime to maintain untrammelled the vast system of colonial-type exploitation that goes by the name of apartheid. These techniques have their necessary complement in the political field: the heavy machinery of the police state for the repression of the African resistance movement and all opponents of apartheid. The South African state has in the process become more overtly and explicitly an instrument of the big mining and industrial monopolies, who with the farming and foreign imperialist interests combine to secure the maximum profits and wealth out of the exploitation of the African labouring masses. Thus, the deep and profound contradictions besetting the apartheid economy are only being temporarily resolved by its resorting to the economic and political instruments fashioned by the Nazis; it is this which for the moment provides the conditions for the current boom. This is not a sign of 'economic strength'. Rather, it reflects a deepening of the all-round crisis in the country.

LABOUR REGIMENTATION AND AFRICAN POVERTY

The contradictions and conflicts between the colonialist type of economy which the policies of apartheid are designed to sustain in the interests of the white exploiters and the general process of capitalist accumulation in the current phase of the South African boom is nowhere more clearly revealed than in the continued poverty of African incomes and living standards. The many laws controlling the movement and employment of African labour culminating in the 1964 Bantu Laws Amendment Act all have the purpose of freezing this poverty at levels providing the maximum rates of exploitation—a necessary requirement for the apartheid economy.

The regulation and control of African labour has been basic to the South African economy ever since gold was discovered on the Rand in the 1880's. The Pass Laws have for long provided the apparatus for this purpose. But with each new economic crisis, these laws were superseded by other measures, regulating more tightly the flow and movement of labour from the reservoirs of the unemployed and desti-

tute peasants confined as they have conveniently been in the little pockets of 'reserves' or 'Bantustans' (as they have been more recently described) strewn in different parts of the country. The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952, which instituted the policy of 'influx control' on African labour, arose out of the crises caused in apartheid economy by the war and early post-war integration of the African people in the industrial and urban life of the country. This integration not only threatened to undermine the system of cheap labour that was maintained in the interests of the gold mining monopolies and the white farmers, but created the conditions for the rapid development of a cohesive and organised African working class taking a leading place in the movement for national liberation and freedom.

Now, as a new critical situation opens for the apartheid economy, the further regimentation and control of the African people finds its expression in the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, adopted this year. This law codifies some eleven previous Acts. Under its provisions, the Minister of 'Bantu Administration and Development' becomes the supreme dictator over the use of African labour. He determines the areas from which Africans will be recruited, the number of Africans who may be employed in any defined area, the location of industries in which they may be employed and the employers for whom they may work. He will have the power to create labour camps to which displaced and unemployed Africans will be sent. His 'labour bureaux' will detain unemployed Africans and move them about the country *ad lib* or expel them back to the reserves. Youth camps for Africans under the age of 21 years will be created from which a new pool of labour will be built up for the needs of the industrial and agricultural apartheid economy. This slave system calls for every contract of service for Africans to be officially registered. And to administer this system the Department of 'Bantu' Administration will now spend some £15 million with a staff of over one thousand. In 1948, the old Department of Native Affairs had a budget of £3 million and a staff of no more than 150.

That this latest apartheid measure should be adopted at the present time is itself significant. This law is certainly part of Verwoerd's grand design to make permanent the rule of white supremacy through what is euphemistically called 'separate development'. But it also possesses considerable importance for the apartheid economy in its present condition and for Verwoerd's economic aims. At a time of growing outside boycotts and difficulties, the main sources of domestic capital accumulation require to be consolidated and strengthened. And the most vital and central of such sources is the African working population. With aims of securing greater national economic self-

sufficiency under white rule, where and how else can the apartheid economy obtain the necessary surplus for financing capital development at the present time other than by draining from the African people the last drop of the economic values created by their labour? Thus the system of enforced African poverty through arbitrary laws and decrees, requires to be intensified. This is certainly among the purposes of the 'Bantu Laws Amendment Act'.

In a more indirect but no less real sense, the maintenance of African poverty is made necessary also by the large armaments and other economically unproductive expenditure being engaged in by the Verwoerd regime. For these expenditures can only be met from the forced savings generated through maintaining low and virtually subsistence living standards for the non-white masses.¹

The available statistics clearly reflect the policy of enforced poverty for the African people. The Minister of Labour was content last year to declare that unemployment had been reduced to the bare minimum of 1½-2 per cent of the labour force, including the African working population (that is, outside the reserves). This rate of unemployment he regarded as 'reasonable' and as evidence of the expansion of employment arising from the revival of the economy. But there is a vast disparity between the statement of the so-called 'registered' unemployment rate and the degree of non-white unemployment suggested by the population census statistics. According to the 1960 census of population, the unemployment rate was as high as 8-9 per cent for the African working population and as much as 18 per cent for the Asian and Coloured communities in 1963. Earlier last year, the Government's Froneman Commission, investigating the employment of 'foreign' Africans in the Republic, reported that some 500,000 Africans of South African nationality were unemployed (compared to the 'registered' unemployed figure of 33,000). African unemployment calculated on the basis of the census statistics at the time was 334,000. In Durban, the University of Natal, found in a survey that some 26 per cent of the Indian labour force was unemployed. And unemployment is one way of keeping wages and incomes down.

¹ The apologists of apartheid argue that the main source of government revenue comes from taxation and that the bulk of this is paid by the mining industry, capitalist enterprises and the white population. Tax is levied primarily on incomes—profits in the case of the mines and firms, and earnings in other cases. But the primary and more fundamental relationship between government revenue and African poverty arises from the fact that this poverty accounts for the current level of profits and white earnings which the apartheid laws are designed to protect. The greater the rate of African exploitation, the higher is the level of profits and earnings of the privileged class; a proportion of these incomes go to the state in taxation.

While the national income has been steadily rising over much of the post-war years, as also have profits and the earnings of the privileged white population, the earnings of the non-white people have changed little. Indeed, in the mining industry which employs some 400,000 workers, the real earnings of the African workers have actually fallen by some 7 per cent in the period since 1945. In the same period annual cash earnings of white workers (at 1959 prices) rose by over 40 per cent. And in this period the output of gold more than doubled as have the profits of the mining industry.

**Average Cash Earnings in the South African Mining Industry
and Total Production at 1959 Prices**

		<i>£ annually</i>		<i>£ million</i>
		<i>Whites</i>	<i>Non-Whites</i>	<i>Value of Total Mining Production</i>
		—————	—————	—————
1944	790	75	113
1954	1023	71	250
1960	1150	70	428
1961	1200	70	460

Source: 'The Bantu Wage Problem'—South African Journal of Economics June 1962, and Annual Report—Government Mining Engineer, 1962.

And now after some twenty years of wage stagnation—indeed, of decline—for the African mine workers, the Chamber of Mines has announced its intention to grant a wage increase averaging 10 per cent on existing levels. In fact, this increase does little more than offset the decline in real cash earnings that has taken place. The African mine workers will be no better off than before, and their level of cash wages at around £70 a year will continue to reflect the poverty conditions being perpetuated by the mining monopolies. In the meantime mining profits, which reached a record level of £156 million in 1963 (for gold and uranium production alone), have been rising at about 7 per cent a year over the past ten years. And despite this, the South African authorities have announced in their last Budget that State loans and grants, in addition to certain tax concessions, are to be made to the mining industry.

In manufacturing industry, the wage pattern is little different, despite the immense growth of manufacturing production and its important place in the South African economy. There are today some 441,000 Africans employed in private industry. This is more than twice the

number of European industrial workers. According to one estimate,¹ African earnings in industry (calculated at 1959 prices) rose from an annual level of £158 in 1950 to £180 in 1962, or by about 17 per cent. In this period, the value of manufacturing output, as indeed the national income, more than doubled. Even the rise in African earnings in industry calculated at current prices does not match the growth in total incomes in the country. On the other hand the rise in European earnings in manufacturing industry increased by well over one-third in this period. Over a more recent period—the three years between 1959-61—wage disparities became more marked. Compared to the 17 per cent increase in real African earnings over the thirteen years between 1950 and 1962, the rate amounted to less than 11 per cent over the three years from 1959. Over the latter period European earnings maintained the general long-term rate of increase of over 30 per cent. Today the ratio of African to European earnings in private industry is well below what it was in 1925.

White and Non-White Earnings in Private Industry—Annually in £

	(1) Whites	(2) Non-Whites	(2) as a % of (1)
1925-26	205	50	24.6
1938-39	232	56	23.9
1944-45	364	107	29.3
1959-60	957	202	21.1
1960-61	1000	212	21.1

Source: The Economics of the Colour Bar—W. H. Hutt.

The policy of perpetuating African poverty finds dramatic expression in the living conditions of African families in the urban areas as shown in numerous recent surveys. A survey by the University of Natal in 1963 showed that the average income of African families was about three-fifths of the minimum monthly expenditure required for the term 'acceptable' living. Mrs. H. Suzman, the Progressive Party member of Parliament, pointed out in the House of Assembly that while the University of South Africa had disclosed from a survey that £23 was the minimum essential monthly income needed to provide a family of five with the ordinary requirements of life, the average monthly income of Africans was no more than £15. In the Durban area, some 60 per cent of the African families investigated by the University had no breakfast at all while a large number of African school children investigated had nothing to eat whatever until supper time. The poverty of our people is thus not only reflected by the current levels of wages

¹ See Houghton—*The South African Economy*.

and incomes; it reflects itself in widespread malnutrition and disease and in the lack of education and the other basic amenities of life. Instead of living standards rising *pari passu* with the expansion of the country's national income and economy, the labouring African masses have become progressively impoverished and destitute. This is the hallmark of the apartheid economy; for the policy of African regimentation and poverty is the main basis on which the apartheid economy creates its economic surplus and wealth and which now shows a semblance of economic virility.

STATE—BIG BUSINESS PARTNERSHIP

In the past, the South African State was content to leave the main economic decisions concerning the country's industrial development to private capital. Governmental control over investment, the location of industry and its own participation in direct economic activity was kept to the barest minimum. The celebrated war-time reports of the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission (the 'van Eck Commission') pointing out the paucity of official intervention in the economy, recommended that any official economic policy should only allow manufacturing industry to develop as a complement and not in competition to the gold mining and farm industries. And accordingly these reports outlined proposals for more governmental direction in matters of resource allocation but always on the condition that manufacturing production and gold mining should remain 'non-competitive', that is, that they should not compete with each other, for labour and capital. The most that the authorities attempted at the time was to administer and organize tariff protection for a range of South Africa's infant industries. Instead, the authorities concentrated their attention towards creating a super-structure of race segregation which was to ensure the stability of the cheap labour system and strengthen the base of white power (i.e. mining and farming) over the country's labour and other resources. Hence, in so far as previous South African governments possessed an economic policy, this was largely manifested in the vast body of legislation over non-white employment and mobility and in non-white ownership of land and other economic rights. The Government's direct participation in economic activity was limited to running the service and transport industries and in initiating the development of the iron and steel industry.

The role of the apartheid state in the national economy has changed sharply in the past decade. Today, the state is more and more in evidence, not only in directing and controlling the locations and employment of capital but in assisting and participating with private capital in a whole variety of new industries. The Verwoerd Government has

created several giant public corporations to manage and run industries, to join with private capital in starting new ones and generally to create the partnership between the state and big business that characterizes several important sectors of the economy. In 1956 when the new economic policy was commenced the proportion of the Government's (including that of Public Corporations) contribution to total capital formation was about one-third. In 1963, the proportion rose to just under one-half. In 1956 the public corporations alone invested a total of £29 million. In 1963 their rate of investment rose to £61 million. Of this well over £40 million was absorbed in investment in new machinery, plant and equipment. The apartheid state has now become a factor of decisive importance in the economy at large.

The collusion between these public corporations and big business is suggested by the recent example of the Palabora copper mining project in the Eastern Transvaal. The plans for this project involve a capital investment of £37 million—a formidable figure in any context. The capital structure provides for the participation not only of local private capital, but of capital from the South African government and the main imperialist countries abroad. The equity or ordinary share capital is to be divided between the British Rio-Tinto group (of Katanga fame), two American monopolies, Newmont Mining and American Metal Climax, the British Selection Trust and the South African Union Corporation. Together, their capital contribution would amount to about £15 million. From West Germany's semi-state owned Kreditanstalt fur Wiederaufbau comes a fixed interest loan of £9.6 million. Further capital is contributed by the official South African Industrial Development Corporation, and by such well-known apartheid supporting institutions as SANLAM and Volkskas.

Indeed in virtually all the major investment projects undertaken in the past year, as part of what the *Economist* recently described as 'South Africa's second industrial revolution', some state participation or capital investment is planned. This is true of the major new steel undertakings being planned near Witbank (Transvaal) by the Anglo-American Corporation and the new gold mine at Kinross, being established by the Gold Fields Group. The cotton textile plant with a capacity of 30 million yards a year near East London financed largely by British capital has received considerable assistance from the state.

One striking consequence of this development is the gradual demise of the small firm. As big business moves in with the government's blessing and assistance, so has the concentration of economic power increased in the hands of the monopolies. Further, the banks and the mining industry, like the state, are becoming more and more closely associated with South Africa's manufacturing industry. All the old

conflicts between the mines and secondary industry have been effectively reduced by what has been described as the new 'planning' system inaugurated by the Verwoerd regime. A new 'Ministry of Planning' is now to be established along the lines of Hitler's Ministry of Economic Co-ordination. Hitherto, this co-ordination was organized by the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council. Slowly but effectively the small firm and business unit is being pushed out and swallowed up as the industrial and commercial complex becomes dominated by the big monopolies. The last annual report of the Anglo-American Corporation reveals this all too clearly: under the heading, 'expansion and development', the report reviews the steady absorption of several small enterprises over several fields of industry, ranging from hard metals to breweries, and in this way shows up the process of vertical integration that is overtaking the economy.

THE WAR ECONOMY AND EXPANSION

South Africa's armaments expenditure which is now running at some £105 million a year amounts to 5 per cent of the total national income and just under 20 per cent of the total expenditure by the public authorities. Apart from this, the expenditure on the police force has gone up sharply and in the last Budget, the Government announced the creation of two special 'funds', one of £10 million for 'Special Defence Equipment' and the other of £7.5 million to cover, with private capital, the development and production of what is termed 'strategic materials', including oil.

These expenditures are having a marked expansionary effect on the economy. Some £17 million has already been invested, again in co-operation with private capital, for the setting up of a munitions industry. Under official encouragement and assistance, foreign firms are setting up plants in South Africa to produce military aircraft, tanks, military vehicles and several other items of military importance. The growth of an armaments industry has given rise to the increased application of science in industry and to large-scale industrial research, apart from the development of industries providing machine tools and components for armaments. These state expenditures have also led to the absorption of a rising proportion of the white working population in the armed services, the armaments industries and the state bureaucracy.

The cumulative effect of expenditures of this kind on the economy at large are well known. They inject a new category of demand which multiplies itself as secondary incomes and profits rise. The years since 1960, when the armaments programme started have also been the years of economic revival and the expansion of the economy.

THE CRISIS PERSISTS

No economic policy based on apartheid can in fact succeed. The policy of intensified labour regimentation and African poverty designed to increase the rate of profits and of wealth accumulation for the privileged class generates contradictions which are already beginning to reveal themselves. The laws imposing 'influx control' and the dictatorial direction of African labour are creating severe bottlenecks in South African industry. This is now threatening to cut short the boom. Businessmen are beginning to complain that the supply of cheap African labour is being held up by these laws; that the system of enforced poverty and the absence of industrial and educational training for the African masses has created considerable shortages of skilled labour which the inflow of white immigrants cannot satisfy. In any case, businessmen find it cheaper and more profitable to employ Africans in greater number in the present phase of the boom. Very little new development has occurred in the much vaunted 'border areas' surrounding the enclaves of the African reserves or 'Bantustans', and South Africa's capitalists are instead directing their interest in setting up industries in or near the market, which necessarily requires a larger stabilized labour force in the urban areas. Thus, while the bulk of South Africa's capitalist class depend on apartheid for their profits and privileges, they are beginning to see, at least in the context of the current boom, that apartheid narrows and limits their own expansion and impedes the growth of their wealth. This is reflected in the agitation of several capitalist interests for some relaxation in the control of African labour. The Editor of the South African *Financial Mail* recently called for the 'removal of the shackles restricting labour utilization' and suggests that opportunities should be given for non-whites to enter skilled occupations. The chairman of the Cape Midland Chamber of Industries has gone so far as to recommend policies to break what he calls the 'poverty barrier' and suggests that African wages in industry should be stepped up 'by fifty per cent in five stages'.

Another aspect of the contradiction arises from the fact, increasingly appreciated by the capitalist class in secondary industry, that the current depths of African poverty severely limit the process of domestic commodity circulation, and that this insufficiency of so-called 'African purchasing power' tends to put a ceiling not only to the expansion of manufacturing industry as a whole but to the private accumulation of capital. On the other hand while businessmen in general appreciate this fact, they do not themselves take any important initiatives to raise wages or take direct steps to break the 'poverty barrier'. But the contradiction remains. For the moment, the heavy increase in government expenditures as well as the sharp rise in business and public invest-

ment have created the necessary market conditions for the general economic boom to develop. But the objective trend towards overproduction is nevertheless present. This will become sharper as the boom spends itself out. Such a crisis of overproduction, as has happened in the past, will be the result of the official policies of maintaining African poverty.

Another contradiction already visible in the economy is that price stability is giving place to inflationary conditions and that bottlenecks in production are forcing prices up. In the first instance, the shortage of skilled white labour is giving rise to extraordinary pressures for an upward movement in the level of white wages. This is being immediately passed on in price increases. In the second instance, despite the tight controls over trade, the rising volume of overall domestic demand is spilling over into higher imports and this is once again disturbing the fine balance recently achieved in the country's external payments. The current account surplus on the balance of payments fell sharply between the third and fourth quarters of 1963 and there are signs that a deficit is emerging for the first half of 1964. Such a tendency will most certainly lead to a fall in the foreign exchange and gold reserves in the coming months and year.

But these are difficulties of a short-term and not very fundamental nature. More basic is the explosive fact that the South African economy rests on apartheid: a system of ruthless exploitation and oppression of the greater majority of the population—the twelve million non-whites. No firm or lasting economic stability can come from such a system. On the contrary, it can and will erupt at any time and bring the whole apartheid economy crashing to the ground. South Africa's capitalist class realise and understand this at times. Following Sharpeville they were realistic enough to rapidly convert their assets into ready money and to repatriate as much as possible of this abroad. Now, however, under the stimuli of the Hitlerite economic policies of the Verwoerd regime, some semblance of economic stability and expansion has been brought about, masking the deepening political and economic crisis in the country. Subjected to intense exchange controls and attracted by the demands created through the growing volume of overseas investment as well as of the war economy, South Africa's ruling capitalists have again joined with the Verwoerd regime to intensify the rate of African exploitation with all its explosive political and other consequences. But not even the employment of Hitler's techniques of economic control and organization can stop the explosion of the South African crisis. On the contrary, it will hasten it.

The tragedy of the Congo continues. In this article a contributor analyses the crisis from a new angle.

CONGO: THE LEGAL ASPECT

Kgang Dithata

SO MUCH HAS been written about the Congo crisis that it requires courage and some apology to add yet another contribution to the literature on the Congo. The Congo crisis is a political problem—a political tragedy which has many aspects. It can be looked at almost entirely from the aspect of the economic interests of the imperialists in the Congo and hence their attempts and manoeuvres to protect these interests as well as to retain their positions at all costs. It can be looked at as a pure and simple political problem—with the Belgian political aggression, disunity among the Congolese, the disunity among the African States and the inter-imperialist conflict as the main characteristics of this political problem. Some look at the Congo crisis as almost entirely attributable to the manifestation of tribalism and make a simple conclusion that were it not for tribalism, the Congo crisis would not have existed. These various approaches to the problem of the Congo crisis, are in fact, mainly a question of emphasis. The emphasis is laid by some on one aspect, and by others on another aspect and so forth. The only way of getting an insight into the problem, is to examine all the different aspects as parts of one whole and to look at the different approaches as windowlets, so to say, which all together enable us to have a complete or as nearly complete a view as possible of the object of our observation.

In this article, I have devoted attention only to some legal problems connected with the Congo crisis. I have not attempted to embrace the problems in all their complexities. Let us limit our discussion and confine our examination to only three legal problems:

(a) The basis, if any, of U.N. neutrality in the Congo, in relation to both the Central Government of Lumumba and the Secessionist Governments of Katanga and Kasai. That means, we shall inquire whether or not, this

neutrality had any justification in International Law or according to the Charter of the United Nations;

(b) The legal basis, if any, of the allegation that in the attempt to depose of Lumumba, Kasavubu was exercising his constitutional right as provided for in the fundamental Law;

(c) Whether or not it was constitutional for Kasavubu to dissolve parliament, to suspend it, to replace it with people of his choice such as Iléo and Co.

We should discuss these problems for two main reasons: they show how acts which were dictated wholly by political considerations have been given some semblance of legality in order to lend them acceptance; they show how the Central Intelligence Agency led President Kasavubu by the nose to commit acts which were not only contrary to the constitution but which in fact constituted high treason.

U.N. NEUTRALITY

We shall first look at the evolution of the principle of U.N. neutrality in the Congo crisis. On July 14, 1960, the Secretary-General declared that the United Nations was to guarantee democracy in the Congo, by protecting the spokesmen of all different political views—that means, by protecting both Tshombe and his clique, as well as the Central Government.¹ Dr. Ralph Bunche addressing the UNO Command in the Congo declared:

You are here in the Congo, to pacify the Congo and then to administer it.²

Here Bunche was looking at the Congo crisis from long-term American interests, namely, that the U.N. Command was to be some kind of umpire who would neutralize the different contestants and then administer the Congo, such an umpire was of course to be neutral. In the first addendum to the first report, the Secretary-General elaborated this principle of U.N. neutrality.³ On August 8-9, 1960, the third Security Council resolution sponsored by the Afro-Asian group, included this principle in paragraph 4. Dayal in his letter to Kasavubu dated January 17, 1961, stated, among other things:

The Charter of the United Nations itself has established the guiding principle that the U.N. must not, reserving the special authority of the Security Council, intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state. The U.N. force cannot be placed at the disposal of one faction against another.⁴

¹ *L'Humanite* July 14, 1960, *London Times* July 15, 1960.

² *New York Times*, July 31, 1960.

³ U.N. Document S/PV 873, July 13-14, 1960.

⁴ Notes et études documentaires, No. 283, 1961, p. 20.

On February 15, 1961, the Secretary-General declared at the Security Council:

*'Lumumba wanted the UNO forces on his behalf to fight down the secessionist group in Katanga. In keeping with the stand taken by the Security Council, unanimously on the 8-9 August, 1960, I was obliged to turn down this request as contrary to the status and function of the UNO forces. In the light of the principle applied by the UNO as regards domestic conflicts, the instructions to the UNO Command and the representatives were that they should stand aside from the conflict that had developed and avoid any action, which could make them party to the conflict or involve supporting any one side in it.'*⁵

Nehru stated in the General Assembly:

The role of the U.N. is a mediatory one, to reconcile.⁶

We know what a disastrous consequence this principle of U.N. neutrality had in the Congo crisis. What it meant in essence was that the changes which had been brought about in the Republic of the Congo by force, were to be respected—the *status quo* after the illegal changes. Lumumba wanted a restoration of the *status quo* before these changes. We can just point out here that this principle operated for as long as the balance of forces were in favour of the enemies of the Central Government. When the Central Government crushed secession in Kasai and was on the eve of putting an end to the secession movement in Katanga, U.N. ceased to be neutral and occupied the territory between Kasai and Katanga as a no-man's-land. But when Lumumba was arrested by Kasavubu's bandits under Mobutu, U.N. again became 'neutral'. These inconsistencies serve to indicate that this neutrality was in fact a political manoeuvre, but since justification for this political manoeuvre is sought by invocation of the Charter of the United Nations, we shall have to examine the relevant Chapters and Articles of the Charter.

The relevant section of the Charter which is supposed to provide a legal basis for U.N. neutrality in the Congo, is Section 7, Article 2, which reads:

Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter—but this chapter does not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

Let us look at Chapter VII. Articles 39, 41 and 42, although they are mentioned in Chapter 7, Article 2, are not relevant in the discussion on

⁵ Vital Speeches of the Day, March 15, 1961, p. 327.

⁶ UNO General Assembly Document A/PV. 887, October 3, 1960.

U.N. neutrality—it is only Chapter 7, Article 2 then, which will attract our attention. First we must note that peace, the maintenance of which or the restoration of which is the purpose of the United Nations, is international peace. International peace is a condition of the absence of force in the relation among states. International peace is thus to be distinguished from internal peace or peace within one and the same state. Chapter 7, Article 2 is made up of two rules:

- (a) prohibition of intervention on the part of the United Nations in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state;
- (b) release of member states from the obligation to submit such matters to settlement under the Charter.

Thus while (a) imposes a restriction on the competence of the organization, (b) restricts the obligation of members from submitting matters of a domestic nature for settlement under the Charter. (a) Refers to the organization as a whole, while (b) refers to members as separate entities. The significance of Chapter 7, Article 2 is that the Charter of the United Nations seems to give this organization powers which seem to place the organization above sovereign states, powers which seem to infringe state sovereignty—see Chapters IX and X—and Chapter 7, Article 2 modifies these apparently unlimited powers in favour of state sovereignty. In dealing with Chapter 7, Article 2, we are really concerned with the problem of statutory interpretation—the problem of arriving at the meaning of this Article. Here we cannot do better than apply the usual methods of statutory interpretation. We have to ask the following questions: (a) What did the authors of this Article intend it to mean? (b) Has the Article ever been interpreted by the Court of International Justice and if it has been interpreted, what interpretation did the Court give? (c) What does the Article mean as it stands without reference to what the authors might have intended it to mean? Or to vary this, we have to ask the question—what is the one and only reasonable interpretation that can be given to the Article under consideration in the circumstances of the point at issue?

In the Congo, it was not civil war, but war between the Congo and a foreign aggressor state, which had established its military regime in the Katanga province.

Chapter 7, Article 2 is in fact taken with slight modifications from paragraph 8, Article 15 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which ran:

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them and is found by the Council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall report and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

In the report of the reporter of Committee 11/3 of the San Francisco Conference, we find: There were some misgivings that the statement of purposes now recommended implied that the organization might interfere in the domestic affairs of the member countries. To remove all these possible doubts the Committee agreed to include in its records the following statement:

The members of Committee 3 of Commission 11 are in full agreement that nothing contained in Chapters IX and X of the Charter, can be construed as giving authority to the organization to intervene in the domestic affairs of member states.⁷

The point here is that the provisions of Chapters 9 and 10 of the Charter of the United Nations, are to be interpreted as restricted by Article 2 paragraph 7. The authors of the Article, we can see, intended it to protect state sovereignty against the far-reaching powers of the United Nations as provided for in Chapters IX and X of the Charter. At hearings on the meaning of Article 2, paragraph 7, a representative of the State Department explained:

The language of Chapter IX of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals is very strong and very far reaching and questions were raised in the discussion as to whether or not the language used could in any way be interpreted as meaning interference in the domestic affairs of the member states. It was quite clear that the principle regarding domestic jurisdiction would be governing⁸.

As far as the authors of the Article are concerned, we are left with no doubts at all that they sought by this Article to protect state sovereignty. It is necessary here to add an observation that whereas in the Covenant of the League of Nations, it was the Council which had to decide whether or not a matter was solely within the domestic jurisdiction of a state, in the Charter of the United Nations, the Council is not given this duty—that means, the country whose interests are affected has itself to decide whether or not a matter is essentially in its domestic sphere—and if this is disputed by another state, the Court of International Justice can give an advisory opinion.

The permanent court of International Justice interpreted Article 15, paragraph 8 of the Covenant of the League of Nations to mean in matters which are not regulated by international Law, and that as regards such matters, each state is the sole judge.⁹ This Article has

⁷ Report of Reporteur of Committee 11/3 of the San Francisco Conference U.N.C. I.O., Document 861, March 11, 1955, p. 3 (F).

⁸ Kelsen. *The law of the United Nations*, p. 774.

⁹ Publications of the Court. Series B. Advisory opinion, No. 4.

Discussions on Article 2, paragraph 7, Seventeenth Meeting of the Committee, 1/1/U.N.C. I.O., Document 1019/1/1/45, p. 5 (F).

always been invoked by South Africa both in connection with the question of the treatment of people of Indian origin and in connection with the question of South West Africa. In all these cases, it was invoked to protect state sovereignty against supposed U.N. intervention.

In the General Assembly, this Article has often been discussed too. At the fourth meeting of the first and sixth Committees of the General Assembly, in discussions arising from the treatment of people of Indian origin, in South Africa, the delegate from Peru summarized the feelings of the members in the following words: "Article 2, paragraph 7 was intended as a guarantee of the independence and sovereignty of member states."¹⁰ The delegate from Mexico pointed out:

Article 2, paragraph 7 is an active principle of incalculable value to the relations of States with each other, whose sovereignty and juridical equality is consecrated by the Charter in Article 2, paragraph 1.¹¹

In discussions on the international control of atomic energy, it was also stated that Article 2, paragraph 7 protects state sovereignty.¹² In all these interpretations, we are left with no doubt that the essence of the Charter of the United Nations especially the effect of Chapters IX and X are such that the Charter impinges upon state sovereignty, and Article 2, paragraph 7 is intended to protect state sovereignty against this incursion. In the words of the Australian delegate at the San Francisco Conference, the feeling is that:

An organization that is genuinely international in character should not be permitted to intervene in those domestic matters in which, by definition, international law permits each state entire liberty of action.¹³

The words of the Article without reference to the intention of the authors of the Article give no doubt that it seeks to protect state sovereignty. It denies other states the right to intervene in the internal affairs of another state either singly or collectively, as the United Nations. In the context of the Congo, Article 2, paragraph 7 could mean no more than the protection of the sovereignty of the Republic of the Congo. Since the Article has as its purpose, the protection of sovereignty in relation to the United Nations as well as in relation to other state members of the U.N., then it is obvious that the Article cannot be invoked where the state in question has, exercising its sovereignty, invited the United Nations organization. This means,

¹⁰ Journal of the United Nations, No. 46, Supplement No. 1 and 6. A/C.1 and 6.1 and 6/13, p. 36.

¹¹ Journal of the United Nations, No. 54, Supplement A-/PV/51, p. 366.

¹² Official Records of Security Council, Second Year, No. 22, p. 452.

¹³ U.N.C. I.O. Document 969, January 1, 1939, p. 2.

the Article cannot be used against the Republic of Congo, which invited the United Nations to the Congo. The invocation of this Article against a state which invited the United Nations, is tantamount to saying that the United Nations has the duty to protect the sovereignty of such a state against the action of the state itself which is an absurdity. The question which arises in connection with this supposed neutrality of the U.N. in the Congo, is, if the U.N. did not have as its goal in the Congo, the prevention or stopping of the secession of Katanga, if the conflicts in the Congo were not the concern of the United Nations, what then was the relation of the U.N. operation to the Central Government? Was the U.N. operation an arm of the Central Government in accordance with the stipulations of the appeal which brought U.N. to the Congo? The Secretary-General said that the U.N. operation was not an arm of the Central Government, the Third Security Council resolution which was sponsored by African states also, as we have seen above, stated in paragraph 4, that the U.N. operation was not an arm of the Central Government. These it is submitted, were all mistaken views. The U.N. operation in the Congo was not a collective security operation under Article 42 of the Charter and consequently, the presence of U.N. in the Congo required the consent of the host Government. This consent of the host Government, means that the U.N. had to recognize the Central Government and not only recognize this Government, but obtain permission from this Government in order to be present at all in the Congo. The U.N. did obtain permission from the Central Government and in fact the U.N. entered into a contract with the Central Government and it was this contract signed between the U.N. and the host Government, which gave the U.N. operation legal justification for its presence in the Congo.

Lumumba, on the other hand, maintained that in accordance with the appeal of the Republic of the Congo, the objective the U.N. operation was to achieve in the Congo, was not only to cause the withdrawal of Belgian aggressors, but also to safeguard the territorial integrity of the Congo by stopping the secession of Katanga. He was right.

THE DEPOSITION OF LUMUMBA

The second problem that we want to examine is, whether or not the President Mr. Kasavubu was in fact exercising his constitutional right when he announced on the radio that he had deposed the Prime Minister Lumumba. Here, as in the question of U.N. neutrality, we shall concern ourselves only with the legal aspect of this problem. The political aspect of the attempt by Kasavubu to depose the Prime Minister is clear enough. Kasavubu was carrying out the instructions of the

United States Central Intelligence Agency. Tully in his book *The Central Intelligence Agency Inside Story* gives details of how these instructions were given to Kasavubu to depose Lumumba.¹⁴

Kasavubu was already the product of the Central Intelligence Agency, as declared Edward Kennedy in a radio broadcast to the American nation.¹⁵ We deal with the legal basis of this action, among other things, because the Central Intelligence Agency, the Secretary-General of the United Nations and Kasavubu himself clothed these instructions of the State Department with a semblance of legality. The Secretary-General declared in justification of this action:

I do not want to analyse the complicated constitution of the Congo, but let me register the fact that according to the constitution, the President has the right to revoke the mandate of the Prime Minister.¹⁶

Kasavubu himself stated in this connection:

Contrary to Anglo-Saxon conceptions, it is the chief of state in the Congo who, as in Belgium, effectively nominates and dismisses the Ministers or accepts their resignation. The role of the House of Parliament is to recognize or refuse to recognize the Ministers thus nominated by the Head of State. Even before approval by the House of Parliament, the Government which has been nominated, has full powers. In Belgium, after the formation of Government, the Government presents itself before the House only after three weeks, and in these three weeks, it has full powers before it is even approved by the House of Representatives.¹⁷

We shall examine the relevant provisions of the constitution of the Congo. Speculations about Anglo-Saxon conceptions and puerile pronouncements concerning parliamentary practice in Belgium, we shall safely leave to the amusement of Kasavubu and his friends of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The relevant Article of the fundamental law of the Congo is Article 22. It reads: 'The Chief of State appoints and dismisses the Prime Minister and the Ministers'. This Article should not be read in isolation, it should be read in conjunction with Articles 17, 19, 20 and 23. Article 17 states: 'The executive power of the Chief of State depends on the counter-signing of the responsible minister'. Article 19 reads: 'The person of the Chief of State is inviolable, while the Prime Minister and other ministers are responsible'. Article 20 reads: 'No act of the Chief of State can have effect if not countersigned by the responsible Minister'. Article 21 states: 'The Chief of State has no powers other

¹⁴ A. Tully, *CIA Inside Story*. New York, 1962, p. 221.

¹⁵ *New Statesman*. March 10, 1961, p. 373.

¹⁶ *UNO Review*. October 1960, p. 46.

¹⁷ *Chronicle de politique étrangères*, p. 751.

than those assigned to him by this law'. Article 23 states: 'The Chief of State confers grades, honours, etc.'. If we read Article 22 in conjunction with the other Articles stated above, as it must be read, we find that the Central Intelligence Agency was grossly misleading Kasavubu about his constitutional powers and the Secretary-General was not basing his pronouncements on the fundamental law at all. Read in conjunction with the other relevant Articles, Article 22 means no more than that the Chief of State in the Congo is a figurehead with ceremonial powers or functions. As such, he cannot initiate an Act, he can only give his signature to an Act which has been initiated by a responsible Minister. In this case, the signature of the Head of State, is a mere formality. In legal or constitutional practice, when the Chief of State countersigns an Act which has been initiated by a responsible Minister, the Chief of State is said to proclaim such an Act. When a Minister, who has lost the confidence of the House resigns, and the Chief of State countersigns the resignation, the Chief of State is said to dismiss such a Minister. This is a legal fiction carried out from the period when the State and the King meant the same thing. Possibly, Kasavubu, the product of the Central Intelligence Agency, did not quite appreciate or understand this fiction, but then we dispute his impudence in imposing his monumental ignorance on other people.

There is absolutely nothing in the constitution of the Republic of the Congo, in the fundamental law, which besides the mental fabrications of Kasavubu and his friends, gives the Chief of State power to dismiss the Ministers, let alone to dismiss the Prime Minister. For another thing, in strict legal or constitutional theory, the fundamental law was not yet operative, because it had not yet been ratified by the Congolese Parliament and even if it had been ratified, which was not the case, it did not contain anything which would enable Kasavubu to replace a legally elected Parliament by persons of his choice like Illeo and Company. It is granted that parliament can delegate some of its powers to other bodies or organs of the State, but in all cases, the delegating authority of first instance is parliament itself. In the case of the Congo parliament, the parliament had not delegated its powers to Kasavubu. If the parliament had delegated powers to Kasavubu, which it did not do, Kasavubu would still face another constitutional problem, namely, that although parliament can in theory do everything, the one thing it cannot do both in theory and in practice is to take off all powers from itself and still remain a parliament. Kasavubu and the Central Intelligence Agency had only two ways open to them: (a) To appeal to the people so that they could, in a new election, withdraw the mandate from the Government of Lumumba; (b) To withdraw the mandate of the Government of

Lumumba by revolution or *putsch* and thus establish a new *de facto* power, but this has nothing to do with any provisions of the fundamental law of the Republic of the Congo.

In connection with the allegation that Government works even before it is presented to the House of Representatives, Kasavubu is confusing matters of procedure with matters of substance. In constitutional theory and practice, the people as the source of all power and authority invest their power or delegate their authority to their elected representatives, in actual practice, to those representatives who form a Government—to the representatives of the party which has won a majority in the elections. Once these representatives have been vested with this authority, they have the right to form a Government and they lead or mislead the people. The fact of their presenting themselves to the House of Representatives is merely procedural and not a matter of substance. It is a mere formality or merely parliamentary usage. This attempt by Kasavubu and the Secretary-General to hide behind the fundamental law is sheer political gymnastics, it is mere political judo, which had no basis in the Constitution of the Republic of the Congo. All the humbug about Anglo-Saxon conceptions was a mere cover, albeit transparent, for an act which was done at the behest of the State Department and both the Senate and the House of Representatives rightly declared the act null and void. It was when the two Houses nullified this political judo, that the Central Intelligence Agency gave instructions for and assisted in organizing a military *putsch* nominally under Mobutu.

THE SUSPENSION OF PARLIAMENT

Now let us examine the attempt of Kasavubu to suspend parliament and to dissolve it in favour of the College of Commissioners nominally under Mobutu. Here again, Tully gives the inside story that the *putsch* was directed by the Central Intelligence Agency and the *Sunday Express* characterized the *putsch* in the following terms: 'Make no mistake about this, it is a major diplomatic triumph for the United States'.¹⁸ The *Daily Express* stated in connection with this *putsch*: 'The expulsion of the Czech and Soviet Embassies by Mobutu is due to intrigues of the United States'.¹⁹ This is the political side of the story. For the legal covering, the relevant Articles of the fundamental law are: Articles 21 and 32. Article 21 reads: 'The Head of State has the right to dissolve the Houses in conformity with Articles 71 and 72'. Article 71 states: 'Before the final adoption of the Constitution, the dissolution of one

¹⁸ *Sunday Express*, September 16, 1960.

¹⁹ *Daily Express*, September 21, 1960.

or the two Houses cannot be pronounced by the Head of State except after the deliberations in Council of the Ministers and the agreement of one of the two Houses by at least a majority of two-thirds of the members present'. Article 72 reads: 'In case of dissolution, whether of the two Houses or of one House of Representatives, the act of dissolution contains a convocation of the electors within three months and of the Houses within four months'.

The Articles stated above should be read in conjunction with the relevant Articles which we have already examined above in connection with the powers of the Chief of State. It is necessary to add again that the fundamental law had not yet been ratified and consequently the dissolution of one or the two Houses could not be promulgated by the Head of State except after the meeting of the Council of Ministers and the consent of one of the two Houses by a majority of two-thirds and such a promulgation could be made only on condition that it contained a convocation of the electors and a meeting of a new parliament within a specified time. None of these conditions had been fulfilled. In reality the promulgation by the Chief of State could take place only as a formality when the Government of Lumumba had itself decided to call new elections. The acts of Kasavubu therefore had no constitutional basis whatsoever.



MARXIST- LENINIST STUDY

AN OUTLINE FOR
GROUP DISCUSSION

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL ● 100 YEARS AFTER

Terence Africanus

A HUNDRED YEARS ago, on September 28, 1864, a meeting was called in London to express the idea of unity among the workers of all countries, and to express solidarity with the Polish national struggle against tsarist colonialism. The meeting was called jointly by the leaders of the trade unions in London and by a group of French workers from Paris. It was attended by representatives of workers and revolutionaries from a number of European countries as well, and it was decided to give organizational expression to the ideas of the meeting by founding a new movement—the International Workingmen's Association. A committee was elected to direct the work. The headquarters were to be in London, and the chairman, G. Odger, and the secretary, W. R. Cremer were both leading British trade unionists. But the guiding spirit and inspiration of the movement throughout its ten stormy years of existence was Karl Marx, elected as a representative of the German workers. It was Marx who wrote the basic documents of the 'First Inter-

national'—the *Inaugural Address* and *Rules* which defined the aims and character of the Association.

Yet most of those who took part in the inaugural meeting of the First International or its General Council were very far from being Marxists in the sense in which we understand the term today. Though Marx and Engels had already in 1848 formulated their main ideas in that brilliant pamphlet the *Communist Manifesto*, not many of their colleagues in the Association were familiar with or supported those ideas. The British trade unionists were not unlike their counterparts of today: concerned principally with defending and advancing wages and working conditions against the constant attacks of the employers. They were in the democratic and internationalist tradition of the Chartists but nevertheless with a strong tendency to pragmatism and opportunism. The Italians were much under the influence of middle-class nationalist revolutionaries like Mazzini and Garibaldi. As for the French, all those who took part at the beginning were followers of Proudhon, a rather muddled philosopher who dreamed of reforming society by workers' mutual benefit societies and rejected both socialism and the conquest of political power by the working class.

For all that, Marx was the undoubted leader of the Association. His ideas and his outlook were the most formative and decisive, not by reason of any formal position he held, nor because his colleagues had studied or accepted his ideology, but by virtue of the depth and originality of his views, his strength of purpose and clarity of expression. He led because his ideas and his policies really reflected the interests and aspirations of the working people. Marx had the supreme gift of expressing those ideas in a way that could be understood by his colleagues and, because those colleagues were in the main honest and sincere men, the First International did not peter out into the blind alley of Proudhonism, or get lost in the marsh of trade union pragmatism. Under the guidance of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, it became a school of scientific, revolutionary socialism. It rallied the workers of Europe from the grave setbacks to the cause of democracy suffered after 1848, for fresh organizational and political advances which reached their climax in the Paris Commune, of immortal memory, the first workers' government. It established the firm theoretical and organizational principles for the Communist movement of our times, that has destroyed capitalism forever in a third of the world, and is leading the peoples towards socialism with irresistible momentum throughout the world, in Europe, Asia, Africa and the Americas.

When the First International was founded, it was confined to only a few countries of Western Europe—those where capitalist development had brought into being the working class. The organizations affiliated

to the Association varied: British craft unions, Proudhonist benefit societies, patriotic, democratic bodies, struggling for the unity of Italy, small workers' clubs, often of expatriates, sometimes illegal. Another thirty years were to pass before the establishment of mass socialist workers' parties on the pattern of the German Social Democratic Party.

The *Inaugural Address* written by Marx and adopted by the General Council in October 1864 concluded with the rousing slogan: *Workers of all lands, unite!* It declared that 'co-operative labour ought to be developed to national dimensions and consequently to be fostered by national means'; that 'the lords of land and the lords of capital' would 'lay every possible impediment in the way of the emancipation of labour'; that 'to conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes'. In these words we may discern the germ-ideas of socialism, the replacement of private ownership by common ownership of the means of production, the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the 'Address' did not explicitly put forward these ideas. To have attempted to do so would have split the Association; it would have wrecked at its very inception the union which Marx was so painstakingly striving for, between the real working class movement of the day and the advanced ideas of scientific socialism. Marxism was but one of the currents which made up the socialist movement of the day, and socialism itself was far from being the accepted aim of most movements of workers and oppressed people.

THE TRIUMPH OF MARXISM

The brief hundred years which have passed have seen the most extraordinary change in this position. All the 'varieties' of socialism other than Marxism have failed to stand the test of time. Theoreticians like Proudhon, Owen, Lasalle, Duhring, Kropotkin and others, well known in Marx's time, are remembered mainly by scholars and historians, whereas Marx's name is familiar to almost everyone in every continent. It is a banner to the forces of liberation everywhere; it strikes fear and hatred into the hearts of the upholders of capitalism and reaction even more than it did while he was still alive. Never in history has any movement made such swift and universal progress.

The reason for this swift and dramatic triumph of Marxism is that it has been proved correct by events. As Marx foresaw, capitalism has proved unable to solve a single one of the huge problems of our day. Great as were its achievements, as compared with the feudal society which it superseded, capitalism is a dead end. It has achieved higher standards in a few privileged countries of West Europe and North America—but only at the expense of the enslavement, inhuman

exploitation and spoliation of the great majority of mankind in Africa, Asia and other 'undeveloped areas'—undeveloped precisely because imperialism, the unlovely creature of capitalism, has stunted and retarded their development. In two frightful world wars and countless and ceaseless wars of colonialist aggression, capitalist imperialism has slaughtered tens of millions of human beings and recklessly destroyed and squandered the fruits of human skill and toil, whose creators, the working people, live in poverty and squalor.

A hundred years ago, the pundits and professors of politics and economics saw in capitalism, the system of production for private profit and the exploitation of wage labour, the final answer to all the woes of mankind. It had liberated society and production from the shackles of feudalism; if there were minor defects, they said, these would be overcome in the process of development and reform. Marx's genius, the penetrating insight of his philosophical system of dialectical materialism, saw far beyond these complacent experts. He saw how the unplanned anarchy of capitalist production, the unsolvable contradiction between social means of making goods and private appropriation of profits, would lead to unending crises of unemployment, unending clashes between rival capitalist countries and between the contending social classes, until the workers gathered the strength, the will and the unity to overthrow capitalist rule and establish their own: a rule that would spell peace and plenty for all, in a classless, socialist society. Time has proved him right. Capitalism, in its final monopoly stage of imperialism, has grown into a frightful monster of destruction, which threatens all mankind with extinction. The great masses of working people and all the best, most far-seeing thinkers of our day, have turned their backs on capitalism and sought another road.

There is only one other road. We cannot go back into the past, to feudalism, chattel slavery or tribalism. The road into the future is the road to socialism and communism. And when we speak of socialism today we can only mean one thing: the scientific socialism of Marx and Engels, as developed and continued in conditions of twentieth century imperialism by their greatest disciple, Vladimir Lenin, and as enriched and applied practically to complicated and widely different conditions by the talented Marxist-Leninists of a hundred countries of the world.

All other alleged panaceas for the ills of society have been tried and found fallacies, or impossible of fulfilment. As Lenin put it:

Russia achieved Marxism, the only correct revolutionary theory, virtually through *suffering*, by half a century of unprecedented torment and sacrifice, of unprecedented revolutionary heroism, incredible energy, devoted searching, study, testing in practice, disappointments, checking and comparison with European experience.

'Left Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder.

There have been many preachers of 'non-Marxian Socialism', or even (believe it or not!) of 'non-Leninist Marxism'. For a period after the first world war, Germany was governed by the leaders of the Social-Democratic Party, who denounced Lenin and the Bolsheviks for deserting the principles of Karl Marx, and quoted passages, torn from their context and emasculated of their revolutionary content, to 'prove' that they, and not the Leninists, were the true Marxian socialists. But it was Lenin and his comrades who went ahead to build socialism, to transform backward old Russia into the modern Soviet Union, the stronghold of workers' rule, socialism and national liberation for the peoples of the whole world. The road of the German Social Democrats, falsifiers of the living spirit of Marxism, led not to socialism, but to Hitler's 'national socialism', to the gas chambers and the concentration camps and the millions killed in the second world war.

In Britain, the Labour Party leaders claiming to have invented a special sort of British Socialism, which no one of them has yet succeeded in defining, won elections after the second world war and formed a government. They introduced some benefits for the workers, like the national health service; they nationalised some industries, like the railways and the coal mines, which the capitalists did not mind because these were running at a loss anyway. But all the main centres of monopoly capitalism, the finance houses and key industries were left in the hands of their private owners. All the institutions of power and privilege, including feudal survivals like the monarchy and the House of Lords, were left intact. Abroad, the Labour government continued the imperialist policy of the Tories, fighting colonial wars in an effort to preserve the Empire, and allying themselves with the most ferocious enemies of socialism, the American imperialists, in their cold war against national liberation and socialism. When the Labour Party lost the next elections they handed over to the Tories a Britain which differed little in essence from what it was before.

There have been 'socialist' Prime Ministers and Cabinets in France, in the Scandinavian countries, and many other capitalist lands. Not one of them has struck a fundamental blow against capitalist class dictatorship, or brought their country a step closer towards real socialism. The only countries in which socialism has been built, or in which the foundations for socialism are being laid, are those whose governments are in the hands of Parties whose members are following the course charted by the First International, by Marxism-Leninism. The whole world is learning, as Lenin said the Russian revolutionaries learnt, 'virtually through suffering', that the way to Communism is the only alternative to capitalism, with all its degradation of the human spirit, its racialism and greed, its unemployment and its wars.

THE DIALECTICS OF DEBATE

Marxists have adapted the word 'dialectics' from the old Greek philosophers. It means conflict or contradiction—to us, as materialists, within the real world, within the processes of nature and the development of society. But the idealists applied it to the field of ideas, only. They meant that in the clash of opposing ideas, the process of debate, the truth would emerge. They were turning the problem upside down, of course. Our ideas reflect and are formed by the reality of our environment. The point of philosophy, as Marx pointed out, is not merely to explain the world, but to change it. And to change the world, we need more than arguments, we need organization and struggle. We cannot persuade the capitalist class to abandon its evil ways of exploiting the workers, and to embrace socialism. We cannot talk the colonialists of Southern Africa into abandoning national oppression and into embracing democracy. On such matters, which affect their own interests, their power, their profits and their privileges, these people, as a class, are not open to reason. One might as well try to persuade a lion to become a vegetarian.

That does not mean that we do not need arguments, or as it might be put vulgarly, that the only argument is a fist or a gun. Our enemies, the capitalists and imperialists, fear our arguments more than anything else, because they are only a small minority, and they depend for their continued rule on the support, active or passive, of the masses whose real interests are opposed to imperialism. That is why—since they are unable to answer our case, and to meet reason with reason—they suppress our parties and our national liberation movements; they jail our spokesmen or find other ways to prevent them writing or speaking to the people. Karl Marx spent years of his life making a weapon more damaging to capitalism than any atom bomb—his great book *Capital*. In this, as in other books as well, Marx mercilessly exposed the underlying structure and workings of capitalism. He destroyed forever the theoretical justifications and moral pretensions of the apologists for 'private enterprise', and like all great revolutionaries gave his followers their most indispensable weapon: the consciousness and conviction of the correctness of their cause which is essential for victory.

Argument, debate, is also essential among the opponents of reaction; to clarify the truth and enable the workers, peasants and intellectuals to discern truth from error. Marx, Lenin and all the great leaders of the workers never feared debate, even among fellow-members of the working class and liberation movements whose views and analyses differed sharply from their own. On the contrary, they welcomed every opportunity for controversy, on the level of principle, recognising that such discussions were an unrivalled means of education and clarifica-

tion, and having boundless confidence in the reasoning capacity and common sense of the working people. Some of the greatest educational works of the science of socialism were produced in the course of such debates, such as Engels' penetrating analysis of the German socialist Duhring, and Lenin's brilliant demolition of the various non-Marxist and pseudo-Marxist tendencies in the international and in the Russian labour movements.

A splendid example of such invaluable debates occurred during the early days of the International Workingmen's Association. An English member of the General Council, Weston, who was an old follower of the famous Utopian socialist, Robert Owen, introduced a discussion on the question of wages. He claimed that wage-increases could not benefit the working class generally, and that if a trade union won wage increases for one section of the workers, it would be to the disadvantage of the others. Marx prepared a full reply to these erroneous arguments in a document (published as the booklet *Value, Price and Profit*), which remains to this day an outstanding illustration of how complicated economic questions can be presented in a lucid and simple way. Anyone wishing to study *Capital* would do well to read this booklet first. Remarkable too is the way in which Marx completely destroyed Weston's false ideas without the faintest shadow of a personal attack, or anything which could antagonize the man himself. Indeed, he began by complimenting Weston on his 'moral courage' in putting forward such ideas in a gathering—consisting of trade unionists and workers—where they were bound to be extremely unpopular.

Such debates and polemics could only strengthen the movement and clarify its ideas; they could not lead to splits and divisions. Unfortunately, as time went on, a very different sort of 'polemics' appeared in the First International. These were of a type which did split and were designed to split, in which not only matters of principle and policy but also personal ambitions were at stake, and in which intrigues and slanders replaced honest debate. Such was the nature of the wretched fight which Bakunin and the 'ultra-revolutionary' anarchists carried on, a fight which split the Association from top to bottom and in the end wrecked it.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The anarchists succeeded in disrupting the International Workingmen's Association, already weakened by right-wing desertions after the defeat of the Paris Commune. By then its main mission had already been accomplished. The seeds of revolutionary Marxism had been sown abroad; they took deep root in a number of countries, and burgeoned forth in the form of the mass socialist workers' parties in Europe,

parties adhering to the internationalist conceptions of the Association. These conceptions found their organizational form in the establishment, on July 14, 1889, of the Socialist International, known as the Second International.

At the core of the Second International was the German Social-Democratic Party, which had grown up under the personal influence of Marx and Engels. It was the biggest and most influential party of the movement, and the model party at that time. Nevertheless, from its inception it was not wholly Marxist; and it continued to harbour non-Marxist and anti-Marxist trends and currents which in the end destroyed both it and the Second International as fighting organs of the working class. At its origin the German Social-Democratic Party marked a coming together of the Marxists, headed by Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, and the followers of Ferdinand Lasalle, founder of the General Association of German Workers, an opportunist and supporter of Prussian imperialism.

These two trends, the revolutionary Marxist trend and the right-wing opportunist trend, both existed for many years in the Party: in fact they were reflected in all the Parties which belonged to and made up the Second International. Some of the German leaders, headed by Eduard Bernstein, openly said that Marx's views were out of date and should be revised; they suggested that the workers should try to improve capitalism by means of gradual reforms rather than to end it and replace it with socialism. These revisionist views were rejected by the German Party at that time, and by the whole of the Second International. But many continued to harbour such ideas, and to carry them out in practice. Some of the Parties in the Second International, like the British Labour Party never accepted Marxism, even formally. Others, like Kautsky, upheld Marxism formally, in words, and called themselves Marxists; but in practice they watered Marxist theory down and blunted its revolutionary edge. There was continuous friction in the International between such opportunist tendencies, and the trend of revolutionary Marxism represented by Lenin and the Russian Bolshevik Party, by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany, and many others.

The main international issues over which the two trends clashed were those of colonialism and war. The revolutionaries fought hard to get the International to adopt a consistent socialist policy towards the millions of oppressed people in the countries enslaved by imperialism, to assist and encourage the national liberation movements and to demand independence for the colonies. But the opportunists consistently evaded this question and betrayed their duty. Lenin, in his masterly essay *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, and other

writings, exposed the roots of their thinking and conduct. Imperialism, monopoly capitalism, he pointed out, amassed huge super-profits out of its colonial investments, and out of these profits it was able to afford certain concessions to a section of the organized workers in the countries of advanced capitalist development. But the 'price' for such concessions was that some of the labour leaders became junior partners and supporters of imperialism, 'labour lieutenants of the capitalist class'.

On the eve of the first world war of 1914-1918, a Congress of the Second International held at Basle, in Switzerland, discussed the dangerous war situation which was building up as a result of the rival claims of the British, French and Russian imperialists, on the one hand, and those of the German and Austro-Hungarian imperialists on the other. Under pressure from the revolutionaries, Lenin and Luxemburg, the Congress adopted a strong resolution, urging the workers to fight to prevent the outbreak of war, and should it nevertheless break out, to oppose it, and to fight for the overthrow of their respective governments and the downfall of capitalist class rule.

It was a victory on paper only. As soon as the war broke out, the big socialist Parties in all the main capitalist countries ignored the resolution of the International. The German Social-Democratic Party, the British Labour Party, the French Socialist Party and others each decided to support 'its own' capitalist government, and called on the workers to shoot down their fellow-workers of other countries. This betrayal was a death-blow to the Second International as an expression of working class, socialist internationalism. After the war, the leaders of some of the socialist parties came together to 're-establish' the Second International, and indeed some sort of Committee was established with representatives of the British Labour Party and some of the other West European socialist parties. It still exists today, though not many people ever hear about it or get to know about it. No one could take it seriously as an important international force; as the inspiration and hope of millions of workers which it was until 1914.

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

The reason for the collapse of the Second International is to be found in Lenin's analysis of imperialism and its effects on the labour movement; benefiting by some crumbs from the imperialists' table, derived from their loot and exploitation of colonial people, a section of the labour leadership had become infected with chauvinist and imperialist ideas themselves, and merely paid lip-service to internationalism.

This was by no means true of all the members of the Second International. In Russia, the Bolshevik Party denounced the war, stood by

the Basle Resolution and called for the overthrow of tsarism. In Germany, Karl Liebknecht defied his Social-Democratic Party whip and crossed the floor of the Reichstag (Parliament) to vote against giving war credits to the Kaiser. In many countries groups of revolutionary socialists denounced the sell-out by their leaders and opposed the imperialist war.

In South Africa the Chairman of the Labour Party, Bill Andrews, opposed the war in Parliament. Right wing, jingo elements in the Party started a witch-hunt against Andrews and his supporters, and hounded them out of the leadership. Undeterred, Andrews, Ivon Jones, S. P. Bunting and other militants established the International Socialist League to carry on the struggle.

After the war and the world-historic victory of the workers and the oppressed people of the former tsarist empire in the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, the revolutionary Marxist parties of all countries came together to form the Third International. This carried forward the best traditions of the First and the Second Internationals. But it was necessary to make a clean break with the Social-Democratic leaders of the Second International. The Bolsheviks changed the name of their Party from 'the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party' to the 'Communist Party'. There was historic justification for this change—the first comprehensive summary of Marx' and Engels' programme was *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*—and the great betrayal of 1914 had discredited the very name 'Social-Democratic'. The new International was called 'The Communist International'. Its headquarters were naturally in the Soviet Union, and all the Communist Parties looked upon the Bolshevik Party as a model and an inspiration, for it was the first in the world to lead a successful workers' revolution and to embark upon the tremendous task of building socialism.

Among the first Parties to affiliate to the Third International was the International Socialist League of South Africa, which in 1921 joined with other Marxist groups in the country to form the Communist Party. Its leaders were for the most part seasoned fighters with many years of experience in the trade union and labour movement. But the same was not true of the members and leaders of all the young Communist Parties, some of them newly-formed, which affiliated to the Communist International. Some of these were enthusiastic people, often from a middle-class background, but with little understanding of Marxism and less experience of the struggle. Impatient for 'revolution right away', they were not prepared to face the hard slogging work of persuasion and organization, often lasting many long and thankless years, which are the lot of any serious revolutionary. They denounced the trade unions and other mass organizations which had so painfully

been built up by the working people, declaring that the workers should resign from such 'reactionary' bodies and form new unions on 'pure Marxist' lines. They said it was useless to take part in Parliamentary elections; these merely spread illusions about Parliaments and diverted the attention of the Communists from their task of 'preparing for revolution'. They said the central task of the Communists in the capitalist countries was not to attack the ruling classes but to concentrate on exposing the reformist Labour and Social-Democratic leaders.

In his brilliant essay *'Left-Wing' Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, Lenin patiently analysed the errors of these 'ultra-revolutionaries'. He showed that the struggle of the working class for power was a long and complicated process, at each stage of which it was necessary to isolate the main enemy and to gain allies, however vacillating and unreliable they might be. It was necessary to work among the masses wherever they were to be found, in the trade unions and other mass organizations, even if these were under right-wing leadership. To boycott Parliamentary and other elections—unless there were special circumstances, for example a revolutionary situation in which the masses themselves had already lost all confidence in parliaments—was merely to leave the political field clear for the capitalists and their agents, and to lose the opportunity for revolutionary work. Lenin also, in this essay, traced the origin of this ultra-revolutionary 'Leftism'. It reflected the social position of the petty bourgeois, swinging in between the workers and the capitalists. One day, following a small victory, they would be full of enthusiasm and confidence, imagining that victory was already won and attacking the workers' leaders for being too slow and 'compromising'. But, the next day, a small setback would be enough to cast them into despair.

Some of those criticised by Lenin heeded his wise words and proved themselves to be outstanding Communists. Others attacked him as a 'compromiser'. They completely failed to understand the need to combine firmness of revolutionary principle with flexibility of tactics, the need for united action of workers, peasants and other progressive strata in various phases of historical development, for unity of Communists and non-Communists in the labour, national liberation and other progressive movements. Such romantic, unstable elements are attracted to every revolutionary movement as to a magnet. They suffer from an irresistible 'itch' to substitute revolutionary phrases for hard revolutionary work. If they should gain the leadership of any movement they are apt to gamble its achievements and resources in reckless, sometimes disastrous, adventures. Failing to gain the leadership, their malice knows no bounds. Such were the followers of Bakunin in the First International and of Trotsky in the Third.

TROTSKY AND THE TROTSKYITES

Trotsky had never been a Bolshevik in the years before 1917. Sometimes he was with the Mensheviks—the Russian counterparts of the German or British reformist labour leaders—sometimes he formed a third, intermediate group of his own. But just before the October Revolution he and his group joined the Communist Party *en bloc*. He was immediately promoted to a leading position, and occupied a senior place in the Central Committee and the Soviet government in the period of the Revolution and the immediately following years. Despite these important services, Trotsky suffered from serious weaknesses. He lacked confidence in the Russian workers, and especially in their allies, the peasants. For this and other reasons, he underestimated the profound historical importance of the Soviet revolution, regarding it merely as a prelude to the ‘real thing’—the workers’ revolution in Western Europe, which he was convinced was very near, and without which he was convinced the Soviet Union would collapse. This made him oppose Lenin’s line of immediate peace with the German imperialists who had invaded deep into Russia. Lenin and the Central Committee of the Party said that it was vital to come to terms—even the brutally unfair and humiliating terms dictated by the Germans—to gain a breathing space for the young workers’ state to recover and consolidate. But, imagining that the continuation of hostilities would speed the German and Western revolution, Trotsky opposed, even, it is said, sabotaged this line.

Later, after Lenin’s death, Trotsky and his supporters opposed the policy of the majority of the Central Committee of the Party, of building socialism in the Soviet Union. They said it was impossible to establish socialism in one country, even one as huge and rich in resources as the U.S.S.R. They believed that the peasants, the great majority of the Russian population at that time, were a fundamentally conservative or even reactionary force working for the restoration of capitalism in the country. The conclusion they drew from these arguments was that the main task of the Soviet government was to encourage the ‘permanent revolution’ in the rest of the world. Refusing to accept the decision of the majority of the Central Committee and the Party membership, they continued to carry on a factional struggle for their line. As this struggle grew in intensity it became more and more bitter and unprincipled. The Trotskyite ‘Left’ opposition joined hands with the Right opposition led by Bukharin and others. They became possessed by one main object only: to get rid of the majority of the Central Committee represented by the general secretary, Stalin. And they pursued this object relentlessly, obsessively, regardless of the damage to the country, the workers’ cause and the Communist movement.

The issues were multiplied to cover every aspect of internal and external Soviet policy. According to the 'Trotskyites', Stalin and the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. could do nothing right; with evil motives, they were 'betraying' the revolution and Communism. The quarrel spread into the Communist International. Every conceivable mistake in every Party (and what revolutionary movement has been without mistakes?) was laid at the door of 'Stalinism' and the 'Stalinists'. At first the C.P.S.U. reacted to these activities with forbearance, in the Leninist spirit of permitting free debate in the Party and settling disputes by democratic procedures rather than administrative measures. On a number of occasions, the factionalists were expelled from the Party, then readmitted to leading positions on their undertaking to desist from factionalism. They never observed these undertakings. Eventually Trotsky was expelled from the Soviet Union; abroad he devoted himself to organizing an international movement under the pretentious title of the 'Fourth International' whose principal, if not only, purpose was to criticize and attack the Soviet government and the leaders of all the other Communist Parties in the International, since all these leaders considered it their revolutionary duty to defend the U.S.S.R., which—then as now—was the main target for the incessant attacks and slanders of international imperialism, fascism and reaction.

It is perhaps difficult for young people today to imagine the bitterness of this split or the mischief it wrought in the movement. The Trotskyites formed themselves into an international sect or order. Many of them were originally admirers of the Soviet Union who became disappointed because it did not rapidly enough transform itself into the Utopia of their dreams, or because of its real failings and shortcomings. Others were Communists who had become disgruntled or soured by grievances, genuine or imagined, against the Party leadership in this or that country. Many were ardent young revolutionaries impatient that the workers were too slow to rise against the oppressors, and convinced that the cause was to be found in the timidity or 'treachery' of the Communists, rather than in the objective circumstances. But whatever their motives, sincere or otherwise, in practice the Trotskyites were an unmitigated nuisance in the international labour and liberation movements, a source of disruption and division everywhere. They seemed to have no policy of their own, but just to be waiting to see what the Communists would say in order to condemn it and put forward an opposite viewpoint.

In South Africa the Trotskyites were most successful among the Coloured community in Cape Town—not among the workers, but among the teachers and other intellectuals who predominated in the

national movements. The effects were regrettable in the extreme. Some intellectuals seemed to be attracted to this particular sect because it gave them the opportunity to be extremely 'revolutionary' in words while in practice doing nothing that would bring them into conflict with the authorities or endanger their jobs. They were very good at destructive criticism, but once elected to office in any organisation, their sectarianism, their weakness for revolutionary phrasemongering and their recurrent tendency to quarrel among themselves soon led to the collapse of that organisation. Such was the fate of the African People's Organization: the pioneer Coloured national liberation movement. The result was the virtual isolation of an important section of the Coloured community in the Cape from all the historic struggles of the African National Congress and its allies during the 'fifties: for, sneering and criticizing, these leaders encouraged the people to abstain from participation in the Defiance Campaign and the Congress of the People, and to go on working during the great series of national general strikes and stay-at-homes from 1950 onwards.

In some countries the supporters of Trotsky went even further. In the midst of the Spanish civil war against the Franco rising, which was sponsored by Hitler and Mussolini, the 'P.O.U.M.' ('Marxist Workers' Unity Party') went so far as to organize an 'armed revolt' against the Republic behind the lines. An unending stream of envenomed propaganda was poured out declaring that capitalism had been restored in the U.S.S.R., that the system was on the verge of collapse, that the workers were seething with revolt, that the Communist leaders all over the world had 'sold out'. The Trotskyites said, and probably actually believed, that the moment the Soviet Union was attacked by an external enemy the state would collapse and a new revolution would take place, led by the 'Left Opposition'.

These beliefs and hopes were rudely shattered by reality. When Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in 1941, the workers and peasants rose like one man to defend their socialist motherland. The great patriotic war of the Soviet people, undoubtedly the severest test ever of endurance, sacrifice and unity of a whole society in conditions of total war, put 'paid' once and for all to the central thesis of Trotskyism, and deprived their movement of any rational basis. Whatever mistakes and shortcomings of Soviet society—and these were not a few—and however heavy the cost, the building of socialism in one country had been successfully accomplished. This was the original cause of the dispute, and history had utterly vindicated the main line of the Party. Had the five-year plans and the collectivization of agriculture not been accomplished with such tremendous sacrifice and effort, the Soviet Union could not have withstood the onslaught of Hitler's gigantic

war-machine, flushed with the conquest of all Europe, and armed by the resources of the entire continent.

ANOTHER SIDE TO THE MISCHIEF

There was another deeply regrettable side to the mischief of the factional struggle started by the Trotskyites in the C.P.S.U. and the international Communist movement. It began, as we have seen, over a profoundly important question of principle. But soon that issue was lost sight of as the Trotskyites spread their 'hate' campaign to cover every single question of Soviet domestic and external policy, every aspect of policy of every Communist Party. Incredibly spiteful and abusive, they seemed to be vying with the Whiteguard emigres and the Nazis in heaping slander on the Soviet Union.

The reaction of the Communists in the Soviet Union and elsewhere was naturally one of profound anger and indignation. But anger and indignation alone are poor guides to action. The main target of Trotskyite abuse and slander was Stalin, the general secretary of the C.P.S.U. Stalin, as Lenin had pointed out before his death, had his faults, and serious ones too. But, faced with this incessant barrage of abuse and attack, the Communists regarded Stalin not just as an individual, but as a symbol of the line of the Party and the International, of the very principles and foundations of Marxism-Leninism. His faults were forgotten and his virtues were magnified until he seemed to be a super-man. Had he really been a super-man as he was painted, had he the personal modesty, the common-sense humanity, of a Marx or a Lenin, this bad tendency would have been discouraged and overcome. Unfortunately, among his weaknesses was a vanity that did not diminish with his years; he grew to tolerate and even encourage flattery and idolatry with an increasing appetite.

It was in this situation that the ugly practices of the cult of the individual grew and flourished. To criticize Stalin or the cult of Stalin became an act of disloyalty and treachery. A disease of 'orthodoxy' and conformity, foreign to the questing, critical spirit of Marxism, spread everywhere. Creative thought and initiative were paralysed; with comrades hesitating to break new ground or take decisions lest they might be deviating from the Party line. Even history was rewritten to magnify the role of Stalin and diminish and belittle his colleagues. Worst of all, following the assassination of the leading Communist Sergei Kirov, a wave of 'security-consciousness' spread throughout the Soviet Union, amounting to panic. Directed by a succession of police-chiefs, each of whom was himself found subsequently to be corrupt—Yezhov, Yagoda, Beria—terror spread in the country. Not only elements inimical to the regime, who were always an insignificant

minority, but its loyal supporters, including Party members and Party leaders, fell under suspicion and were unjustly punished. The informer came into his own, and encouragement was given to mean self-seekers anxious to settle old scores or eliminate rivals.

It is hard to overstate the damage caused by these happenings not only in the Soviet Union itself, but throughout the international Communist movement. Inevitably these facts reached the outside world; the imperialists and fascists seized upon them, magnified and distorted them, left out of the picture all the splendid positive achievements of the Soviet Union. Their object was not of course to defend justice and socialist legality; it was to defame the Soviet Union and undermine the cause of socialism. The natural reaction of Communists elsewhere was to deny all these allegations as slanders. There was every justification for this reaction. For years the bourgeois press and propaganda machinery had in fact been manufacturing the most outrageous lies against Soviet Russia. With the rise of Hitler's Reich, encouraged by the big imperialist powers in its aggressive attitude, a very real threat had developed towards the Soviet Union, whose defence was rightly regarded as the first duty of every class-conscious worker and fighter for human freedom. But it was a vicious circle; in the process the Communists defended and became infected by something that did not belong to Communism at all—the cult of the individual leader.

Over the past ten years, and especially since the Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U., the most serious and sustained efforts have been made to eliminate this harmful cult, and its consequences. It has been a difficult and painful task, but one of inestimable value to the whole Communist movement, throwing open the windows to admit the fresh air of critical and creative Marxist thinking and initiative. Even today the Stalin cult has its defenders and remnants in the movement, but in the main the task has been successfully accomplished. That task was not to balance the wrongs of the cult against Stalin's major contributions—an assessment which the future will be able to make more objectively than ourselves—but to restore the principles of collective leadership and Leninist standards of democracy in the Party and in public life. Only in this way could the repetition of this un-Communist tendency—a throwback to pre-socialist, servile habits of thought and conduct—be prevented.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

The Communist International differed from its predecessors, the First and the Second Internationals, not only by virtue of the precision and the uncompromisingly revolutionary character of its principles, designed to exclude opportunists, but also in regard to its Constitution.

Reacting against the utter indiscipline and vulgar nationalism of the Social-Democratic Parties, which led to the collapse of the Second International, the Third set out to be a single world organization, of which the local Party in each country was to be merely a 'section'. It seemed a sound theory. And, indeed, in the first years of the International the experience of the C.P.S.U. and other senior parties was of invaluable assistance in establishing and guiding new Communist Parties, in equipping them with an understanding of Marxism-Leninism.

The Third International differed in another most important respect from its predecessors. Inevitably the First International had been confined to the more industrially advanced countries of Western Europe and North America. The *Rules*, published in 1864, had declared its principles as applying to 'all men, without regard to colour, creed or nationality'. In practice, however, due to the dead hand of colonialism, there were no workers' organizations to speak of in Asia, Africa and South America at that time, nor any means of contacting them if there had been. And, in the Second International, the predominant influence of the imperialistically-minded right-wing Labour leaders had meant that socialism was regarded as the exclusive concern of the European workers and the burning problems of national liberation in the colonies never featured seriously on the agenda. All this was changed with the establishment of the Communist International.

Lenin had always been a fiery fighter for the rights of oppressed nations. He saw the dynamic potentialities of the vast anti-colonialist upsurge, embracing the majority of the people of the world, to transform the whole international situation. He regarded the masses of Asian, African and other colonized workers and peasants not as a 'problem', but as comrades and fighting allies in the common struggle against imperialism. Hence, he proposed at the Second Congress of the Communist International to add the historic slogan of Marx and Engels, thus: *Workers of all countries and oppressed peoples, unite!* For the first time, representatives of the enslaved workers and peoples of Asia, Africa and Central and South America were drawn into the mainstream of the international working class movement, enriching its policy and character and drawing on its knowledge and experience for the benefit of their own people. Under the inspiration of the Communist International, Communist Parties were established in many colonies and semi-colonies; the pioneer Communist Party of our continent, that of South Africa, was followed by others in a number of African countries.

In this respect and in many others the Communist International played a splendid and irreplaceable role in the onward march of man-

kind towards a socialist and Communist movement. In speaking, as one must also do, of certain negative features, one should never forget this immortal positive contribution to the liberation of humanity.

Unfortunately the concept of a highly centralized and closely knit world party has certain latent weaknesses which began to show themselves over the course of time. It is possible and very desirable and necessary for an international working class organization to carry out the sort of broad function which the First International did in Marx' day: to work out in common the broad main trends of the day, and in the light of this analysis to plan the overall strategy of solidarity and advance. Communists need to arrive at a common approach on the big world questions of war and peace, a foreign policy, in all countries, which would serve the needs of the masses. But once an international organization attempts to solve detailed problems of Party policy and tactics in a large number of countries each differing intricately over a wide range of conditions and circumstances, gross errors are unavoidable. Marxism-Leninism is not a set of formulae which enables one, in the seclusion of a far-away academy, to work out specific programmes and slogans for a fighting party. It is a set of tools, the use of which enables such a party to work out a correct policy and strategy only in the thick of the ever-changing battle, with a detailed knowledge of the terrain, the relationship of forces, the shifts and strains of the struggle.

The Sixth World Congress of the International in 1928 discussed the situation in South Africa and the policy of the Party. It summed up its deliberations by adopting, against the will of the South African delegation, the perspective slogan of an 'Independent Native Republic'. Looked back at with the wisdom of forty years experience, we see that was not a suitable slogan and it has never been revived. All the same, the discussion and the decision rendered a profound service to the Party and the people of our country. They enabled the healthy elements in the Party to overcome the remnants of white chauvinism which lingered within its ranks. They focused the attention of the Party on the central issue in South Africa, the struggle of the revolutionary masses of oppressed people for national liberation from the special form of colonialism embodied in the political and economic structure of the country. A decisive turn was made from which the Party has never retreated and which finds its most complete and scientific expression in the Party programme, *The Road to South African Freedom*.

If the International had confined itself to correcting deviations from Marxism-Leninism and directing the Party's attention towards its inescapable historic task of building a united front for the national-democratic revolution, it would have proved an unmixed blessing for

our country and for Africa. It did not do so. The South African Communists fell, in the late twenties and early thirties, to 'talmudic' disputes among themselves over the correct 'interpretation' of the slogan, contending groups appealing to the executive committee of the International for a ruling as if it were a sort of supreme court. This was a temptation to the executive, which it did not resist, to dabble in the details of South African affairs, on which it was, naturally, not intimately informed. It was also an excuse for the South African Communists to escape their duty to make a detailed study of all aspects of their own country and to hammer out policy decisions on the anvil of collective and democratic discussion, within the Party.

The harm was compounded in the early thirties when a directive came from the executive of the International that all the affiliated Parties should be 'Bolshevized'. It is true that the structure of many of the affiliated Parties was too loose, and that Social-Democratic political and organizational ideas were still prevalent in many of them. But a mechanical directive intended to be applicable to all Parties, irrespective of the dialectics of their own inner development, was liable to do more harm than good. It is probable that much harm was done to a number of Parties at this time; certainly this was true in South Africa. Using the directive as their text, a sectarian 'ultra-left' group came into control of the Party. They began expelling a number of veteran Communists, including Bunting and Andrews, without a shadow of democratic procedures. Backed by the International, they all but wrecked the Party, and the brief period of their ascendancy left a scar which will not soon be forgotten. The development of the Stalin cult in the Soviet Union must be held largely responsible for such arbitrary twisting of the purposes and functions of the International, for the C.P.S.U. occupied a unique position of authority and prestige. Many other Parties also suffered as a result; a sectarian, dogmatic phase ensued in which the Parties affiliated to the Communist International were unable to recognize, or take timely and adequate steps to rally the people against, the growing menace of fascism and war.

UNITED FRONT

This situation was corrected by the Seventh—and last—World Congress of the International, at which the main reports were given by Dimitrov, who spoke on the need to counter the international fascist counterrevolution with a united front of the workers and the whole people, and by Togliatti, who explained the complex international situation, then (1937) on the brink of erupting into the second world war. The Congress implicitly recognized the limitations of an international organization of Marxist political parties. It was important,

in fact essential, for such parties to get together from time to time to discuss the main problems and world developments facing the movement as a whole. It was equally essential for each Party to have the fullest autonomy, to have the right and the inescapable duty to study and master the intricate realities of the changing political and economic set-up in its own country, to enter into short or long term alliances with other progressive movements in the interests of the workers, to guide their actions according to the precise realities of time and place. Otherwise local initiative would be stifled and tragic errors committed.

Dimitrov gave a brilliant illustration of how a German comrade, before the Hitler regime, tried to address unemployed workers by reciting to them the decisions of the latest session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The workers soon became bored and hooted him off the platform. The lesson—that Communists must learn to speak simply and directly to the workers in their own language—had a far wider application. The workers and the oppressed people of the world should indeed *unite*, as Marx and Lenin had taught. But the form of their unity could not be that of a single world *party*, whose leadership, like a general staff, could be expected to issue detailed directives to its ‘sections’.

The formal structure of the Communist International was useful in its earlier period, when most of the Parties were small, young and inexperienced, and when many of the greatest writings of Marx and especially of Lenin were not available in translation. But with the development of big and influential Communist Parties in many countries, with their own cadres of tried and talented Marxist-Leninists, this structure had become a hindrance. After the Seventh Congress, most of the affiliated Parties proved their maturity and the correctness of this general approach by remarkable political and organizational advances. Naturally mistakes were made as well, but the Parties had no one to blame for such mistakes but themselves. It may be observed that one learns a thousand times more from one’s own experience and mistakes than from those of anyone else.

In 1943, all the Communist Parties were playing an independent and glorious role in extremely varied conditions, in national united anti-fascist and national fronts. The Communist International had helped bring most of these Parties into being and to train and purify them in their most formative periods; but with this historic mission fulfilled, and in the midst of a life-and-death world conflict against nazism and fascism, the Third International was dissolved.

AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The second world war ended in the crushing defeat of the fascist

Axis powers. The Soviet Union had played the foremost part in this epic struggle; a great tidal wave of national liberation stormed through the world. The enslaved colonial peoples arose to wrest their independence from imperialist domination; and in Eastern and Central Europe the people, under the leadership of the Communists, settled their accounts with the corrupt capitalist rulers who had sold their countries to Hitler.

When the dust lifted from the battlefields a completely new situation confronted the peoples of a world very different from that which existed in the times of the First, the Second and the Third Internationals. It was no longer a world dominated by imperialism. The Soviet Union and Mongolia had been joined by no less than eleven more countries of Europe and Asia advancing to socialism under Communist leadership, including China, with the most numerous population of any country. Practically all of Asia and most of Africa broke away from foreign domination, in a continuing revolution for full independence and equality whose logic is inevitably impelling them more and more in a socialist direction. And this process is still in full swing: Cuba is the pioneer of national independence and socialism in the Americas, her example inspiring all the victims of United States' neo-colonialism with hope and the spirit of rebellion. In Southern Africa, and in the Portuguese African colonies, a bitter struggle is raging between the forces of apartheid and reaction, backed up by international imperialism, and the heroic national liberation movements.

In these new conditions, vital new problems, whose solution cannot be postponed, face the workers and oppressed people of all countries and their Marxist-Leninist vanguard parties. The great slogan *Workers and Oppressed Peoples, Unite!* has an urgency and a reality greater than ever before. For, though we have won great and decisive victories, terrible dangers and difficulties still face us.

For Marx and the First International the struggle for peace, against piratical wars, for a sane and just foreign policy, formed 'part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes'. For our generation, the triggering off of a global nuclear conflict by the Goldwater type of fascist lunatic would mean a day of wrath bringing unimaginable mass slaughter and destruction to every country. The forces of the people, alert for peace, can prevent this catastrophe; but only if we maintain the utmost unity, vigilance and clarity of purpose.

Unity and clarity of common purpose is essential in many other fields as well. Problems of state, economic and other relations between the socialist countries; of co-operation between workers of the metropolitan countries and those of their colonies and semi-colonies against the common enemy; of evolving a common line of policy for Communists

in the interests of the national liberation, peace, trade union, women's, youth and other progressive movements; of co-ordinating solidarity actions with the victims of imperialist and fascist oppression—all these and a hundred other immediate issues need constant review and the working out of Marxist solutions in an ever-changing world. Clearly, nothing would more hamper our cause and please the imperialists than a failure of the Communists to achieve unity, and the dissipation of our energies in quarrels among ourselves.

A number of steps have been taken in recent years to fill this obvious need. Chief among these were the famous gatherings of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties which took place in 1957 and in 1960. At these meetings unanimity was achieved on all the principal issues facing the workers and oppressed people. Although they came from every corner of the world, and were living and working in an endless variety of differing circumstances, the Communists were able to reach agreement on the characterization of the nature of our epoch, in which mankind is moving from capitalism to socialism, on the need for peaceful coexistence between states in different stages of social development, on our tasks in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation and socialism. Methods were decided upon to settle any disagreements that might arise in the future, methods of joint consultation between Parties. It was hoped that in this way we would achieve the constant aim of the Marxists over the past century, the aim of the 'three Internationals'—to ensure unity.

A SERIOUS PROBLEM

It is most disturbing to have to record that these hopes have not been fulfilled. First the Albanian Party of Labour, and then the Chinese Communist Party, have come out against a number of the decisions jointly arrived at. Worse still, they and their followers have not maintained their arguments on a level of principle; they have descended to abuse and misrepresentations, accusing the C.P.S.U. and its secretary, comrade Khrushchov, as well as the majority of Communist Parties which uphold the common decisions, of 'revisionism', of being traitors and downright enemies of the workers and oppressed people. Their supporters in a number of countries have broken away from their Parties to form rival factions and organizations.

To write about the historic anniversary of Marx' International without drawing attention to this problem would be empty. For this is the most serious problem of international working class unity today: the most serious, in fact, that has ever existed. The present threat to unity comes not from a small clique of petty-bourgeois 'ultra-revolutionaries' like Trotsky's group, but from the leaders of one of the

biggest and most respected Communist Parties, a Party which led a glorious and triumphant revolution and is building the foundations of socialism in a country of crucial world importance. It is precisely for this reason that the present dispute is so dangerous. Already it has undermined the fraternal solidarity of the socialist countries. It is poisoning relations between Communists, whose comradeship, hallowed by the blood of countless heroic martyrs of our cause, is closer than that of brothers and sisters. Everything must be done, by all Communists and anti-imperialists, to call a halt to this sterile and destructive dispute before it deepens into a complete break, a factional split whose bitterness, as experience has taught us, may take many years to heal.

We should have no doubts about the character of this dispute and the direction which it is taking. It is the direction of factionalism.

Internal disagreement and debate, as we have seen in this short and far from complete survey, have always characterized the development of the working class movement. There is nothing alarming and unhealthy about this phenomenon. Provided the debate is serious and principled, it can only be educational, the clash of opinion serving to sharpen and clarify our ideas. But once a disagreement takes on a factional character the real issues at stake become incredibly oversimplified, crude and false. Distortion and misrepresentation replace the give-and-take of reasoned argument. The object is no longer to prove one's opponent to be mistaken, but to depict him as an enemy to be destroyed. Irreparable harm follows. Dear comrades-in-arms are suddenly 'transformed' into traitors and spies. Leaders of rival factions are depicted either as enemy agents or as infallible super-men, demi-gods. Factionalism in a revolutionary movement is like a cancer. Unless it is checked in its early stages, it spreads uncontrollably in a healthy organism until nothing will cure it but a surgical operation.

Such were the Bakuninist and Trotskyite faction fights in the time of the First and Third Internationals. We can and must act now to see that the same thing does not happen again on a far more serious scale. For there is nothing 'inevitable' in this process. We Communists have a hundred years' experience behind us of international organization and international solidarity. We have learnt enough to know that, whatever the provocation, we must not yield to the temptation of a majority to react to a faction by organizing a faction of its own. Remembering our responsibilities we must not react to mudslinging by mudslinging, but maintain all discussions on a high level of principle. We must not reply to intrigue by counter-intrigue, by witch-hunts for 'deviationists', but uphold the procedures of democratic discussion. We must not respond to attacks on our leaders by making a fetish

of their personalities. And we must strive unceasingly for the restoration and strengthening of the most complete unity of the international Communist movement. The will of the millions of Communists everywhere for unity is a mighty force which no Party and no leader, however eminent, can ignore. That is why every one of us, from the most senior leader of the biggest Party to the humblest rank-and-filer or supporter of the smallest, has a solemn duty to fight factionalism and prevent this cancer from growing.

If this centenary of the First International means anything to us Communists other than the formal celebration of an interesting date, it must mean that we learn from the past, that we remind ourselves not only of the tremendous advances we have made (though these are indeed the most striking and important feature of our celebration), but also of the avoidable setbacks we have suffered, so that our future advances will be the more swift and certain, in the interests of the hundreds of millions of our fellow-men who look to us for wise and victorious leadership.

OTTO KUUSINEN **1881-1964**

The danger which threatened the communist parties from within was an unfounded 'hunt for Right-wingers', i.e. for leaders who in the eyes of impatient Left-wingers seemed to be centrists or semi-centrists. Lenin pointed to the example of Radek's article published in the central organ of the German Communist Party in which, without any substantiation, such a respected revolutionary as Clara Zetkin, who for decades fought against the opportunist leaders of German social democracy, was accused of opportunism. That is why Lenin in his letter (to the German Communists in 1921) stressed the demand which was especially important for further work: 'Enough of internal Party struggle! Down with everyone who wants to continue it either directly or indirectly.'

Otto Kuusinen

(Comrade Otto Kuusinen, colleague of Lenin and veteran workers' leader in his native Finland and in the international Communist movement, died on May 7, 1964. He had been for many years, and was at the time of his death, a foremost member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.)



POLITICAL TERRORISM IN LESOTHO

*Statement by the
Central Committee,
South African Communist
Party*

WHO IS BEHIND the series of attempted political assassinations in Basutoland?

Recently there have been a number of murderous assaults on well-known Basotho Communists.

John Motloheola, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Lesotho, was shot in the back and dangerously wounded. Simon Makheta, a member of the secretariat was attacked in his house by an unknown assailant. Another well-known Party member, Nako Mefane, was stabbed at night by a would-be assassin, who escaped. All these events took place within a few weeks of one another, in June 1964.

These acts of political thuggery cannot be dissociated from the speeches and writings of certain Basotho political and religious personalities who have joined forces recently in an unrestrained anti-Communist witch-hunt. While themselves maintaining an outward appearance of respectability, they incite their followers to violence against Communists and other patriots and progressives in Lesotho.

These events are particularly ominous coming immediately after the constitutional reforms, and on the eve of a general election, which will advance Lesotho a stage further on the road to political independence.

The Communist Party of Lesotho is a patriotic Basotho party, in the vanguard of the struggle for a national united front for independence—independence both from British imperialism and from the economic domination and sinister designs of Verwoerd's apartheid Republic.

Poverty and unemployment—the fruits of colonialism—national liberation and independence—the threat of direct and indirect aggression by South African imperialism—these are the very real and pressing problems and dangers facing the people of Lesotho today.

Anyone who diverts the attention of the people from these pressing problems and dangers to the imaginary ‘danger of Communism’ is playing the game of British and South African imperialism. He is dividing the nation at the time of its most serious crisis.

Those who shout loudest about the ‘Communist danger’ are the same men who, when in London for the constitutional talks, wrote to the *Times* newspaper to oppose international sanctions against South Africa. This was a stab in the back for the oppressed African people in the Republic who have called for such sanctions. It was also a betrayal of the Basotho people, for we all know full well that Lesotho can never be safe or independent until white minority domination is replaced by democracy in the Republic, with one vote for every man and woman.

COWARD’S WEAPONS

If some politicians in Lesotho do not agree with the ideas of Marxism, let them discuss their views in open debate. The gunman’s bullet and the assassin’s knife are cowards’ weapons, of the man who cannot answer the arguments of his opponent and lurks in the bushes to kill him. Such methods are alien to the Basotho tradition of freedom, to the tradition of King Moshoeshoe. They are the methods of Verwoerd and Vorster, who are unable to meet the arguments of the Communists and African patriots and therefore pass laws like the Suppression of Communism Act and ban, jail and murder thousands of supporters of freedom, Communist and non-Communist alike.

Sharp criticism must also be made of the conduct of the British colonialist authorities, the self-appointed guardians of ‘law and order’ in Lesotho. Instead of strong action against those who are inciting assassinations they conducted a raid of the premises of the Young Communist League in Maseru. No official statement of any kind has been made condemning political terrorism. Nor have such statements been made by the leaders of the various Basotho political parties and religious movements. This is not a question of the rights and wrongs of Communist theory and policy; fundamentally it is a question whether political matters in Lesotho are to be settled by traditional Basotho methods of reasoned discussion among the people, or by Texas methods of gangsterism in politics. The people of Lesotho have every right and reason to demand that all political and religious leaders in the country should speak out unequivocally now, whatever differences

they may have, to repudiate political terrorism and to show their sympathy with its victims.

An immediate and thorough investigation is required into these foul acts, and also to the links between those who planned and carried them out and the fascist elements in the Republic of South Africa which surrounds Lesotho. The men who kidnapped Ganyile and his companions would not shrink from plotting and organizing terrorism in Lesotho itself.

We South African Communists express our warm brotherly solidarity with comrade John Motloheoa and all other fighters for Basotho freedom, Communists and non-Communists alike. We are convinced that our brave comrades in Lesotho will carry on with their struggle, whatever the dangers and hardships. We assure the Basotho people that their truest and best allies are and always will be the oppressed people of South Africa, their liberation movements and their Communist Party.

Long live Basotho freedom, independence and unity!

Long live the Communist Party of Lesotho!

July 7, 1964.



MANY THANKS to all the readers who have written, from many parts of the world, to our London agent. These letters are a constant source of encouragement and inspiration. Limitation on space, this issue, permits us to print only a few extracts.

From Joseph W. Musole:

'In your journal No. 17 of April-June 1964, I notice that Suzanne Cronje of London does not consider my expositions on class struggles in Zambia as balanced owing to omission of a mention of Dr. Kaunda's name who is "surely one of the most dynamic freedom fighters in Africa". May you please allow me to reply as follows:

'No one doubted the dynamism of Dr. Kaunda and particularly his dedication to the national cause but I am sure even Dr. Kaunda himself will agree with me that, the greatest dedication and sacrifices for the nationalist cause were undertaken by the working class elements, the rural population and the general mass of people forming up Zambia African National Congress and UNIP—the parties he led and which struggled successfully for self-determination of the African people in Zambia. In my opinion, this was a collective struggle and therefore no one man takes the glory of all the achievements of this struggle. In other words, I believe that the party is supreme and will not succumb to one-manism. Collective leadership, collective responsibility, collective action, collective liability and collective glory are attributes of a better and more enlightened leadership.'

From Leopoldville, Congo Republic:

'Students here thirst very much for the liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism. It is our duty to liberate the African intelligentsia from the

ideas of the rulers—ideas of liberalism, bourgeois democracy, “African” socialism, narrow nationalism and other stunts that are retarding the growth of a true Pan-African movement based on the ideas of Marx. Long live the great truths of Marxism-Leninism!’

From a Tanganyikan student:

‘As a student of economics I have followed your articles with great admiration and enthusiasm. While I welcome trends of progress in Tanganyika, it is my firm belief that economically and politically Tanganyika is rapidly becoming a victim of neo-colonialism. . . . Africa is no exception in the development of society, and the hue and cry for “African” socialism is not only utopian in nature but also economically and politically spells suicide to our revolution of national liberation. Yours in the struggle for socialism.’

From Southern Rhodesia:

‘I wish your paper was read by many people, especially those still under the yoke of imperialism, for it is both educative and encouraging. No doubt, without the teachings of the great teachers, the way to Freedom would be too dark. Marxism-Leninism is the only answer for all the oppressed people. There are two forms of society, the capitalist and the socialist; we have to choose between the two. Unfortunately we have people who talk Marxism during the struggle for freedom and fight against it after independence. Thereby they become victims of imperialistic thinking. May the light shine brighter, to be seen throughout the length and breadth of the world.’

A South African in the German Democratic Republic:

‘The *African Communist* is as vital to me as the air I breathe and the bread and butter which I eat. I particularly liked the articles “Sanctions against South Africa”¹ and the one on Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi. Also of particular interest was the letter from an African studying in the Soviet Union. . . . I am sending a donation; I can imagine how hard pressed you must be for money. . . . We will have to mount such an intensive campaign both internationally and at home that the fascist scum who are ruling and ruining our country dare not put the hangman’s noose round the necks of our dear friends, our beloved comrades, leaders and heroes. Long live Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and all our dear comrades!’

¹ This article by P. Tlalê, was reprinted in pamphlet form and sold out within a few weeks. A second edition has now been issued—see announcement elsewhere.

And another South African abroad, this one in West Germany:

'I have thoroughly studied the articles and as a South African I was very glad about how thoroughly you have analysed the situation. As can be understood, here and there I differ, but on the whole I think your magazine is a valuable instrument of clearing up the real questions about the "boiling crucible, South Africa"—and yet a land of so much promise in the near future! Yours in the struggle for a Free, United Africa.'

We close with an appeal to all readers. Many of you write splendid, heartening letters which we are always delighted to receive. But we also need your practical support, if we are to carry on with our difficult task. There are many ways in which you can help. For example: you can send in a postal subscription for yourself, or for your friends. (Subscription rates inside front cover.) You can speak to your local bookshops to stock the *African Communist*. You can form a local discussion group to study the journal and other Marxist-Leninist literature. You can write articles or letters for publication. And—if you can afford it—please send us a donation. We need money badly.

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