

*Central Africa after
Federation.*

*Fascist Terror in South
Africa Today.*

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GHANA'S CHANGING
ECONOMY · Jack Woddie

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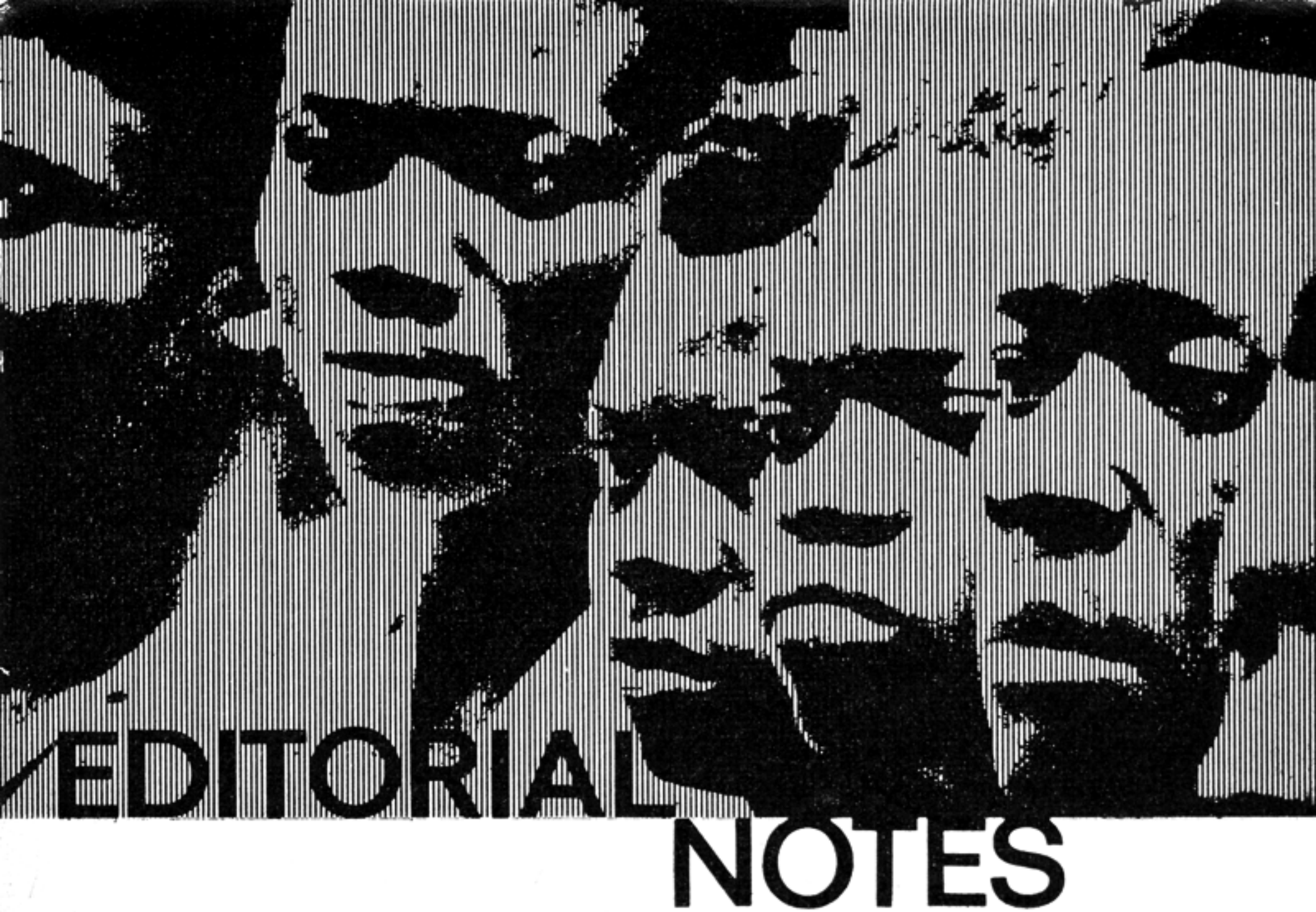
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MURDER WILL OUT

EVEN TODAY, TWENTY YEARS after the collapse of the Hitler regime, its innumerable ghastly crimes continue to shock the world. A new generation, to whom Hitler is just a name in a history book, learn afresh what Nazism meant as they read newspaper reports of belated trials in West German courtrooms. Readers shudder and think how fortunate we are to be living in a world where such inhuman atrocities are a thing of the past. Are we? Verwoerd and Vorster, Hitler's devoted supporters and admirers in South Africa are imposing on fifteen million human beings a terror as savage, as callous towards human rights and dignity, as the regimes imposed by the self-appointed 'Herrenvolk' in Occupied Europe. In a world where the United Nations have proclaimed the fundamental rights of all men and women without distinction, the neo-Nazis are jailing, torturing and murdering the finest sons of South Africa who dare to claim those very rights for their countrymen.

Typically, the South African Hitlerites try to conceal their crimes from the people of our country and the outside world. Vorster denies that his police use torture (they torture on his instructions; he provides

the equipment). 'Trials' for so-called 'sabotage' are held in dark, secret places, in out-of-the-way villages meant to be inaccessible to lawyers and reporters. But murder will out. We do not have to wait twenty years to learn the truth about these crimes against humanity; it is there for all to see who wish to see and have eyes to see.

In the 'Documents' section of this issue of our journal, we publish the full text of a record which amounts to the case for the People in tomorrow's Nuremberg Trial. Headed, prosaically enough, 'Note on repressive measures against the opponents of the policies of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa', and written in a sober, unemotional style, this is one of the great human documents of our time. It also contains enough potential dynamite to blast the whole ugly edifice of Verwoerd's Reich to hell. This, briefly, is the background:

On March 23, 1964, the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid adopted unanimously an urgent report to the Security Council proposing effective mandatory measures to meet the grave situation facing opponents of apartheid in South Africa, in which many are threatened with execution.

The Report called upon the Security Council to demand that the South African government should 'refrain from the execution of persons sentenced to death under the arbitrary laws providing the death sentence for offences arising from opposition to the government's racial policies'; 'end immediately trials now proceeding under these arbitrary laws and give an amnesty to all political prisoners'; 'desist immediately from taking further discriminatory measures . . . and other actions likely to aggravate the present situation'.

Should the South African government fail to comply 'within a brief time limit,' with these 'minimum but vital demands' the Committee recommends 'new mandatory steps' to compel it to do so. It also asks that the Security Council request 'the main States which maintain close relations with South Africa' to do all in their power to oblige the Verwoerd government to comply with these demands.

Together with this vital Resolution the Committee's Reporter, Mr. Ram C. Malhotra of Nepal, submitted a Note on Repressive Measures. It was submitted to Secretary-General U Thant by Chairman Diallo Telli of the Special Committee.

Because of the limited circulation which United Nations documents normally achieve, the Editorial Board of this journal has decided to devote the necessary space in this issue to the text of this authoritative, fully-documented and devastating indictment of White Terror in South Africa. We make no apology to our readers for so doing, though this has meant that some important articles have had to be held over until our next issue.

The world dare not remain indifferent or passive in the face of this indictment. This is not just a South African problem, or even an African problem; it is a world problem. Increasingly the world is being compelled to recognize it as such. Year after year, with increasing vigour, the United Nations has taken solemn decisions and issued solemn warnings to South Africa to bring her policy into line with the Charter. Heads of states issue moving appeals for clemency. The peoples everywhere in the world, through their trade unions, peace, democratic, religious and other organizations, raise their voices in strong protest. White South Africa is ostracized from one international assembly after another, from the World Health Organization to the Olympic Games.

Yet, to every one of these moving expressions of the noblest that is in the human spirit, the Verwoerd regime responds with arrogant defiance and contempt. It is blind and deaf to humanitarian appeals and entreaties. Confident in the support of influential business circles in Britain and other imperialist countries, it is equally contemptuous of threats of boycotts and economic sanctions, which it dismisses as not meant to be taken seriously. Occasionally a more sober voice is raised, as when Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, head of the vast Anglo-American Corporation mining empire, warned of the difficulties of marketing South African products in 'an unfriendly world'. But with British and American capital pouring into the country to take advantage of the high rates of profit made possible by apartheid and cheap labour, the local capitalists and farmers are enjoying boom conditions and little disposed to heed such warning voices.

At the core of this situation an intolerable conflict is developing. The repeatedly expressed will of the great majority of the world's inhabitants, as of the great majority of South Africa's inhabitants, is that the obscenity of apartheid should be annihilated. But the greed, and great influence of a handful of imperialist profiteers in Britain and elsewhere (the United States, West Germany, France, Japan, play an important part) is able to frustrate this will of the people, including the people of their own countries, and sustain the murderous Verwoerd tyranny in power. This conflict is not static; it is building up towards a climax. It must be resolved; there must be a showdown.

Two events about to take place at the time when these Notes are being written, will contribute powerfully to this resolution. The first, in point of time, is the international Conference on Sanctions against Apartheid, about to convene (on April 14) in London. It is not possible to forecast with any degree of accuracy what the outcome will be of this crucially important gathering; it can hardly disperse without, at the very least, advancing world action against Verwoerd's regime a

big step forward, forward from noble words and gestures to effective police measures against apartheid and its accomplices.

The second is the final phase of the 'Rivonia' trial of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Lionel Bernstein, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Dennis Goldberg, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni. On April 20 the defence will present its case, prior to the verdicts and sentences. From many points of view this is the most important political trial ever held in South Africa. The main accused, such legendary figures as Sisulu and Mandela, are the most beloved spokesmen of the great majority of the people; it would be unthinkable that in any government elected by popular vote they would not be occupying the front Ministerial Benches. The death sentences against the leading A.N.C. men in Port Elizabeth cannot but be regarded as a most sinister precedent, foreboding drastic sentences in this trial too. Such sentences would—in a country which still remembers Slagters Nek—create repercussions whose immediate consequences are unpredictable, and whose bitterness would poison relations for generations to come. Only the most sustained international pressure can save the people's heroes from the gallows.

Thirty years ago, when Hitler came to power, warning voices were raised, calling for a united world front against fascism. To a large extent they were disregarded. We were told that this was the 'domestic, internal concern of Germany'. Under the slogan of Appeasement, the ruling classes in Britain, the United States and other imperialist states, in pursuit of big profits and cold war strategies, provided the financial and diplomatic backing the Nazis needed to crush German resistance. It cost millions of dead and untold suffering, in Europe, Asia and Africa, together with widespread destruction in many lands, not least Germany itself, before the nightmare was ended.

Do we have to go through all that again? For, unbridled, appeased and backed up in 'the West' Verwoerd will drag the world into war as surely as his master did before him. Only one thing can stop it: stern, rapid and effective international action against Verwoerd-Hitlerism. Africa cannot tolerate the continued existence of this monstrous regime on its soil. Apartheid in South Africa is incompatible with the principles and the very survival of the Union Nations. Ultimately, it is incompatible with the preservation of world peace.

THE ALGIERS AFRO-ASIAN MEETING

THE SIXTH SESSION OF THE AFRO-ASIAN People's Solidarity Council which took place from March 22 to 27 in the heroic city of Algiers, followed in the tradition of the historic meetings of Bandung and the

resolutions of the Cairo, Conakry and Moshi conferences. In its general declaration, the meeting stressed the continuity of the solidarity movement of the peoples of the two continents. It demanded the total liberation of all African, Asian and other peoples as the condition for real peace; repeated its conviction of the need for the realisation of world peace; for general disarmament; for understanding and peaceful coexistence among states of different political and social systems. It called upon the African and Asian peoples to exert all their efforts to co-ordinate the struggle for national liberation and effectively to aid, both materially and morally, the fighters for freedom. And it summoned them to intensify the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination.

The Declaration noted with satisfaction that the world situation had developed favourably for the African and Asian peoples, enabling them to strengthen their front of struggle and win 'unprecedented victories' over all forms of colonialism and imperialism. In this respect special attention was drawn to the historic achievement for Africa and the world constituted by the establishment of the Organisation for African Unity at Addis Ababa, and also to the contribution towards unity of the recent summit conference of Arab states. At the same time, the meeting warned that 'imperialism has not laid down its arms and will do everything it can to perpetuate its domination by means of its economic presence'. It condemned foreign bases and aggressive military pacts, rejected imperialist interference in African and Asian affairs, and denounced the aggressive war policy of imperialism. It reaffirmed 'unshakeable confidence' in the historic solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples, as a factor 'capable of ensuring true peace and unity of our peoples for progress and prosperity'.

A number of specific resolutions were taken, expressing solidarity with the peoples of South Vietnam, South Korea, Laos, the Arab countries, Panama, and a number of African countries. The Zanzibar revolution was welcomed, and particularly the March declaration of land nationalisation. Full support was voted to the struggle against Portuguese colonialism being conducted in Angola, 'Portuguese' Guinea and the Cape Verde islands. Full solidarity was expressed with the struggling peoples of the Cameroons, of the Rhodesias, of South-West Africa: with the brave heroes of the fight against Verwoerd's fascist apartheid regime in South Africa.

It is greatly to be regretted, however, that to some extent the concentration of the meeting on these and similar burning issues was diverted by a projection into the proceedings of the Council meeting of the so-called ideological dispute within the Communist movement. As the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party

pointed out in its statement on this question published in our last issue, 'Differences about Marxist theory have not been confined to the Communist Parties, but have spread into international organisations and gatherings of peace, labour, national liberation and other progressive movements embracing both Communists and non-Communists . . . We think that the detailed interpretation of questions of Marxist-Leninist theory should never be submitted for debate or arbitration to non-Communists.'

Alas! This sound proposal was not followed at all. At the beginning of the meeting, the head of the Chinese delegation, Kuo Chien, launched an unrestrained attack against the Soviet Union, which she referred to as 'a certain outside force'. And we should say, here, that this description itself is extremely tendentious and deliberately misleading. Everyone knows that a large part of the territory of the Soviet Union (indeed, more than half) lies in Asia, and that a number of the Soviet Republics, for example the Azerbaijan, Kirghiz, Tajik and Turkmen Republics, are Asian. At the original Bandung Conference this was well understood by all progressive anti-imperialist participants, not least the delegation of the People's Republic of China. But that was before the Chinese leaders had developed their present dispute with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. At the Moshi session they tried unsuccessfully to get the Soviet delegation excluded from the Council Meeting; the phrase 'outside force' indicates they have not given up this line of attack. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Chinese leaders have become obsessed with their vendetta against Comrade Khrushchov and the Soviet Union to a degree where everything else has to be subordinated to it: hard-won achievements of Afro-Asian solidarity and Communist unity, Marxist-Leninist principles, and even the plain facts of global geography.

Kuo Chien presented the Council meeting with a grotesquely distorted caricature of the policy of the Soviet Union (in fact, of the policy of the Communist movement as a whole, with the participation of her own Party in 1957 and 1960). The meeting was told that this policy consists of opposition to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism, on the grounds that this task had been completed and that 'the main task now confronting the Afro-Asian peoples . . . is peaceful co-existence with imperialism' and 'general and complete disarmament'. This means, she said, 'that the oppressed nations must forever suffer imperialist plunder and enslavement,' and that they should 'lay down their arms in their struggle against imperialism'. No Communist, Soviet or otherwise, has ever, of course, advocated such puerile nonsense.

The most deeply disturbing thing is that the Chinese themselves know this as well as anyone else. When their representative, proceeding

to the uttermost limits of absurdity, accused the Soviet Union of capitulation to imperialism and even of 'standing on the same side as the imperialists and colonialists' she and her audience alike must have known in their hearts that this picture bore no relation to the real world we are living in. All the delegates at the meeting, even some who are anti-Communist and by no means themselves innocent of imperialist ties, were fully aware that the Soviet Union has been and remains in the vanguard of the historic struggle for the overthrow of imperialism. It is still today the Soviet Union which is the chief target of imperialist attack, and the fortress of progress whose achievements, whose formidable strength and whose determined and relentless championship of the cause of national liberation have made possible the coming together of such an inspiring concourse of representatives of the liberated peoples of Africa and Asia on the soil of free Algeria.

Inevitably not only the Soviet delegation but also a number of other African and Asian delegations, could not allow these furious attacks to pass unchallenged. And so we had, once again, the unseemly spectacle of a great international gathering, with urgent, world-historic tasks before it, compelled to divert time and energy which could not be spared for the consideration of what is supposed to be an argument on the interpretation of Marxist-Leninist theory. The cause of the African and Asian people—and in particular those like the Southern Africans, still languishing under the merciless terror and oppression of colonialism—is not advanced; it is retarded by this unseemly factional activity. The blame must be put where it belongs: on the shoulders of the Chinese leaders, who, deaf to every appeal for an end to public polemics, pursue them ever more violently, regardless of the methods used, and reckless of the consequences.

IRAQ'S HEROIC COMMUNISTS

FEW WORKERS' OR LIBERATION movements have undergone trials and sacrifices in recent times such as have been faced by the Communist Party of Iraq, which was founded just thirty years ago, on March 31, 1934. It arose out of the Committee for Fighting Imperialism and Fascism and rapidly spread its influence throughout the country, leading successful strikes of the workers and gaining a wide circulation for its newspaper, *Kifah Alshaab*. The reactionary authorities, backed by foreign imperialism, began the long series of repressive measures, and because of weak and factional elements in the Party these were at first successful in causing serious setbacks. But, led by the first general secretary, Fahad (Yousif Salman Yousif), and such determined com-

rades as Hazim (Zeki Mohammed Basim) and Sarim (Husain Mohammed Alshebibi), a determined struggle was waged against liquidationism and factions. Unity, on a firm basis of principle was restored. The conference of 1944 and the general congress of 1945 approved the constitution and worked out plans to organize and lead the people, and to build national liberation and trade union movements. The watchword was: "Strengthen the Party organization; strengthen the organization of the national movement". The Party fought against imperialism and the pro-imperialist monarchy, for a united national front, for genuine national independence, democratic rule and the vital interests of the working people. It demanded that the Kurdish people should enjoy their just rights.

The defeat of Fascism in the second world war, in which the Soviet Union played the major role, greatly stimulated the democratic consciousness of the Iraqi people. Mass struggles took place in Iraq, in which the Communist Party played a leading role. There were big strikes, in the post war years, of railway workers, dock workers and oil workers. Revolutionary peasant uprisings took place in both Arab and Kurdish regions. There were national uprisings in 1948, 1952 and 1956. In all these glorious struggles the Iraqi Communists played a worthy part, and suffered heavy losses. On February 14 and 15, 1949, the dictator Nuri Said took Fahad, Zeki Bassim and Alshebibi from prison and hanged them. Hundreds of Party members and supporters were jailed or exiled; many were killed in the jails by the rulers, agents of foreign imperialism. But the Party gained the love and support of the masses. It became the most influential political party in the country.

Thus it was the Iraqi Communist Party which played the key role in forming the National Union Front in 1947, and in linking it with the patriotic movement inside the army, which culminated in the revolution of July 14, 1958, which overthrew the Nuri Said regime. After the revolution the Party did its best to strengthen and safeguard the newly-won independence under the Kassem regime. But imperialist manoeuvres concentrated on intrigues to split national unity and, in particular, to isolate and sow suspicion against the Communists. The various bourgeois groups, including the Baath so-called socialists, collaborated in these manoeuvres. Certain 'short-term tactical errors', as they are described by the Political Bureau of the Party in its statement on the thirtieth anniversary, were seized on by reaction. A 'violent and hysterical campaign of slander' was launched against the Party. Instead of strengthening national unity and independence, Kassem joined in the campaign, strengthened his one-man dictatorship, persecuted the Kurdish people and neglected the interests of the working people. Kassem's anti-Communist policy paved the way for

the success of the imperialist-controlled conspiracy which led to the Baath coup a year ago.

'The fascist Baath rulers,' declares the Iraqi Communist Party, 'set up the most abominable regime of terror yet known in the history of Iraq. Thousands of Communists and democrats were killed; tens of thousands imprisoned. We lost the leaders of the Party, Salam Adil, first secretary of the C.C., Jamal Alhaidry, George Tello and Mohammed Abbali—members of the Political Bureau—and the outstanding leader Mohammed Husain Abol Ese, as well as other outstanding members.' The whole world was shocked by the bloody massacres let loose by the Baath regime and its Hitlerite 'national guards'. Yet the Iraqi Communists did not lose heart; they maintained their activities and their confidence in the masses during the most difficult period. A turn for the better occurred when, 'amidst curses and shame' the Baath rule collapsed in the new coup d'etat of November 18, 1963. The leaders of this coup dissolved the 'national guard' and exposed some of the Baath's crimes.

But democracy has still not been restored in Iraq. Tens of thousands of patriots, Communists and others, have not been released from the jails into which they were thrown by the Baath, and courts martial are still condemning newly-arrested freedom-fighters to imprisonment. Undaunted by its cruel losses and sacrifices, the Iraqi Communist Party carries on its struggle for a national united front of all democratic, anti-imperialist forces, which will bring to an end the period of military rule and set up a government of national coalition. Essentials of such a government, declares the Party, are that it should release all the victims of the fascist terror, guarantee democratic freedoms, concede the national rights of the Kurdish people, and stand up decisively against imperialism and the plunder of Iraqi oil resources.

The Iraqi Communist Party is firmly attached to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and regards itself as a 'division of the international Communist army'. 'Our Party,' declares the Central Committee in its anniversary statement, 'and the broad masses in our country know very well that the national liberation movement, including the national liberation movement in the Arab countries, could not have been able to advance and achieve historic victories without the October Revolution, and without the existence of the mighty socialist camp in the vanguard of which stands the U.S.S.R.'

Despite all their bitter experiences, the statement of the Party is filled with confidence in the people, and confidence in victory. We are sure they are correct when they write: 'Nuri Said and the Baathists have fallen, but the names of Fahad, Salam Adil and their comrades will

live forever in the hearts of the revolutionary toilers and intellectuals in our country.'

TANGANYIKA'S TRADE UNIONS

It is with the most serious misgivings that we contemplate the new labour legislation in the African Republic of Tanganyika. Although great pre-independence strikes in the territory contributed substantially to the achievement of independence, the trade union leaders in that country, to a large extent, allowed themselves to be influenced by the ill-intentioned 'advice' of the British TUC and the ICFTU to 'keep out of politics'. So doing, they isolated the organized labour movement from the national liberation struggle, thus surrendering it to the leadership of middle-class elements, some of whom lacked much sympathy for the working class and its problems. But for this misfortune, the labour organizations of Tanganyika, as elsewhere in Africa, would surely have played a leading role in the independence struggle, and would today be reaping the benefit for their members and playing a more important part in planning and building the New Tanganyika.

But that is no excuse for the deplorable anti-trade union measures recently enacted by the Tanganyika legislature. Hundreds of trade union officials have been detained. It is said that some of them misused union funds. If that is so, though we are not aware of any members having complained, they should have been charged in court.

Worse still is that the various unions have now been dissolved, to be replaced by a completely undemocratic general workers' union which amounts to a state labour organization. Membership is compulsory. All officials, even at branch level, are to be appointed from above. The first general secretary, state-appointed, is the present Minister of Labour. This means that the whole principle of trade unionism, as a democratically constituted voluntary organization of workers, is thrown overboard; though the employers—mostly non-Africans—are left free to organize as they please.

Tanganyika workers are wondering whether it is just a coincidence that this reactionary law was passed immediately after the return of British troops to their country, or whether it owes something to imperialist influence. Certainly it is just the sort of labour legislation the Tories would love to introduce in Britain, if they could get away with it.

A NEW CHAPTER FOR EGYPT

The month of May will see the opening of the first section of the High Aswan Dam in the United Arab Republic. Built with Soviet assistance,

this new project will be of immense economic importance and will go far towards transforming the lives of millions of Egyptian fellaheen (peasants).

Dynamic changes are taking place in other directions of Egypt's economy, an increasing sector of which is being nationalized. Latest reports indicate that, at long last, there are even moves to release the many Communist and other patriotic political prisoners, whose detention and ill-treatment have hitherto constituted an ugly blot on the fair name of the United Arab Republic.

We hope to publish an up-to-the-minute survey on all these developments in our next issue.

Ghana's new Seven Year Plan will end in December 1970, to coincide with the tenth anniversary of the Republic. 'It is our hope,' declared President Kwame Nkrumah, 'that by the end of this plan . . . firm foundations will have been laid for the complete transformation of Ghana into a strong, industrialised socialist economy and society.' In this article a noted British student of African affairs analyses Ghana's Changing Economy.

GHANA'S CHANGING ECONOMY

Jack Woddis

The Ghana revolution is a popular socialist revolution. Its driving force is the all-conquering power of the downtrodden classes that constitute the majority—the men and women who work and till the soil, and have as their allies the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist intellectual and traditional elements. It has as its foundation the unity of all popular forces.—Spark January 17, 1964. (Weekly newspaper published in Accra.)

THOUGH ONLY 'SEVEN YEARS OLD', Ghana is one of the first of the new independent states that have arisen in Africa since the end of the Second World War. It is therefore opportune to examine her economic progress, to assess how far she has gone in liquidating the former colonialist economy and in creating a new basis for raising the people's living standards.

Ghana has been an outspoken opponent of imperialism, both in its open and direct forms as well as in its more indirect methods of neo-colonialism. She has championed the cause of those African peoples still languishing under European rule, and from the very moment of her birth as an independent state has lived by the rallying slogan of her President, Kwame Nkrumah, that Ghana's independence is meaningless unless all Africa is free. She has been a leading fighter for African unity, at the same time emphasising that this unity must be based on African independence and anti-imperialism if it is to have any meaning.

She has been a consistent advocate of the cause of peace, playing a leading role in denouncing the French nuclear weapon tests in the Sahara, calling for Africa to be a nuclear-free zone, and assembling at Accra the first major African peace conference. She has campaigned for all-African trade union unity and for the building up of strong African trade unions severed from all dependence on the imperialist-orientated I.C.F.T.U. She has established firm economic relations with the socialist countries, especially with the Soviet Union. She has proudly nailed the banner of socialism to her national mast, at the same time making clear that she is basing herself on scientific socialism, and that she recognizes, in the words of President Nkrumah: 'We have still to lay the actual foundations upon which socialism can be built.'

The totality of these policies makes Ghana one of the leading progressive states in Africa. It equally makes her a major target of imperialist hostility and intrigue. The western press consistently attacks the Ghana Government, falsely depicting it as tyrannical because it does not hesitate to act sternly against those reactionary, self-seeking elements in Ghana society who have shown their readiness to act as imperialism's cat's-paws.

Such attacks from the West, however, far from turning the people of Ghana away from supporting their government in its courageous efforts to reconstruct the nation's economy and uphold national sovereignty have only served to stiffen the people's resolve to press onwards more energetically to fulfilling their historic tasks.

NEW PERSONNEL IN THE STATE

Since gaining independence, Ghana's national leaders and the Convention People's Party have striven to enhance the authority of the central government, to strengthen national unity in the face of repeated imperialist attempts to foster tribal division, and to staff the Ghana state institutions with patriotic Ghanaian citizens in place of the former cadres of British imperialism. It had been the experience of President Kwame Nkrumah, even in the period before full political independence when he was acting as First Minister under conditions of internal self-government, that the British colonial officials and civil servants working within the state machine could not be relied upon to implement the anti-colonial measures which he desired to introduce. On the contrary, they did everything they possibly could to delay and utterly thwart such proposals. Writing in his autobiography, *Ghana*, in 1956, President Nkrumah pointed out:

'... it did not escape my notice that where the administrative service was concerned, if a policy was laid down for the officials by the Government with which they disagreed, means were adopted, by subterfuge or

otherwise, to wreck that policy. At other times I would find that matters I wanted to be dealt with urgently, would be delayed indefinitely (because they were not approved of by some of the officials) until I had to intervene and get the job done.'

President Nkrumah stressed that the British civil servants in the Ghana administration did not limit their efforts to holding up the Government's plans. They actively worked to weaken the Government and to assist the reactionary opposition. 'I could at one time', writes the President, 'almost guarantee that if there was any movement afoot against the Government, every attempt was made on the part of the civil service to enhance the opposition against the Government.'

From these experiences Kwame Nkrumah drew the correct and valuable lesson that 'after any political revolution, non-violent or violent, the new government should, immediately on coming to power, clear out from the civil service all its old leaders. My own experience taught me that by failing to do so, a revolutionary government risks its own destruction.'

There is no painless advance to political power wherever fundamental social change is involved. To defeat the privileged class and the elements opposed to the people's advance and curb the developing 'new rich' in Ghana, is to challenge the whole capitalist order the world over.—
Spark, January 8, 1964.

Acting on the basis of this understanding, the Ghana Government under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party, has set about clearing out from the key positions in the State the old imperialist cadres and placing all the departments under the control of Ghanaian citizens.

This process has included the removal of British military officers from their command posts in 1961 and bringing the armed forces firmly under Ghanaian hands.

According to a statement by the Ghana Minister of Defence, Kofi Baako, there are now only 0.6 per cent non-Ghanaians in the top grades in the civil, judicial and police services. Further, every single Ministry, Secretariat and Department in the Civil Service is now headed by an African. In the police service there are now 148 African superior officers out of a total of 151. In the statutory boards and corporations and in other State-sponsored organizations, the same trend is apparent; over forty-five of these, out of a total of sixty, are headed by Africans. In the judicial system, all the fifteen Supreme Court and High Court Judges, eight Circuit Judges and twenty-four District Magistrates are Africans.

SOCIAL ADVANCES

The placing of the State and administration firmly in Ghanaian hands has facilitated social and economic progress and has enabled the Ghana people to commence tackling their immense task of reconstructing their economy and so strengthening their national sovereignty. In pursuing these aims, the Ghana people and their national leaders have had no narrow departmental view of economics but have wisely related their social and educational programme to the major economic aim.

In the field of health an important beginning has been made, with the stepping up of the provision of hospitals, clinics and health facilities, and the training of doctors, midwives, nurses, and dispensers. The number of hospital beds in Ghana is now 6,500—still very limited for a population of 6½ million, but already double the figure for 1960 and increasing all the time. There are now thirty-seven Government hospitals, as well as a further thirty-two hospitals subsidized by the Government. By the end of 1963 there will be nearly fifty rural health centres. A number of Ghanaian women have been sent overseas for medical training and for training as nurses. Between 1951 and 1961 the number of doctors trebled. Maternity and child welfare clinics are now to be established in more towns and cities; and a National Accident Insurance Scheme is to be inaugurated. By 1970 it is intended that there should be one doctor to every 10,000 people.

The money and resources allocated to the health services is in no sense regarded as a diversion away from the much needed economic effort. On the contrary, it is regarded as very much linked to that effort. Ghana, like all African countries emerging from colonialism, has found that widespread ill-health and malnutrition are major obstacles to increased productivity by the workers. Dr. Jozsef Bognar, the well-known Hungarian economist, who was invited by President Nkrumah to participate in drawing up Ghana's new Seven Year Plan, pointed out after his visit to Ghana that 'improvements in health conditions and in nutrition are part of the preconditions for raising the productivity of labour'.

The question of education, too, is seen very much in terms of the needs of developing the national economy. On this question, too, Dr. Bognar has stressed that 'training in skills, raising the level of the training of the labour force . . .' are essential if there is to be an increase in labour productivity. At the moment, he stresses, much of the labour force is 'incapable of concentration because of the low level of skill.'

The expansion of educational facilities, and the changing of the whole pattern of education, have been amongst the most outstanding of independent Ghana's many achievements. In 1957, when Ghana be-

came independent, she had eighteen secondary schools attended by only 3,000 students. Today, she has seventy-four secondary schools attended by 23,000 students, a nearly eight-fold increase! By the end of the new Seven-Year Plan, the enrolment is intended to be 78,000. Between 1951 (when Ghana first had a measure of internal self-government and some possibilities for improving education) and 1961, the number of children in primary schools more than trebled. During the period 1962-63 a further 1,412 primary and 239 middle schools were opened. By the beginning of 1964 Ghana had over 7,000 primary schools attended by 1,200,000 children. By 1970 it is planned to have 2,200,000 at primary schools. Text books are now supplied free to all approved primary, middle and secondary schools. Ghana now has three university institutions with a combined student body of over 3,000, and a number of teacher training colleges, as well as research institutes attached to the Ghana Academy of Sciences.

In contradiction to the old colonial pattern in which among the limited number of Ghanaians able to obtain university education, the emphasis was placed on law and the humanities, the emphasis is now very much on science and technology in order that the educational bodies can turn out an increasing number of qualified people able to participate more directly in production and the development of the national economy. Both industry and agriculture will be equipped with a growing body of cadres. Science has already been made a basic subject in all secondary schools and is now being introduced into the middle schools as well. One of the three universities, the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, is placing special emphasis on scientific and industrial training in order to promote technological progress in Ghana. A National Science Museum will be opened in 1965.

In the new Seven Year Plan Ghana will spend no less than £61 million on education—which is twice as much as is allocated for health, and three times as much as is to be spent on housing. The Ghana Government takes the view that the rapid training of skilled cadres is a priority question without which Ghana's economic—and thus, in the long run, social—progress will be severely handicapped. When one considers that in 1960 three-quarters of the adult population had never been to school it is obvious how necessary is this emphasis which the Ghana government is placing on education.

INHERITING A BACKWARD AND DISTORTED ECONOMY

In the decisive field of the national economy, too, Ghana has made impressive progress. How significant this is can best be judged if we

take into account Ghana's economy at the time of winning political independence.

When Ghana became a sovereign state in 1957 she bore all the hallmarks of a colony in the sphere of her economy. She was mainly a producer of raw materials—especially cocoa along with timber, palm-oil, gold, diamonds, bauxite and manganese. These commodities were produced not in accordance with Ghana's internal needs but for export in their raw state, to be processed and enter industry and commerce in the West. Ghana's mineral wealth was dominated by big British and other western monopolies. Her agricultural wealth, largely produced by individual peasant producers, was purchased cheaply by the big British trading monopolies, such as the United Africa Company, a subsidiary of the giant firm, Unilever. Thus Ghana produced raw materials in order to enrich foreign monopoly firms. The low wages paid to the miners enabled the big mining firms to make exceptionally high profits. The low purchasing price which the peasant producers had to accept from the big trading firms which had a monopoly over trade enabled these firms, too, to make huge profits.

Furthermore, Ghana's one-sided concentration on raw materials' production for export also meant a complete neglect of the domestic production of foodstuffs. Traditional subsistence agriculture was neglected in favour of cash crops such as cocoa, and Ghana was compelled to spend millions of pounds a year in importing necessary food-stuffs. In his recent book, *Africa Must Unite*, President Nkrumah describes how, before the Second World War, the Ghanaian people were told by the British colonial authorities that the Ghana climate and soil were unsuitable for cultivating potatoes. During the war, however, large numbers of British troops were stationed there. British troops without the proverbial potatoes could not be thought of. To import large quantities, however, was out of the question; in view of the desperate needs of war and the Nazi submarine campaign, valuable shipping space could not be devoted to importing potatoes. Consequently the British authorities obtained a supply of seed potatoes and throughout the war grew potatoes in Ghana. As soon as the war was over the British authorities turned back the clock, and once again discouraged potato growing in Ghana on the specious plea that the soil and climate were not really suitable! The deliberate discouragement of Ghana's food industry has meant that, to this day, Ghana has to spend about 20 per cent of all her imports on importing foodstuffs, much of which she should be able to produce in Ghana.

A further, and in some ways much more serious, consequence of Ghana's concentration on a few minerals and crops for export was the complete dependence on imports for her manufactured goods and

machinery. Even elementary processing was not carried out domestically. Ghana was virtually without industry. She exported palm oil—and imported soap; exported bauxite—and imported aluminium pots and pans; exported timber—and imported furniture and paper; exported hides and leather—and imported boots and shoes. She was (and still is) the world's largest exporter of cocoa-beans, but every bar of chocolate or tin of cocoa had to be imported. Ghana even had to spend hundreds of thousands of pounds every year importing jute sacks into which to load her raw cocoa for export! In *Africa Must Unite* Kwame Nkrumah points out that Ghana expressed her limes but had to export the lime juice overseas where it was bottled; Ghana then was obliged to import back the bottled juice made from her own expressed limes!

In order to strengthen the socialist movement throughout Africa, we think that 1964 should see the emergence of co-ordinating action by truly socialist political parties and movements throughout Africa to fight the synchronised operation of collective imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa.—Spark, December 28, 1963.

Ghana was no exception in Africa. All the new states, as they embark on their independent path, find themselves almost completely without industry. Often even nails have to be imported.

UNEQUAL PRICES

The distortion of Ghana's economy in this fashion—concentration on raw materials for export to the detriment of domestic industry—has had another serious consequence, one that is a familiar problem for all newly developing countries. Statistics over the past fifty years show that prices of industrial and manufactured goods tend to rise more rapidly than prices of raw materials, especially of agricultural items. On top of that, prices of raw materials are much more unstable, so that even where they may show a significant rise in one year they may, just as suddenly—owing to the position of the world market or the deliberate moves of the big capitalist trading monopolies dominating capitalist trade—show an alarming drop and throw into utter confusion the estimates and plans of the developing countries.

Where a country's economy is based on exporting raw materials and importing practically all its manufactured goods and machinery requirements, it faces a losing battle. The price relationships of imports and exports become ever more unequal, and the country's increased efforts to expand production of raw materials and increase the volume

of exports only meet with ever-decreasing monetary returns. Thus the gap between itself and the more advanced, industrialized countries becomes wider and wider. In the case of countries whose economy is largely dependent on one crop or mineral, the hazards are even greater.

Ghana, whose economy has been mainly based on cocoa, a crop whose world price has shown considerable fluctuations in the past two decades, is particularly vulnerable. By 1962, Ghana found that a volume of her exports which sold for £100 in 1954 were fetching, eight years later, only £70; imports, formerly valued at £100, were costing £107. This means that by 1962 Ghana was having to export **50 per cent more in volume in order to receive in return the same quantity of imported manufactures.**

In his sessional address to the Ghana National Assembly on October 15, 1963, President Nkrumah pointed out that during the past main cocoa season earnings from the export of cocoa beans was £67 million, which was £2 million less than receipts in 1961 although the volume of crops exported was 4 per cent higher than in the previous year.

Such a situation plays havoc with the balance of payments, and is an additional reason why Ghana is making strenuous efforts to do away with the distorted economic structure bequeathed to her by colonialism.

IMPORT SUBSTITUTION

Independent Ghana has begun to transform her economy, to end her dependence on raw materials production, to develop import substitution, to diversify her agriculture and grow more foodstuffs, and to lay the basis for industrialization. In carrying through these radical changes, the Ghana Government and people have found it necessary to take over a number of foreign enterprises, to initiate a state sector of the economy, to draw up economic plans, to strengthen state control over trade, to encourage both producer and marketing co-operatives, and to diversify external trading relations, in particular in the direction of the socialist countries.

In the field of import substitution Ghana has already registered important successes. She is manufacturing a number of goods from her own raw materials which were formerly produced only for export, and is thus developing a whole range of light industries.

Ghana now manufactures furniture, timber products and tissue paper from her own ample supplies of timber; she even exports some lines of furniture and tissue paper. Soap is now being produced from Ghana raw materials by the new £2 million soap factory recently established at Tema by the big firm, Lever Brothers. Ghana now grows her own jute, and has established a factory at Kumasi, which is now turning out sacks. Eventually it will provide half of Ghana's annual

requirements of cocoa sacks. Ghana is also building two factories for processing cocoa (one at Takoradi and the other at Tema), and aims, by the end of her Seven Year Plan, which goes into operation this year, to be exporting half her cocoa in processed form instead of raw. With help from Czechoslovakia, a £1,700,000 state-owned shoe factory is being constructed at Kumasi. Its annual output by 1965 will be two million pairs of shoes.

Among other light industries already in operation are matches, nails, cigars, bricks, boats and biscuits. Further plans include a fish cannery, four fruit and vegetable canneries, and a £1,600,000 factory for bleaching, dyeing and printing grey baft. Glass is to be produced, and Ghana will thus be able to bottle her own lime juice. Two other projects expected to go into operation in 1964 are a meat processing factory and a packing plant. A new rubber factory, to produce 300,000 canvas shoes and 200,000 beach sandals a month, is under construction in Accra and is expected to go into production this November. In this connection, Ghana is developing her own rubber production. With the aid of the State Farms Corporation which plans to have 30,000 acres given over to rubber cultivation in the next few years, and the United Ghana Farmers' Council Co-operatives whose seventy-eight rubber co-operatives aim to have a rubber acreage of 100,000 acres by the end of 1964, Ghana will soon have adequate supplies of home-grown rubber to feed into the new £600,000 rubber processing factory to be built at Abura. This will pave the way for a number of other industries making tyres, footwear, farm machinery, belts and so on. Two sugar refineries are also being built.

A foundation has recently been laid on the outskirts of Accra of a factory for producing prefabricated houses. With Soviet technical assistance, it should be completed in about a year's time and will provide about 1,000 room units per day. Initially it will provide houses for 22,000 workers in Accra and self-contained community dwellings for about 11,000 people in the new port of Tema. The Soviet Union is also assisting Ghana to establish a gold refinery.

The Ghana Government and the Soviet Union have signed a contract for the construction of a complex of fishing industries at Tema. The contract provides for a fish-canning factory, to produce 20,000 cans a day, a fish-smoking factory with an output of six tons of smoked fish a day, a fish-cookery shop capable of producing one ton of various fish products a day, and a fishmeal and grease plant which will produce up to 30 tons of raw fish products a day. The combination of these projects will provide Ghana with an integrated fishing industry which will, in the near future, save the importation of £5 million worth of fish products a year.

BASIS FOR INDUSTRIALIZATION

The policy of the Ghana Government and the proposals of the Seven Year Plan are intended to carry Ghana beyond the phase of merely producing consumer goods from her present raw materials. The aim is, according to the Plan, to make Ghana ultimately 'a predominantly industrial trading country'. Primary products, such as cocoa and minerals, 'which have formed the core of our fortunes for the past sixty years must gradually be replaced by the products of medium and heavy manufacturing industry'.

The purpose behind this goal of industrialization is the creation of 'a Socialist society in which the individual Ghanaian will be able to enjoy a modern standard of living in his home supplemented by an advanced level of public services outside'. And it is the expectation that 'significant progress' in this direction will be achieved during the next twenty years.

In the first stage, which is covered by the present Seven Year Plan—staple consumer goods and basic building materials will be supplied from domestic resources. During this period, too, the main exports—cocoa, minerals, timber—will increasingly be processed before export, so that eventually Ghana ends her dependence on the export of *raw* materials, which will gradually take second place in the export pattern.

In the second stage of industrialization, which will follow the completion of the present Seven Year Plan, concentration will be on basic industry, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, chemicals, fertilizers and synthetics. After that, Ghana will move over to machine and other heavy industries and commence her massive industrialization stage.

That these are not just idle dreams can be gauged from the achievements already marked up by Ghana and the provisions being made in the Seven Year Plan. **Central to Ghana's industrial growth is the Volta River Project, which is not to be considered simply as a means of providing hydro-electric power, but as an all-purpose scheme affecting the economy as a whole.** Electric power is, of course, of key importance. In a recent message read to the National Assembly, President Nkrumah pointed out:

The abundant supply of electrical power will bring light to thousands of homes in the country-side where darkness now prevails. It will make available power practically at the doorsteps of businessmen and entrepreneurs in urban areas, and offer them a powerful stimulus for the modernization of existing industries and the development of new ones. The increased use of electricity will help to reduce the foreign exchange expenditure on imported fuel oil. The production of aluminium ingots will add to the range of Ghana's exports and stimulate a greater development of our rich bauxite resources.

In addition, through the creation of a vast artificial lake, the Project

will also help to develop a system of inland transport and navigation, and will make possible the creation of a fish industry and irrigated agriculture, comprising heavy water-using crops such as sugarcane, rice and irrigated cotton. The whole scheme will also encourage the construction of new urban areas; the Tema harbour and Tema township, constructed from Ghana's own resources at a cost of £30 million, is seen as a key part of the whole Project.

Work is now proceeding on the Akosomobo Dam, and 40 per cent of the dam has already been constructed. The original estimated cost of over £70 million has now been cut to £56 million. Preparations are also being made for work on the Bui Dam. Other sources of power are also being considered, search is being made for oil, and a nuclear research institute is being established.

Ghana's chemical industry—essential for comprehensive industrialization—is favoured by the substantial resources of salt; and the £8½ million Tema refinery (one of the six largest in Africa) is expected to make available raw materials for a petro-chemical industry. This refinery is expected to process up to one million metric tons of crude oil during its first year of operation.

By next year Ghana hopes to be producing 30,000 tons of steel from scrap at her small steel plant—and this is thought to be sufficient to make in Ghana most of the simpler steel products at present imported. For her proposed large steel plant (which will cost about £1,700,000), Ghana hopes to exploit the ores in the Shiene area. With this achievement, Ghana by 1970, should have laid the basis for a modern iron and steel industry.

Thus, in three fields essential for industrialization—power (oil refinery and electricity), chemicals, and iron and steel—Ghana's Seven Year Plan will carry her a decisive step forward.

KEY ROLE OF STATE

What is of special importance in Ghana's plans for economic development is the key role being played by the government and State. It is State initiative, State control, State planning and State finance which is decisive. Ghana's national leaders fully understand that indigenous capitalism, left to itself, will never bring about the necessary economic and social revolution which Ghana's development requires. And neither is the Ghana Government prepared to leave things entirely to foreign capitalists. On the contrary, it has taken steps to bring a number of foreign enterprises in Ghana under the ownership and control of the State. These include shipping, cable and wireless, civil aviation, five of the seven British-owned mines (though the richest, Ashanti Gold-

field, is still in private hands), a Dutch diamond firm, and the big Levantis store.

Apart from nationalizing these undertakings, which form an essential part of the State sector of the economy, the Ghana Government has also broken foreign monopoly control over the buying of cocoa in Ghana. Until three years ago, the United Africa Company (a subsidiary of the giant Unilever Trust), and other big foreign firms bought their cocoa direct from the farmers and delivered it to the Cocoa Marketing Board. From this they made millions of pounds profit a year. The cocoa then went to London where again British firms made huge profits from the sale of the cocoa on the world market. Now the cocoa farmers, through their Ghana Cocoa Co-operative Society, sell directly to the Cocoa Marketing Board in Ghana; and the sale of cocoa for the world market is now centred on Ghana instead of London.

Thus the policy of the Ghana Government and the Convention People's Party is to push forward the State sector of the economy, to launch special state projects in those fields which are decisive for the development of the national economy, and to ensure, by economic planning, that resources, including foreign capital, are mainly directed to those enterprises which are in Ghana's interests and not just those of the foreign investor. Of the total investment planned under the Seven Year Plan—£1,016.5 million—the Ghana state will undertake £476 million.

The remaining £540 million will come from private investment, £440 million of this from internal sources, the remainder from abroad. The £476 million to be invested by the Government will include £240 million of foreign loans and grants. Thus of the planned total of £1,016 million, £340 million, in the form of investment, loans and grants, will come from abroad; £676 million will be raised internally.

Draft agreements with socialist countries already provide for loans totalling about £100 million. But loans and investments from the West will also be required—and sought—if the total planned investment is to be reached.

WESTERN CAPITAL

The dangers of too much reliance on western capital are obvious, and President Nkrumah is well aware of them. He has rightly warned:

Private foreign investment from abroad is . . . open to a number of objections. First, the private investor naturally wishes to make as large a profit as possible and the types of industry and trade in which the largest profits can be made are not necessarily the ones which would serve the interests of Ghana. . . . Secondly, the foreign investor naturally wishes to export as much of his profit as possible to his own home country. Our interest is that profit from industry should be ploughed back into Ghana so as to

develop further industry. Finally, if we rely exclusively or even largely upon private foreign investment for our industrialization, we would in fact become politically and economically dependent upon expatriate interests. Indeed, all we should be doing would be to reintroduce colonialism in another guise.

Broadcast to the nation, December 22, 1961

Ghana has suffered too much in the past from imperialist investment not to be aware of its character. In a speech in September 1963, on the occasion of opening the soap factory at Tema, President Nkrumah reminded his audience:

. . . When external capital is merely applied for the purpose of obtaining a quick profit it more often impoverishes rather than enriches the country in which it is invested.

For example, the extraction and exportation of mineral ores through the use of imported machinery and by the employment of low paid labour is of no material benefit to the people of the country concerned.

Ultimately the mineral resources of the colonial country are exhausted and the imported machinery is removed elsewhere, or scrapped.

The labour that was employed, having been paid only a subsistence wage, will have accumulated no savings. Thus nothing remains upon which future developments can be based.

This was one of the commonest types of capital investment in colonial Africa and it is still to be found, unfortunately, in some independent African States.

It is a type of investment we are not prepared to tolerate.

Foreign investors must today fit their investment to suit the overall plan for the development of our economy.

They must maintain a high level of employment and impart technical skill to the Ghanaians whom they employ.

Spark, September 6, 1963

Ghana is therefore doing her best to ensure first that foreign investments are directed to those projects in which Ghana herself is interested. Secondly, by financial and taxation policies, to compel foreign investors to plough back a reasonable proportion into Ghana's industry, instead of exporting nearly all their profits. Thirdly, to reject those offers which are accompanied by conditions or strings which impinge on Ghana's sovereignty or lay her open to later economic difficulties.

The case of the Tema oil refinery is of special interest here. This £8½ million refinery was built for Ghana by the Ghana-Italian Petroleum Company, or Ghaip for short. To develop her industry Ghana must have oil. 'It is as important for industry as water is for human existence', Nkrumah has pointed out. Yet, if Ghana was not to endanger her independence, it was essential to obtain a refinery which would come under Ghanaian control. The authorized capital of Ghaip is £3,400,000, which is provided by two Italian firms, A.G.I.P. and A.N.I.C. However, 50 per cent of all profits of Ghaip will go to the Ghana Government.

Further, after ten years' operations, Ghaip will automatically transfer 50 per cent of its share capital to the Ghana Government, which is to appoint the Chairman and half the members of the Board of Directors. If and when the Ghana Government finds it necessary to strengthen its control still further over Ghaip, it will have every possibility of doing so. Meanwhile the Tema refinery will be producing valuable solids, liquids and gases for Ghana. Solids will include waxes, carbon and asphalt, coke and briquettes; gases will include both natural gas and organic chemicals; and liquids will be petrol, diesel fuel, kerosene, lubricants, motor oil, etc. By-products will make possible the manufacture of synthetics (plastics and textile fibres), as well as the production of fertilizers which, on President Nkrumah's instructions, are to be given top priority.

The £2 million soap factory at Tema will be owned by Lever Brothers, but this, after all, is not as oil is, a key to Ghana's economy. No one owning a soap factory can seriously endanger Ghana's economy, and the question of direct Government control is not so important here. At the same time, Ghana will benefit greatly. The Government is expected to save about £2 million a year which she has to spend at present on importing soap. Last year, in fact, Ghana imported 24,000 tons of soap at a cost of £2.7 million.

Thus, even where foreign capital is allowed in, whether in joint projects with the Ghana Government, or in purely private ventures, the Ghana Government tries to ensure that the benefits accruing to the Ghana economy outweigh any dangers or negative aspects. Foreign capital will continue for a time to make profits by exploiting Ghanaian labour, but Ghana's economy will benefit too.

SOCIALIST AID

The development of economic relations with socialist countries is undoubtedly of assistance to Ghana. The Soviet Union will help establish the Bui dam, the nuclear reactor, the gold refinery, the factory for prefabricated housing parts and the fish canning industry. It has sent a large team of surveyors to carry through a thorough geological survey which, it is expected, will uncover further mineral wealth in Ghana. The Soviet Union has agreed to examine the expediency of constructing a metallurgical and/or ferro-manganese plant, and of building a tractor assembly plant in Ghana itself. Soviet help is being given to set up two state farms growing rice and another cultivating maize. Experimental cotton growing is being undertaken with a view to the possibilities of state farms in this field also. In addition to the fish canning industry mentioned above, Soviet technical assistance and trawlers are being provided to help expand fishing in Ghana waters and

beyond. Soviet assistance is also being given to help build a paper factory and a cotton mill.

Other socialist countries are also expanding their relations with Ghana. Poland will supply equipment for an iron-smelting plant and a shipyard. An agreement with China grants a loan of £7 million which will enable Ghana to receive machine tools, forging and pressing machinery, agricultural implements, instruments and electrical appliances, and machinery for building and road construction. A £2,500,000 credit from Hungary will go towards establishing hydro-electric and steampower plants, canning factories, flour mills, irrigation plants, an incandescent lamp factory, an aluminium cable factory, and a pharmaceutical factory. Ghana will also obtain from Hungary diesel locomotives and railway coaches. Czechoslovakia is granting credits for £5 million which, in addition to the boot and shoe factory previously mentioned, will provide hydro-electric power plants, rubber, motor and cycle plants, a leather tannery and a number of hospitals. An economic agreement has been signed recently with Rumania.

In connection with a number of projects being built with assistance from the socialist countries provision is being made for the training of Ghanaian technicians who will eventually be able to take over the technical management and running of the enterprises.

For example, ninety-two Ghanaians are at present in the Soviet Union, studying marine engineering, refrigeration, electronics engineering and radio engineering in order to help run Ghana's new fishing trawlers.

It has been reported that the Soviet Union will give Ghana special help to train skilled workers and technicians for industry, agriculture and building. Special schools to be set up for this purpose will eventually have a combined student body of 5,000 to 6,000.

All this will contribute considerably towards the fulfilment of Ghana's Seven Year Plan.

As a result of its efforts in the past period, of the work of its people, the initiative, drive and planning of its State, combined with the building of closer economic relations with the socialist countries and the judicious use of loans and investments from the major capitalist countries, Ghana has made significant industrial progress. In his speech to the Ghana National Assembly on October 15, 1963, the President was able to declare:

Already we have established forty-five industrial projects, thirty-three of which are completely state owned; the rest are owned jointly by the State and private enterprises. Thirty-six more industrial projects are under examination or in construction.

AGRICULTURE MAKING PROGRESS, TOO

The natural emphasis on industry does not mean that Ghana is neglecting her agriculture. This, too, is to receive special attention under the Seven Year Plan. The main lines of change already under way are first, to expand food production in order to cut down the heavy expenditure on food imports which, at £26 million last year, were three times above the level of ten years ago. Secondly, to feed the rapidly growing population, especially as more of it will be urbanized and engaged in the expanding industry, and to increase and improve the people's diet. Thirdly, to provide more industrial crops for Ghana's industry. And fourthly, to diversify agriculture and expand the production of those items which, in raw or processed state, can find export markets and so add to Ghana's overseas earnings. There is no intention of abandoning the valuable cocoa production, for this is still a major earner. But dependence on cocoa will be ended, and a more all-round agriculture created alongside a thriving industry. The fact that a Ghanaian farmer produces only enough food for one and a half people compared with twelve in the United States indicates the key importance of increasing the production of foodstuffs.

Development of livestock, fish, rice, maize and sugar is to be encouraged, and fruit and vegetables to feed the new canneries will be grown.

There are now 105 State farms, many of them being experimental stations taken over from the former Department of Agriculture and the defunct Agricultural Development Corporation. These are rather in the nature, at this stage, of pioneering efforts. They will enable experience to be gained in large-scale cultivation, assist the training of agricultural technicians, and, with the help of the Youth Work Brigade, help to clear new land.

The main responsibility for expanding Ghana's agriculture however, will fall on the peasant producers. They will be assisted by the Government with scientific advice, machine and tractor stations, better seed and livestock, and larger credit facilities.

Co-operatives are being encouraged amongst farmers, not only for marketing purposes but also for actual production. In mixed food production—food crops, poultry and pigs—there are now over 100 co-operative farms. There are a further seventy-eight co-operative rubber plantations and a large co-operative coconut farm. In cocoa there are still many large and medium-size farmers employing wage labour, but co-operative farming is very marked here, too. In a recent speech, opening a three-day conference of the United Ghana Farmers' Council Co-operatives, President Nkrumah stated that there were now about 1,000 co-operative farms in Ghana.

The distribution of food and the regulation of prices are also receiving attention, and a Food Marketing Board has been set up for these purposes. In the field of trading, the Government set up a Ghana National Trading Corporation in 1961. In 1962, the Government bought up the big trading firm of A. G. Levantis, and added this to the National Trading Corporation. This Corporation now handles all import trade with the socialist countries. In addition, Ghana has a State Bank and a State Insurance Corporation.

Thus Ghana's economic progress is being organized in a planned and comprehensive way. The planning cannot yet be all-embracing, owing to the fact that a considerable sector of the economy is still in private hands, both domestic and foreign. Statistics, too, are not yet full enough to enable completely scientific planning techniques to be utilized. But the foundations for Ghana's economic growth are being well laid.

The present pattern of Ghana's economy is based on five sectors—State, co-operative, mixed State-and-foreign, foreign enterprise (for large undertakings), and domestic private capital for smaller enterprises. But this pattern is not regarded as something which will be permanent. The Seven Year Plan emphasises that Ghana has 'chosen the socialist form of society as the objective of her social and economic development,' and in pursuance of this aim every encouragement will be given, in both industry and agriculture, to the expansion of the State and co-operative sectors.

In essence, a state of war now exists in Ghana society. The forces of counter-revolution have again given proof of their determination to halt by violence and unconstitutional action the people's advance to socialism. —Spark, January 3, 1964, after the latest attack on the life of President Nkrumah.

The fact, that, for a time, much of Ghana's economy will remain in private capitalist hands is not in itself necessarily a danger. Even the existence of foreign capital need not become a serious threat. As long as the Government and the national leadership are clear and determined to avoid the path of 'normal' capitalist development, as long as they mobilize the workers and peasants to assist them in taking this path, then, step by step, they can circumscribe the limits of the foreign capitalist sector and eventually take it over or buy it out at a time and under conditions which are most appropriate. Similarly, domestic capitalist growth as well can be kept in check so that from this quarter, too, any threat can be countered. Ghana's aim, in fact, is that a 'dominant share' of the economy will be in the hands of the State within about twenty years.

The Seven-Year Plan itself warns: 'We must be careful to ensure that the operation of the mixed economy leads to the socialist transformation and not to the defeat of our socialist aims'. In line with this objective, the plan lays down a three-fold strategy: (1) to speed up the rate of growth of the national economy; (2) to embark on the socialist transformation of the economy through the development of the state and co-operative sector; and (3) to liquidate the colonial structure of the economy by the development of modern industry. A significant basic principle of the plan is that 'the growth rate of the public sector must *always* exceed the growth rate of the private sector in agriculture and industry'.

Indicative of the whole character of the plan is the fact that whereas in the period 1951-59 no less than 90 per cent of Government investment was in the non-productive sector, this will be reduced under the plan to 62.7 per cent, while the productive sector will be allocated 37.3 per cent of the Government investments, almost four times that of the previous period.

It must be appreciated that for a small country such as Ghana, with under seven million people, and an economy left in a most backward state by colonialism, the task of building a modern, industrialized economy is enormous. For this reason alone, apart from the most pressing political needs, Ghana would much prefer to be carrying through her economic changes as part of a united Africa which would enable all the resources of manpower and materials in this vast continent to be pooled, for communications to be co-ordinated, for hydro-electric stations to be created on a planned continental basis making a regional grid system possible, for iron and steel complexes to be established in selected, economically strategic regions—in short, for the economy of the whole continent to be co-ordinated and planned. While pressing for African unity, however, Ghana is not standing still. She is pressing ahead and, in many respects, making herself an inspiration for other developing States in Africa.

Much remains to be done, there are many obstacles to be overcome and weaknesses to be eliminated. But Ghana is making—and will continue to make—important economic progress. In six and a half years of independence she has begun to break up the former colonial pattern of the economy, and take her first careful but firm steps towards becoming a modern, industrialized country. She is diversifying her economy, extending her agriculture from its one-crop pattern, building her light industries, and laying the basis for heavy industry.

Expressive of her economic growth is the present level of her average per capita income. United Nations sources now estimate it at \$245 a year compared with \$110 for West Africa as a whole, \$65 for East

and Central Africa, and \$130 for North Africa. Some estimates place Ghana now on a level with Portugal—admittedly one of the worst-off European countries, but when one starts to compare an African country with a European one it is clear that something new is happening.

These important economic advances being carried forward in Ghana by the Government and the Convention People's Party are not at all to the liking of imperialism any more than are Ghana's consistent fight for peace and against colonialism, and her avowed intention to build socialism in Ghana. This explains why Ghana meets with such a hostile press in Britain and America, and why there have been plots to overthrow the Government headed by President Nkrumah.

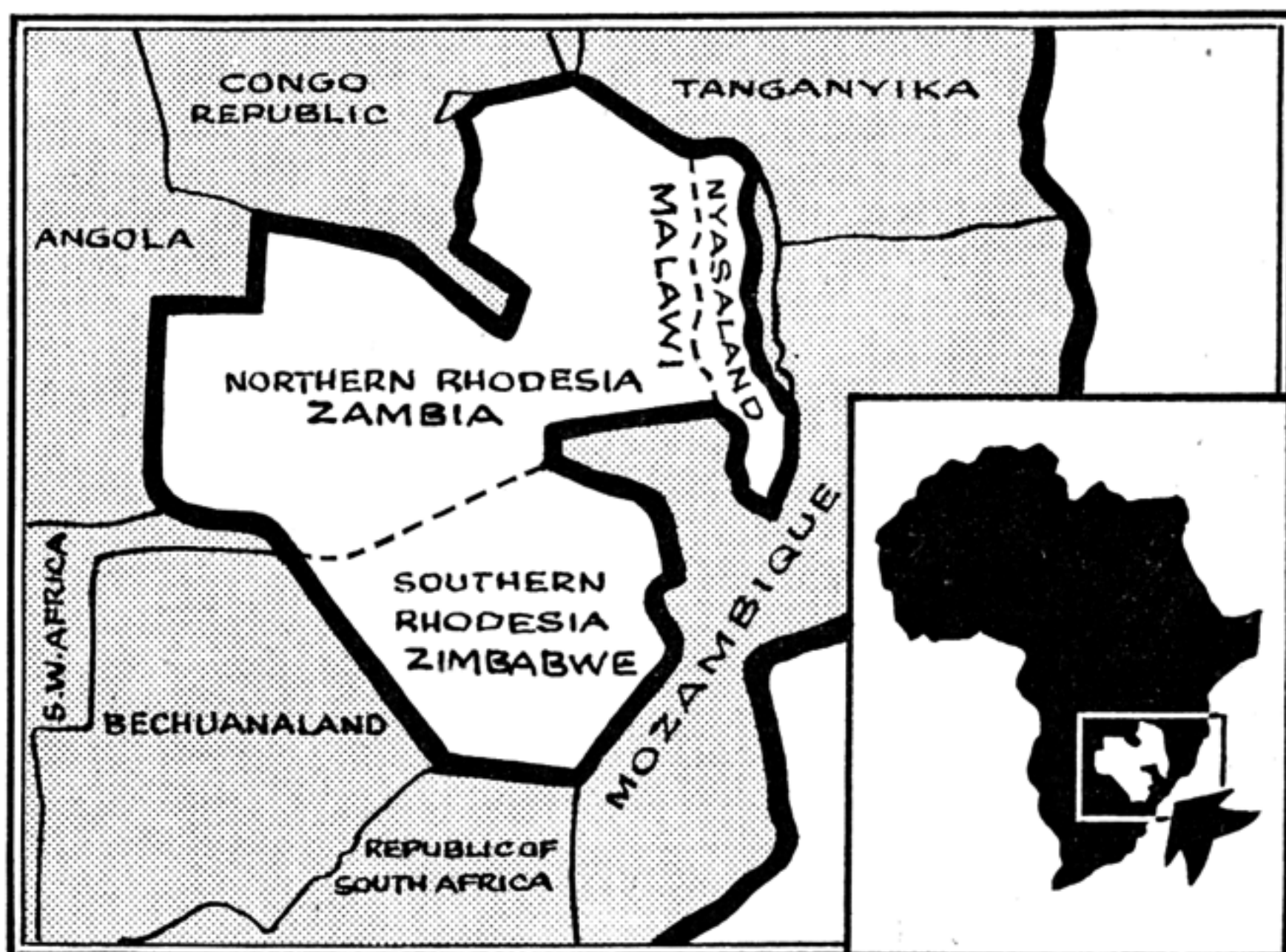
But Ghana is fighting off these attacks and calmly continues her advance away from colonialism, and in the direction of a new independent economy, thus laying the basis, in President Nkrumah's words, of 'a society in which the maxim: from each according to his ability and to each according to his work, shall apply, and in which the condition for the development of each shall be the condition for the development of all.'

London,
March 15, 1964

CENTRAL AFRICA AFTER FEDERATION

Joseph W. Musole

THE HISTORY OF THE RHODESIAS right from the days of Cecil John Rhodes and the British South Africa Company, is connected very closely with the attempts of numerous powerful capitalist companies to find the most suitable state form to give them effective control over the human and natural resources of the territories. Southern Rhodesian Whites at one stage clamoured for Dominion Status, others prattled of 'closer association' and 'partnership'. But all these were merely devices to protect and strengthen the influence of the capitalist monopolies. Eventually in 1953 the imperialists and their capitalist partners adopted the idea of Federation as the best means of entrenching White Supremacy in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, maintaining a



perpetual source of cheap African labour by denying the people free access to the land, and delaying the drive of the African people for independence by curtailing the right of self-determination for the indigenous peoples.

Since the end of the second world war, however, colonialism and imperialism throughout the world have been disintegrating at an unprecedented rate, and the schemes imposed on the peoples of the Rhodesias against their will were bound to be of short duration. From the start the Central African Federation was doomed to failure.

The dissolution of the Central African Federation on December 31, 1963, was the climax of a multitude of contradictions which had been created at its inception ten years previously. The main contradiction in the Federation was that between the interests of the White Supremacists and their capitalist backers and the drive of the peoples of the three territories for the right of self-determination. The African revolt against the Federation was stimulated by the strong current of nationalism which was sweeping through the whole continent of Africa, inspired by the example of the peoples of the socialist countries and the East in their struggle against colonialism and imperialism. This spirit swept over Rhodesia and Nyasaland and all the efforts of the people came to be concentrated on the attempt to overthrow colonialism and frustrate the iniquitous schemes calculated to enslave the majority of the peoples of the three territories in perpetual bondage. With the help of the peoples of the world as expressed through the United Nations and other agencies, the grip of the imperialists was loosened. Some degree of democracy and self-government has been achieved in Zambia and Malawi, both destined to achieve independence during the course of 1964. In Southern Rhodesia, however, the White Supremacists are still fighting stubbornly to maintain their grip.

The right of self-determination does not automatically bring in its train full democracy for the majority of the people. In the first instance it merely means political separation from alien national bodies and the formation of independent national states. But these independent states can still be suited to the interests of the capitalist class. Thus, in Southern Rhodesia, people are continuing their struggle for a democratic regime; in Zambia and Malawi the struggle has changed from a fight for formal political independence to one for economic independence, national democracy and non-capitalist development to raise the material and cultural levels of the population.

While the drive for the right of self-determination of the African people was the main cause of the downfall of the Federation, it was not the only one. There were other economic, political and social conflicts which accelerated the dissolution of the Federation. Southern

Rhodesia, for example, had an adverse balance of trade and her financial position was shaky when Federation was imposed in 1953. Northern Rhodesia, on the other hand, was in a much stronger financial position thanks to the wealth of the Copperbelt. Investigations made later into the finances of the Federation revealed that Northern Rhodesia was being ruthlessly milked by the Federal Government.

Again, the denial of the franchise to the majority of the people in the three territories of the Federation meant that political control remained in the hands of the White minority. The system of colour bar and discrimination was common everywhere. Blacks could not enter certain butcheries, cinemas, bars, hotels and various spheres of employment. Higher education was a Federal matter, yet the majority of the people were excluded from its benefits by various means such as the limitation of University scholarship grants, while at the lower level of primary and secondary education the colonial system kept the greater number of children without schooling of any sort.

Vast sums of money flowing into the Federal treasury were devoted to raising and maintaining a Federal Army and Air Force designed to protect the interests of the capitalist investors and neo-colonialism in Africa south of the Equator under the pretext of checking the 'aggressive forces of African nationalism'.

Other contradictions which hastened the end of the Federation were the continued pauperization of the Africans by the Land Apportionment Act in Southern Rhodesia, land robbery and ruthless exploitation by the capitalists and their agents in the three territories, the concentration of new industries in Southern Rhodesia at the expense of other areas.

The attempts of Welensky to protect the empire of Harry Oppenheimer and others who have vested interests in the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Angola, Katanga, South Africa and the three Protectorates even extended to the creation of the 'unholy alliance' between him and Verwoerd and Salazar. Bandits and mercenaries from all three territories were training jointly and fighting in Katanga and Angola. South Africa set up military bases in the Caprivi strip near Zambia. Welensky threatened to use this alliance against Britain to prevent the imposition of a constitution which threatened the end of the Federation. All these factors contributed to the growing opposition of the people not only in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland but throughout Africa and the world which eventually brought the Federation crumbling in ruins.

UNEQUAL SHARING OF ASSETS

When the time came for the Federation to be broken up, a big problem

remained over the sharing out of the assets and liabilities of the three territories. Matters such as defence, immigration, communications and transport, European agriculture, higher education, European education, information, income tax, statistics, surveys, etc., were handed back to the territorial legislatures. The fixed and liquid assets and liabilities of the Federation were also shared according to agreed procedure.

One matter which seems to have been settled decidedly against the interests of the African majority governments of Zambia and Malawi was the disposal of the armed forces. The army and air force were left almost entirely in the hands of the racist Field government of Southern Rhodesia, and the equipment of the Federation is at this very moment being used to shoot down our brother freedom fighters in Zimbabwe. This inequitable share-out was based on the advice of the so-called 'experts' of the Federal Army and Air Force who had been seconded to the African-majority governments because they had no experts of their own. Not unnaturally these 'experts' gave advice in the interests of the imperialists and the White Supremacists of Southern Rhodesia, who were bolstered up while the weapons were taken out of the hands of the African governments.

It is difficult to reconcile this surrender of weapons with the obligation of Malawi and Zambia, under the Charter of the Organization of African Unity, to maintain 'absolute dedication to the total emancipation of the African territories which are still dependent'. Our leaders should have remembered that the capitalists and imperialists love a gramme of copper or gold or diamonds much more than they love human life, and that the freedom of our suffering fellow-Africans in Southern Rhodesia was at stake. In fact the people of Malawi and Zambia may still suffer the effects of this surrender of the most powerful weapons to the enemies of African freedom in Salisbury.

In consequence of the dissolution of the Federation, it was found necessary that the Rhodesian Railways and the Kariba Dam should be run jointly by Southern Rhodesia and Zambia as common services. But the fact remains that the Rhodesian Railways is a private company, and any agreement reached can only serve to protect the interests and profits of the company's shareholders and will not benefit the common people of the Rhodesias, whose wealth is being stolen by foreign capitalists in South Africa and abroad. True, the agreement provides that profits and losses must be shared on an equal basis, but with the development of the Zambia-Tanganyika railway project and the progressive lessening of railway traffic through South Africa (and perhaps its entire cessation after our brothers in Southern Rhodesia get their uhuru), the likelihood is that losses will begin to predominate.

Again, it is known that the Zambia-Tanganyika rail project is to be financed by the World Bank, the safety of whose money has been guaranteed by our leaders. It is difficult to see how the Zambia government will be able to honour its two commitments at the same time, since they are in competition with one another, and the success of one rail line will be achieved at the expense of the other.

In Malawi the Nyasaland Railways originally belonged to the Government. With the advent of the Federation the heavy debt which was owing on this railway was taken over by the Federation. This debt was due to be finally repaid in about three years' time. Malawi's share of the Federal debt amounted to nearly £12 million and it is most probable that the debt on the railway system is included in this figure.

The Nyasaland Railway system which runs from Chipoka, a small harbour on Lake Nyasa, to Baraka, Blantyre and onward to Dondo in Portuguese East Africa where branches of the railway to Salisbury and Beira are found, is now a private company. Nyasaland's railway links with neighbouring territories reflect her economic links, which place the Banda government at a serious disadvantage. Nyasaland labour is sent to Verwoerd in South Africa, and Nyasaland is compelled to enter into trade relationships with Salazar and Field, with the latter of whom Dr. Banda is even reported to be on terms of personal friendship.

Dr. Banda had hoped to get out of some of his difficulties by making use of the Mtwara-Nachingwea Railway line, so that a direct link between Mbamba Bay on Lake Nyasa and Nachingwea in Tanganyika would enable Nyasaland's goods to be transported 146 miles by train from Nanchingwea to Port Mtwara at the coast, thus by-passing the White supremacy states altogether. However, the private company that owned this line incurred a deficit of £245,000 and accordingly applied to the Government of Tanganyika (which had granted it rights to operate privately on capitalist lines) for the discontinuation of this railway system. The Tanganyika Government granted this request in 1962—a typical example of the way in which capitalist concerns can dictate terms to governments which allow themselves to be dependent on them. In this case the discontinuation of the line not only inconvenienced Tanganyika but also violated the principles of African Unity and placed the government of Dr. Banda at the mercy of the White Supremacist states through whose territory all rail links with Nyasaland must run.

The situation in Southern Rhodesia is somewhat different. With the dissolution of the Federation, the British Government is under an obligation to enact a democratic constitution for Southern Rhodesia

which would transfer power to the African majority. Her failure to do this means simply that Britain is collaborating with the reactionary Field government to perpetuate White Supremacy in Southern Rhodesia.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

MALAWI

This territory has some problems arising from the difficulty in finding an outlet for her products. However, there is little doubt that this territory of slightly more than 37,000 square miles with a population of just over four million, deriving its subsistence mainly from vast fertile lands with great agricultural potential, could very easily become self-sufficient given correct, progressive leadership.

Malawi has a large potential of able-bodied men and women who are at present unemployed and therefore wasted. With the aid of the recruiting schemes of WENELA (Witwatersrand Native Labour Association) and MTANDIZI (Rhodesian Native Supply Corporation—now stopped), about 100,000 workers have migrated to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, with detrimental effects to the country. The trade union movement, which is affiliated to the ICFTU is deliberately discouraged and weakened by the government, so that the working class is left powerless and without influence. Many workers have migrated voluntarily to Zambia, Tanganyika and other neighbouring countries to seek work there. Those left behind who are lucky enough to obtain employment are exploited by private companies and individuals who make enormous profits because they pay miserable wages of between £4 and £6 a month.

The resources of Malawi are at present exploited by such concerns as the millionaire Lonhro group of companies which has branches all over the capitalist world and in Malawi has a grip on the sugar industry, where wages are very low. The same company has bought the Nyasaland Railways, whose revenue goes into the pockets of private investors.

During 1963 the imperialist Commonwealth Development Corporation invested over £5 million in the country. It contributed £1,300,000 (over 59 per cent) to the £2,200,000 Walker's Ferry Water project. In this project the British Government holds over 36 per cent of the assets (£800,000), while the Malawi Government holds only 4.5 per cent (£100,000). In the Nkula Falls hydro-electric scheme on the Shire River which will cost about £2,500,000 the Commonwealth Development Corporation will hold about 60 per cent of the shares (£1,500,000). The other two 'partners', Britain and Malawi, will have about the same

proportion of shares as in the Ferry Water scheme. If this is not neo-colonialism, what is it?

Private individuals and companies hold vast estates and plantations for tobacco, cotton, tea, tung-oil and groundnuts in the northern, central and southern provinces around Mzuzu, Mlanje, Chiradzulu and Lilongwe. These concerns employ between 1,000 and 5,000 labourers at a pittance. A cement factory exists near Blantyre. It is a sister company of a similar factory in Southern Rhodesia and every year drains a lot of money out of the country which goes into the pockets of shareholders residing around Salisbury. This, too, applies to Nyasaland Cold Storage which slaughters nearly 200 cattle a day in Blantyre and deals in a variety of tinned meat for export to Salisbury. This gigantic company operates in Zambia and Southern Rhodesia as well as Malawi, and collects enormous profits every year.

About twenty-five types of mineral such as coal, asbestos, etc., are reported to exist in Malawi, but even if these were to be exploited, the mineral rights belong to the giant British South Africa Company, and the Malawi government would only receive a small amount in royalties.

Subsistence and co-operative food production is carried on at various places and covers such foodstuffs as rice, maize, Irish potatoes and sugar-cane. There is also considerable trade in fish at Lakes Chirwa, Nyasa and Chiuta, while timber is grown in plantations at Visanza in Kotakota and Mzuzu. A Government body known as the Agricultural Producing and Marketing Board serves as the buying and selling agent for most of these products, but the main benefit seems to be derived by Auctions Sales Ltd. based at Limbe which takes over all the crops sold to it by the Government at a certain price plus its own profit.

The retail co-operative movement is very weak in Malawi, as in many other African countries. As a result, numerous shop-keepers make substantial profits, but suffer in competition with chain shops run by capitalist companies under concessions such as Mandala (African Lakes Corporation), London and Blantyre Supply Co. and its affiliate McConell Trading Company.

The people of Malawi are mostly poor and most of them get no benefit from the so-called 'Government services', yet Malawi has one of the highest rates of poll tax. Nearly every year the Malawi Government has a deficit in its Budget—£6 million in 1963 which the British taxpayers will probably shoulder.

For all these reasons there is no doubt that capitalism and colonialism are at the root of the poverty and backwardness of the Malawi people and their economy. There is a great need for the government to take corrective measures in the form of nationalization of industry, the big estates, plantations and chain stores and to substitute for private

enterprise collectives, large-scale co-operatives, communes and state farms. In this way the energy and enthusiasm of the people of the country could be harnessed and living standards considerably enhanced.

ZAMBIA

For thirty-five years up till 1924 the British South Africa Company ruled over the entire territory of Northern Rhodesia. In that year the imperialists transferred political control of the country to the British colonial regime, while the B.S.A. Company concentrated its efforts on opening up avenues for the numerous other companies which rule Zambia today through the Anglo-American of Harry Oppenheimer, Rhodesian Selection Trust of Ronald Praine, W. and H. Hochschild, Bradford, and many others upon the revenue from whose companies the Zambia Government depends for its existence.

Zambia is a country rich in minerals and other resources, although her population is small—only about 3,500,000. The main source of income comes from copper production, at present running at about £120 million a year. Of the gross amount of mineral production the Government is paid 20 per cent in royalties. Company taxation is slightly over 6s. a pound of profits made.

Whilst unemployment is widespread amongst the Africans, the financial groups that dominate the country have been making huge profits. During the financial year 1961-62 the British South Africa Co. earned profits amounting to nearly £11 million, that is, after paying 20 per cent royalties to the government. After providing for taxation of about £5,250,000 (most of which was grabbed by Welensky's Federation), the company paid out nearly £5 million in dividends, about 85 per cent of which was repatriated to England. It is understood that the African Government in Zambia wishes to renegotiate the question of royalties with the British South Africa Co. 'so that some of the profits remain in the country to be ploughed back into industry'. But what the people of the country really need is not to 'renegotiate' the question of some of the profits remaining in the country, but the complete abrogation of the 1950 Agreement and all other treaties which enable the British South Africa Co. to have any claims over the land and minerals of Zambia.

But perhaps the biggest financial tycoon in Zambia is Harry Oppenheimer of Anglo-American, whose empire south of the equator is colossal. He is involved as a chairman or director not only of the British South Africa Company, which has a monopoly of prospecting and mineral rights, but also of Rhodesian Anglo-American, Rhokana Corporation (of which he owns 50 per cent of the shares), Nchanga

Mines (20 per cent holding) as well as Bancroft, Mufulira, Chibuluma and other mines.

At the end of October 1962, addressing a meeting in his honour at a hotel in London, Mr. Oppenheimer said: 'Africans who insisted on the policy of "one man one vote" were consciously or unconsciously demanding a concentration of power in the hands of a single monolithic African Nationalist Party. This is something which no substantial European population will accept or ought to be asked to accept. They would fight and rightly so to maintain their political liberties'.

This is straight talk which leaves no one in doubt as to what is meant. Yet this same Mr. Oppenheimer in one of his reports to the directors of Anglo-American in 1963 showered torrents of praise on the African Nationalist Government of Zambia. Among other things he said that he had confidence in the African Government in Northern Rhodesia and 'our mines have a future . . .' Despite strikes, the mines had made good profits. This is a change in attitude which has surprised many people.

Mufulira, Chibuluma and Roan Antelope copper mines are dominated by American dollar tycoons—The American Metal Company made up of Seltrust Investments and working through Rhodesian Selection Trust. There are many other companies plundering the resources and wealth of Zambia. The Zambezi Saw Mills deals in timber and makes colossal profits out of the hopelessly underpaid labour in the industry. The cutting of timber in Barotseland dates back to certain concessions obtained from a Barotse chief some time between 1889 and 1900.

The Rhodesian Sugar Refineries also drains big sums of money from the country. Recently Mr. John Lyle, the chairman of the company, called on the President of the United National Independence Party 'to confirm his company's interests in developing a primary sugar industry'. This concerned the question of 109,000 acres of land in the Kafue River basin on which a sugar estate project costing nearly £2,500,000 would be undertaken by the company. The leader of the mass political movement in Zambia was reported to have had talks with Rhodesian Selection Trust requesting them to finance the scheme.

Mr. Karl Richter, the 'chairman of 100 new factories to be established', recently offered a directorship in his companies to Mr. Jonathan Chivunga, leader of the trade union movement, and to UNIP. Between December 15, 1962, and March 19, 1963, 'more than sixty-three new companies were registered' by the African government. This was more than twice the number registered during the same period in 1961-62 when the country was under complete colonial domination.

The Central African Road Services holds a monopoly on several

trunk roads in Zambia, with the result that the small transporter and the African road service man is being forced out of business completely. The Rhodesian Railways, Central African Airways and numerous chain stores in the retail and wholesale trade also continue to operate on capitalist lines, whereas it is in the interests of the people of Zambia that such concerns should be nationalized and run for the benefit of society as a whole.

A Lusaka company, O.K. Bazaars, which has links with the Republic of South Africa, applied during the colonial period to put up a chain of shops along the Cairo Road—but they made it a condition that the stock to be sold would consist of colonial goods. The British Colonial authorities would not agree to this provision as it was not known what policy would be followed in this respect by the independent African Government soon to take office. It is now known that this chain of shops is going to be established and it is feared that the original condition will still be attached. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that certain African nationalist leaders have retreated from the socialist principles they once proclaimed.

THE LAND QUESTION

All large aided farms and estates around Mkushi, Chisamba, Shiwan'gandu, Monze and in many parts of the southern province and Zambia as a whole should be nationalized. European agriculture used to be a Federal subject, with the result that most of the aided farms came indirectly under the protection of the Federal Government. Large sums of capital were doled out to individual farmers who held vast acres of fertile lands at the expense of the poverty-stricken masses of Zambia. Labourers who worked on these farms received miserable pay, lived in wretched hovels and were harshly treated by their employers, most of whom were rabid protagonists of Federation. The nationalization of the land of these parasites would enable it to be converted into communes, collectives and State farms run and managed by the workers themselves under the guidance of the state of Zambia. But for this, far greater clarity is needed regarding the nature of socialism.

The socialist policies professed by the Nationalist movements in Zambia and Malawi will remain mere slogans for winning elections so long as their economies are tied to capitalist concerns, for socialism is incompatible with private ownership of the means of production of the type encouraged by the two Governments. If Zambia and Malawi are to put their 'African democratic socialism' into effect they will have to go in for planned production for social use instead of anarchic production for private profit. Can these governments bring about these changes? The answer to this question lies in the develop-

ment of the mass political movements in these two countries and also in Southern Rhodesia.

The main aims of the liberation movement in Malawi, Zambia and Southern Rhodesia has been to establish the right to self-determination of the African people. This boiled down to the immediate need to unite the efforts of all classes comprising the oppressed peoples of these countries to fight the colonialists and expel them from these African countries in order to obtain for the masses the democratic rights which were being withheld from them by the colonialists. The aims of the liberation movement are on the point of being achieved in Malawi and Zambia through the medium of a strong liberation movement in these countries.

But if these were the aims of the liberation movement during the days of colonialism, what are its aims now? Partly it is to ensure democratic rights for the people. The national leaders have gone further than this by declaring that in addition they aim to raise the standard of living of their people, create opportunities for all in education, in employment, in the acquisition of wealth, greater freedom of the individual to develop his qualities and to do what he or she pleases so long as it does not conflict with the freedom of others. But these aims cannot be satisfied within the framework of the present economic and social set-up, which still preserves the main features of colonialism.

The forces for the eradication of colonialism exist. Chief among them (and particularly strong in Zambia) is the revolutionary working class, spearheading the drive of the oppressed peoples for fundamental reforms. This working class is composed of the industrial workers, the general mass of the working people and the farm labourers—all who depend on hiring out their labour power to exist. The aspirations of this class can only be satisfied by the complete elimination of colonialism, true independence and national democracy, and rapid development of the economy, along non-capitalist lines, leading towards socialism and ultimately communism as opposed to the individual ownership of property and capitalism advocated by the representatives of reformist bourgeois democracy.

Reforms in wage structures, in housing, in employment, in agriculture, Africanization in the civil service, etc., are themselves valuable concessions which are appreciated by the masses who were debarred from making progress in these fields under colonialism. But these reforms are certainly not socialism—not even the so-called ‘welfare state’ cherished by many ‘African socialists’ is truly socialist since it presumes the continuation of the capitalist mode of production.

What is needed, then, is a ‘Progressive Alliance’, which stands for

scientific socialism, a class alliance which has nothing to do with racialism and tribalism—the two monsters haunting the liberation movement today in Zambia and Malawi. Given the right leadership, the Progressive Alliance is capable without doubt of liberating the entire working class and Zambia as a whole from the yoke of capitalist slavery which has spread its tentacles like an octopus over the whole country.

FEDERATION OR NOT?

These days there are so many ideas of 'unity' being bandied about that there is a danger of people being rushed into political action without properly considering its implications. For instance it has been suggested that Zambia should join the projected East African Federation. But recent events in East Africa have shown that these countries are still relying on the British to maintain law and order—in the very countries they were kicked out of a few months ago. This shows that these governments cannot resist back-door colonialism at the present moment. The only force capable of defeating neo-colonialism is the development of a militant working-class movement in East Africa, but alas! in all these countries steps have been taken to weaken the working-class movement, and we have the nasty prospect of British bases remaining in East Africa.

Federations are not as easy to achieve as they are to talk about. Even though such countries as Tanganyika, Malawi, Zambia, the Congo, etc., are bound together by Pan-African ideals, yet the rate of political, social and economic development in these countries may be so different that great care should be exercised in determining how far they can be linked together. Enforced unity may lead to the domination of one state by another or may hinder the development of a member state. But the need and aspirations for unity remain and practical steps should not be delayed while constitutions and formulas are being worked out. For a start, there could be links between countries in such matters, for example, as trade, railways, communications, common action to assist refugees and the political struggles of countries still labouring under White or colonial domination and so on. Such co-operation will strengthen the progressive tendency towards all-African unity.

EFFECT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

To what extent will the dissolution of the Central African Federation affect and assist the freedom struggle in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique? It could have been expected that now Malawi and Zambia are on the eve of independence, they would

give greater assistance in the fight against the enemies of Africa in these countries. Of course, no African leader really sympathizes with the Verwoerd, Field or Salazar regimes, but there are grave dangers that, subject to strong economic pressures, African leaders both in Malawi and in Zambia may tend to compromise on these crucial issues. Already, since they have taken office, some African leaders have given evidence of a disturbing change from their former attitude.

For instance Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, then Minister for Agriculture and UNIP Treasurer General, was reported in November 1963 to have addressed an audience of aided farmers (mostly European) in the southern province of Zambia at which he was quoted to have advocated a policy of boycotting South African goods in his private capacity, but to have added that 'as a Minister responsible for over three million lives' he was in a different position. Similarly Dr. Kaunda in January 1964, was quoted as saying that Zambia was prepared to recognize South Africa after independence 'but they will have to assure us that our representatives, possibly thirty, will be treated with respect'. He declared that he would admit refugees from neighbouring territories—Southern Rhodesia, South Africa, Angola and Mozambique, 'but would give no encouragement to armed uprising anywhere'.

It is our fear that it is the strong entrenchment of South African capital in Zambia that has brought about this change of attitude. The Government may also be nervous of the reaction of the 1,500 Whites employed in key jobs on the mines, mostly Afrikaners from South Africa.

In Malawi the attitude of the Government towards refugees is even worse and it seems Dr. Banda is not prepared to receive them at all, possibly fearing that if he gave any encouragement to the nationalist movements in neighbouring territories, Salazar and company could cripple his economy.

There is every reason why liberated African states should take part actively in the task of liberating their brothers in other countries still not free, even to the extent of encouraging armed uprisings. In the case of South Africa, for example, there is no diplomacy which can touch the heart of Verwoerd. The only diplomacy which he and the masses of the African people can understand is that which treats him as a complete enemy who must be fought and defeated by deeds and not by words. If, as has been reported, Zambia is prepared to provide a military base for Britain in the event of a unilateral declaration of independence by Southern Rhodesia, then it can be said categorically that it would be far preferable to see the independent African states come to the aid of their oppressed brothers boldly and suffer the consequences of their just struggle like men rather than hand over the

task to the imperialists, whose record shows that they cannot be trusted. The freeing of Africa is a task to be shouldered in the first place by Africans.

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BOOK REVIEWS

VERWOERD'S REICH



Sol Dubula

THE RISE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REICH • *Brian Bunting*
Penguin Books, London. 5s.

THE WHITE MAN'S FORTRESS—South Africa—stands at the tip of a continent swept by over a decade of struggle and achievement against imperialism and colonialism. Within its fenced-in borders a system of rule has become entrenched which not only shocks the conscience of the whole civilised world but which, in particular, constitutes an insult and a humiliation to all men whose skin is not white.

Imperialism everywhere stands condemned for the ravages it has wrought on the well-being, dignity and self-respect of those who have been its victims. But in South Africa the nakedness of its purpose and the arrogance of its standard-bearers is today unrivalled. Historically, it has for its model Hitler's Nazi Reich.

The title to Brian Bunting's book *The Rise of the South African Reich* is no eye-catching propaganda stunt. When you have finished reading it you will wonder, as I did, why the swastika on the cover does not stand out more prominently.

Of course no two historical situations are exactly alike. Even as between German and Italian fascism there were differences based on the precise context in which each was born and flourished. So too in South Africa. The history of the conquest of the Africans and of the inner conflicts within the ruling group, the different international situation in which it grew, the background and national character of

its protagonists—all these things and more give fascism in South Africa an indigenous flavour. But its essence remains unaffected.

The German Nazi's version of fascism, reflecting the violent crisis of German imperialism, was more extreme, racialistic and inhuman than Mussolini's pretentious philosophising. The Nazis sank to the lowest depths of sadism and 'Aryan' hysteria. Hitler's pronouncements quoted at the beginning of many of the chapters sound like the sick ravings of a lunatic—like something out of the nightmarish past. Yet Bunting's book shows in a clear and well-documented fashion that in South Africa today many of the basic tenets of Hitler's religion are being openly and unashamedly practised in the full view of an outraged world.

Capitalism has developed in South Africa against a background of intensive colonial exploitation and robbery of the African people, together with a long history of white supremacy in theory and practice. It is no accident that the South African government is the modern heir to the Hitler tradition. Indeed, Bunting's book immediately raises the question in one's mind whether, in certain fields, South Africa is the pupil or the teacher of the Nazis.

The doctrine of the master race—the herrenvolk—the 'God-created' rulers who take unto themselves the power to give life and to take it away—all this was part of the official thinking of Verwoerd's predecessors long before the world had heard of Hitler.

The robbery of the Africans' land, their relegation to the role of chattels to serve the rich white-monopolized economy required a rationalization—the master race theory. What the other imperialist powers were embarrassed to admit the Afrikaner Republic was shouting from the roof-tops. 'There shall be no equality in church or state,' proclaimed the Boers in their constitution of the last century. This philosophy has remained the foundation upon which every South African government since then has built.

Bunting traces the precise form in which South Africa's own brand of fascism has ripened to what it is today. In the result he has admirably presented both the politician and the scholar with a much more thorough grasp of the special features connected with the entrenchment of herrenvolkism in South Africa. Throughout, he emphasizes the close connection between Afrikaner nationalism and fascism. Is this connection so significant today? Has not the challenge of the forces of national liberation, particularly in the last decade, resulted in a white unity of both sections—Boer and Briton—to preserve white domination? Would a government dominated by English-speaking whites behave any differently?

The Rise of the South African Reich does not set out to answer these questions. It is not a history of white conquest in South Africa; it is a

study of the evolution of the fascist-type dictatorship which rules the country today. The heart of the South African conflict is, of course, not the relatively minor differences between the English and Afrikaans speaking sections of the privileged white minority; it has always been, and is today seen by the world to be, the struggle of the non-white majority for freedom and the ending of all privileges. But this history of conflicts and antagonisms between Boer and Briton cannot be written off as irrelevant, though on the central issue they make common cause against democracy and African liberation. The only force which can and will transform South Africa is the national liberation movement, but it is erroneous to consider the whites as an undifferentiated reactionary mass. To defeat white domination one must study and understand the various currents and trends which exist, while guarding against the pipe dream that our salvation can be entrusted to Verwoerd's 'loyal opposition' in the all-White South African Parliament. Bunting, clearly, harbours no such illusions:

'... the real challenge to Nationalist rule is not presented by the parliamentary opposition which has been reduced to petulant impotence, nor by the Liberal Party, which still adheres to the policy of non-violent constitutionalism, but by the non-white people themselves who, denied the vote, are increasingly compelled to seek other and even more drastic channels of political expression.' (p. 136.)

Despite the short-term affinity of interests between both groups of privileged whites, the trends of authoritarianism, even though its sights are focused on the non-whites, are beginning to affect those whites who do not find a comfortable place in the ranks of the 'Afrikaner volk'. The venom which pours forth against the so-called English press and the tendencies towards establishing a 'pure' Afrikaner culture and control at the expense of the English-speaking whites are factors which the scientific revolutionary cannot afford to dismiss.

The outline of events since the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 not only once again shocks those of us who have lived through some of the terror but is an indispensable armoury of facts and analysis in the hands of the whole national liberation movement and its friends.

The first to face the fire was the South African Communist Party. The fascist ruling group has always regarded the Communist Party as its most dangerous opponent because, as it was put by Eric Louw, 'it recognizes no distinction of colour or race'. It is a tribute to the prestige of this organization that hundreds of thousands of workers downed tools for a day in protest against the law which forced it underground. Many were shot down.

The attack on Communists was the precursor to fifteen years of ever-

increasing persecution of the non-white opposition and its leaders some of whom, at this moment, face a very real danger of being hanged.

The attempts to smash the people's organization went hand-in-hand with legislation whose main purpose was to further entrench white domination in every sphere of life. At the administrative level brutality and torture became an almost everyday occurrence.

Those who would have us believe that there is even the slightest prospect that the South African state will undergo a change of heart by gentle persuasion need only refer to the sordid picture of events in the last three years.

Bunting's book is also most effectively studded with pronouncements by leading government figures. Their own words make out an unanswerable case for their speedy destruction. Let me quote but a few:

'We stand for Christian Nationalism which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called fascism, in Germany German National Socialism, and in South Africa Christian Nationalism.' (A 1942 speech by B. J. Vorster, the present Minister of Justice.)

'We want to make sure that South Africa remains a white man's country.' (Dr. Malan, the first Nationalist Prime Minister).

'There is no place for him (the Bantu) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour . . . Until now he has been subject to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze.' (Dr. Verwoerd—June 1954.)

It is no accident that the most power-packed treatment to date of nationalist fascism comes from the pen of Bunting—the courageous editor of *The Guardian* and its successors (each in turn outlawed by the government). From 1948 to 1963 he personally experienced much of the terror which has been unleashed against Verwoerd's political opponents. He was jailed, banned and house-arrested and it is evident that he writes not as an academic research worker but as a person who has himself made a most important contribution in the struggle to end nationalist tyranny in South Africa.

PSEUDO SOCIALISM

K. Nkosi

AFRICAN SOCIALISM • Fenner Brockway

The Bodley Head, London. 12s. 6d.

THE PUBLISHER'S NOTE DESCRIBES THE AUTHOR, Fenner Brockway, 'as one of the House of Commons leading experts on Africa', and, in the biographical note on the author, it is said: 'he is sometimes described as the Member for Africa because of his interest in and wide knowledge of that continent'. The biographical note draws attention too, to his role in the House of Commons on behalf of African peoples, and his friendship with many of those who are now Prime Ministers or Presidents of African countries.

All of this is true. Indeed Mr. Brockway enjoys a well-deserved reputation for his activity in the struggle against imperialism in Africa. His efforts in the Movement for Colonial Freedom and on behalf of political refugees enhance that reputation. All of this lends authority to what he has to say and, since he also promises us our hearts' desire, it is regrettable, perhaps even tragic, that he should be so vague and confused.

Those who are seeking a road to socialism for Africa will be disappointed in his book.

The publishers say: 'The author . . . here describes the historical background of emergent African States and examines their plans and problems.

'He believes that Africa may become the United Socialist States of Africa and he considers the biggest long term question of all—Will the results be democratic or totalitarian?'

This is a fair description of the content of his book for, in his own way, however superficially and inadequately, this is what the author has done.

His description of the historical background of the emergent African States is lacking in depth and his examination of their plans and problems appears to be too perfunctory—almost casual for the purpose of arriving at any scientific conclusions about socialist trends in Africa. He bases his conclusions largely on personal observations, discussions with leaders of the emergent African States, and extracts from their writings on 'socialism'. But there is little here in the way of hard facts which would enable the reader to judge for himself how soundly based or otherwise these conclusions may be.

Brockway uses terms such as 'African Socialism,' 'Democratic Socialism,' 'Pragmatic Socialism,' 'Marxist Socialism,' 'Marxist-Leninist Socialism' (he describes himself as a 'Libertarian Socialist'), in such a way as to confuse the form and content of socialism and also to compromise the content of socialism. Senghor, Nyerere and Mboya, from all of whom he quotes, of course do the same. This practice is one of the main sources of confusion in Africa on what socialism really is. Brockway's contribution does not help to bring clarity.

The belief that Africa may become the united Socialist States of Africa is one that is shared by many and there are good sound political, economic and sociological reasons for such an opinion. Mr. Brockway ignores these reasons. The result is that we have only part of the evidence. It is perhaps a coincidence that it is that part which tends to foster the illusion that there are ways to socialism other than the Marxist-Leninist way.

An example of Brockway's shallow and confused thinking is to be found in the trivia which he produces as evidence of the trends towards socialism in Africa. He has this to say:

'What is not so fully realized is that the African leaders and the African National Movements are to an extraordinary degree dedicated also to the task of repudiating the capitalism whose urges led to the occupation of their continent in the nineteenth century and of consciously directing their new independent states towards the creation of socialist societies. Nearly every politically alert African Nationalist regards himself as a socialist. . . . African Nationalists are instinctively socialists.' He has been told: 'They (Africans) regard themselves as living under an economic occupation and identify their economic masters with the colonialism against which they are in revolt. They have been led to socialism by their nationalism.'

Again, in the chapter 'Why Africa Turns to Socialism', he asks and answers the question: 'How does it come about that so many African leaders are socialist?'

'One reason is their age group. Most of them are between forty and fifty years old. Which means that they were concluding their student days towards the end of the war when socialism was at the top of the wave of popularity in Europe. British students came under the direct influence of opinion which swept the Labour Party to power in '45 . . . A considerable influence was the teaching of Harold Laski at the London School of Economics . . . Students at American Universities came under similar influences. . . . the Negro students at Lincoln University, American and African, responded excitedly to the sweeping advance of the Labour Party in Britain . . . The formative thinking of Africa's political command was created at this time . . .'

And more of such trivia which after all, if true, is only a part of the truth and only a tiny part at that.

Nowhere is there any mention of the influence and impact on the African masses of the revolutions and achievements of the U.S.S.R., the Peoples' Democracies, Communist China and Cuba. When the Socialist countries are demonstrating to all the world with the passing of each day, week, month and year, the superiority of socialism over capitalism! There is no mention or even suggestion by the author that there could be pressure from the African masses on their leaders and organizations turning them towards socialist objectives or at least the verbal acceptance of socialism by Nyerere, Mboya, Senghor and others.

Lost in the confusion of all this juggling with the different 'socialisms' is the fact that as yet the only peoples to achieve socialism have been those who have proceeded about it in a scientific manner on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Indeed, it is not even hinted at let alone mentioned.

It is clear that Brockway equates 'totalitarianism' with Communism and Marxist-Leninism and since he also confuses the form and content of socialism it would seem that 'the biggest long-term question' he considers is really two questions—Can the peoples of Africa achieve socialism by means other than Marxism-Leninism? And, will the content of what they achieve be a different socialism to that of the countries which have won theirs by Marxism-Leninism?

Of course this is nonsense! The content of socialism cannot be changed. Consisting as it does in the final analysis of the means of production being the common property of all, it is unalterable. Whether it is in England, Russia, China or Africa this content will be the same. The use of labels does not change anything. The label of National Socialism did not make the content of fascism socialist. The labels of Democratic Socialism, Pragmatic Socialism, African Socialism, Marxist Socialism (as something 'different' to Marxist-Leninist Socialism), will not change the nature and structure of the societies they attempt to conceal.

And, since there exists not one single socialist state that was brought into being by means other than the application of Marxism-Leninism, is it not a hollow pretence to suggest now when more than a third of the world is socialist that there is any other way to socialism? The effect of what Mr. Brockway has to say in his book, if it obtains a wide readership in Africa, is the export to Africa of the woolly thinking and political mythology with which British Social Democracy has confused the British workers for the past forty years.

It is difficult most of the time to take Brockway seriously. To quote another example from the many that offer themselves:

A more fundamental argument for the presence of communist tendencies in Africa is the authoritarian form of Government adopted by many of

the new nations. The U.A.R., the Sudan, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, even Tanganyika illustrate this in varying degrees. Are these nations likely to slip into the communist pattern?

Then followed a page and a half of argument as to why democratic practices are 'inapplicable' to some African countries. An argument, incidentally, that could have been used by Dr. Verwoerd.

To do him justice, though, Mr. Brockway vigorously condemns the Verwoerd regime, declaring the Republic of South Africa to be 'the only independent state in Africa that is totalitarian . . . in its conduct towards the coloured races and all who challenge its authority'. African states which resort to one-party regimes and other practices which do not conform to the Westminster pattern of 'democracy' and what the author calls 'liberal socialism' are described more sympathetically as 'authoritarian', and the writer concedes that 'authoritarian methods alone seem adequate'. It should be noted that his 'justification' for strong governments in Africa betrays a certain contempt, perhaps unconscious, for the common people of Africa.

What is totally lacking from his conception is the overwhelming fact that the African people are engaged in a continuing and bitter struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and their local agents and remnants. He does say that African governments 'regard the achievement of independence, the integration of nationhood and the construction of socialism as a continuing revolution'. This sound observation should have given Mr. Brockway the clue: in achieving its continuing revolution Africa is at war with foreign imperialism and its allied reactionary forces in our midst. This is a situation which the so-called 'libertarian socialism' of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition in the British Labour Party is completely unable to deal with, or even to comprehend. Mr. Brockway's dilemma is that his theories are totally unsuitable to Africa and inapplicable in Africa. Perhaps he would condescend to learn something from Africa as well, and ask himself honestly whether he imagines that such theories will ever bring socialism to Britain either.

Pseudo-socialism may flourish in the atmosphere of British politics, buffered from realities by the vast wealth gathered to that island out of the sweated labour and stolen resources of the African and other colonial peoples. But it cannot deceive the African peoples, or survive under the pitiless realities of our bitter fight.



**WHAT
OUR
READERS
WRITE**

In addition to many letters from readers in Africa and elsewhere, we have received a lengthy communication from an African Student in the Soviet Union to which, because of the importance of the theme and the content, we have decided to give more space than is usual in this section of our journal.

AFRICAN STUDENTS IN THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION has swept like a hurricane throughout the continent of Africa. It has assumed an anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist character; the developing young states pledge themselves to follow a non-capitalist road forward. The national revolution expressed by political independence is bound in future to pass over into a social revolution, with the attendant economic, political and cultural changes necessary. The non-capitalist road demands the building of national economies independent of imperialism, effecting agrarian reforms and fulfilling cultural tasks such as overcoming illiteracy, tribal divisions and outdated customs.

To accomplish these tasks, Africa requires well-trained cadres.

During decades of oppression, imperialism failed to create qualified specialists in sufficient numbers to take over and run their countries. The legacy of imperialism is well known—poverty, disease, illiteracy and ruin.

It is hardly surprising that the young African states accord a high priority to the rapid training of young men and women capable of playing an important part in the building of the New Africa. Thousands

of young Africans are now studying abroad; some in the socialist and some in the imperialist countries. In 1963 there were 2,134 students from forty-one African countries in the Soviet Union alone. The other socialist countries have also opened the doors of their universities to many students from our continent.

This development is certainly not welcomed by the imperialists. It has had the effect, to some extent, of prodding the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and other centres of colonialism and neo-colonialism to make more scholarships and facilities available for African students than ever before. In some ways these openings are very attractive, because many African students already speak English or French and are therefore not burdened by having to learn a new language. However, not only are such openings still very limited, but there are also a number of important reasons which prompt students from the formerly colonial countries to prefer to seek training in the socialist countries. In fact there is a surprisingly high concentration of students from Western Europe as well in the socialist countries. In 1963 there were 6,252 such students in the U.S.S.R. alone. This is an indication of the high level of education in the socialist countries. There is a deep crisis in modern bourgeois pedagogics, which is inseparably linked and interconnected with the decay of bourgeois ideology as a whole. Western imperialism regards pedagogical science as a component part of the ideological struggle to win the minds of the youth. Aware of this, the African, Asian and Latin American students are wary of the content of the 'training' they are offered in the imperialist countries.

Naturally, the imperialists attempt by all means in their power to divert Africans from studying in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The huge machine of propaganda mobilized by the United States Information Agency (which in 1963 had a budget amounting to 121 million dollars), and other propaganda media are brought into play in an attempt to discredit the conditions and accomplishments of socialist education. Incidents, such as the demonstration of Ghanaian students in Moscow last December are grist to the mill of these imperialist propaganda agencies. They even spread the malicious suggestion that Africans experience racial discrimination in the socialist countries. African students in socialist countries are indignant about these lies. A typical example is Aken Fondem, a student at the Patrice Lumumba Friendship University in Moscow, who wrote to the Soviet press in February:

'We Africans can tell between our enemies and our friends. We know to whose universities dark-skinned students have to be accompanied under

the protection of soldiers armed to the teeth. It is sufficient to recall at least James Meredith . . .'

Similar statements were made by many other African students in the Soviet Union. When the imperialists get hot under the collar and allege race discrimination in the socialist world, it is easy to understand their motives. They believe that in this way attention may be diverted from their own outrageous treatment of colonial people and minority groups. Who knows better than we do that imperialism and the colonial system of slavery, which is its product, breeds racialism. Race discrimination is part and parcel of capitalist and imperialist exploitation. It has its roots in the economic needs of the capitalist ruling class, in the exploitation of man by man, not in the different pigmentation of people's skins. In the socialist countries there is no social, economic or political basis for racial discrimination. The class contradictions which nourish this social phenomenon have been abolished. In the socialist countries, no doubt, there still exist a few anti-social leftovers who suffer from the disease of race prejudice. But they have very little influence. They are certainly not typical of socialist society where, indeed, every manifestation of race prejudice and discrimination is regarded as a serious crime against society.

Africans, like all foreign students studying in the U.S.S.R., receive a number of benefits. Not only is education free, as well as hostel accommodation and the use of libraries, reading rooms, laboratories, etc., but each undergraduate also receives a regular monthly stipend of ninety roubles. Postgraduate students receive 100-120 roubles a month. In addition, students receive the social benefits which are the right of all in a socialist society. Free medical services, holidays in the most attractive health resorts, rest homes and sanatoria and frequent excursions to museums, historic buildings and other places of interest; tickets for the best theatres, etc., are available to students. The free provision of books and the ready availability of teachers and specialists for consultations whenever requested, both on a group and on an individual basis are part of the numerous benefits enjoyed by African students. These things demonstrate the care of the socialist state both for our academic progress and our human and social requirements.

It is of some value to compare these conditions with those obtaining for example in the Federal Republic of Germany. An Indian scholar, Dr. Prodosh Aich, in a doctoral thesis entitled *Position of Students from Afro-Asian Countries in the F.R.G.*, shows that housing facilities are difficult to obtain for 'coloured' students, they are refused service in restaurants and hotels and the examinations passed by the 'under-developed' students in the universities of their home countries are discounted.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS

The above is the true picture of the life of the African students in the socialist countries; they completely refute the base and slanderous allegations of racial discrimination. Nevertheless, perhaps because it has not been for very many years that large numbers of African students have been studying at universities in the socialist countries, misunderstandings do occur, and these sometimes are causes of friction.

These misunderstandings arise on both sides. Perhaps because the students admitted to higher education institutions in the socialist countries are of very varying types, some of them prove unsuitable, or find the socialist approach to higher education uncongenial. After all, many of us have been subjected to intensive inculcation of bourgeois individualist ideas in our own countries, and some may have absorbed these ideas. In addition to young men and women from working class and peasant families, who do not find it difficult to adjust to the socialist way of life, one also finds sons of chiefs, sheiks and other feudal rulers, relations of middle-class cabinet ministers, and students with a typically bourgeois background. The overwhelming majority of foreign students in the socialist countries behave well, but there are always some whose conduct leaves much to be desired. The few who are perpetually in search of a gay and carefree life, and little concerned with their studies, are often the trouble makers. When an attempt is made to discipline them they easily fall prey to Western propagandists. The low level of political understanding of some of these students makes them feel that every step taken by the authorities to maintain discipline and a correct level of conduct is a manifestation of racial prejudice.

The language problem should not be underestimated. People who may otherwise be proficient in their studies often find the task of learning in a new language no small undertaking. It is possible that the frustration of not being able to communicate with those surrounding them when they first arrive in a socialist country could lead to some misunderstandings and mistaken resentments.

These language problems also make it difficult for African students to mingle unselfconsciously with their Russian and other colleagues. It must be said, also, that sufficient effort is not always made from the other side to integrate our students and make them feel more at home. Some elements among the local students resent the fact that the foreign students receive higher stipends than they do themselves, and show this resentment. Instead of understanding that these people are not typical of the socialist society, a few African students generalize their errors to encompass the whole society.

But these are minor criticisms. Although they have led to misunderstandings they will be overcome by more careful selection and

perhaps preparation of students, and greater attention to education on the social aspect which I have referred to. The basic picture, however, remains unaltered. The African student in the Soviet Union is treated as an equal and, apart from minor untypical incidents (which are energetically dealt with by the authorities) the student body as a whole has no doubts about the absence of racial discrimination in the socialist system. In fact, one of the valid criticisms which would be levelled at many of the socialist countries is that their sincere concern for the wellbeing of students with a long background of oppression has led them to make mistakes in the other direction. The deference and indulgence often shown towards the African students are sometimes resented, even though the motives are pure.

After all is said and done, the relations of African students in socialist countries, their life and study are excellent. This is a new venture and for some time problems connected with it will undergo adjustment. It would help if more care and preparation were exercised in selecting and sending students. Constant thought and vigilance is required to preserve and improve good relations and attend to points of possible misunderstanding. It might be a good idea if some of the African graduates who have qualified in the socialist countries could be recruited on to the staffs of some of the educational institutions. Admittedly, we are being trained to return to do useful work in our motherlands, but a few experienced African lecturers and staff members might do wonders to make our students feel 'at home', to overcome their inevitable feeling of 'alien-ness' and thus improve their work and their future usefulness.

POINTS FROM OTHER LETTERS.

From Ndozi Wosu, a Nigerian Student:

I have received the *African Communist* and the *Road to South African Freedom*. My gratitude is enormous indeed. Many thanks for the information about the Socialist Workers' and Farmers' Party of Nigeria, which is news to me. I hope this Party will be for the common man and woman.

Another Nigerian, Festus R. Akindele Akarakiri, writes:

I was lucky indeed to come across the *African Communist*. I was really moved by the informative articles it contained, especially those dealing with African problems. I made up my mind forthwith to subscribe to the magazine. Expecting the latest issue of this freedom-fighters' magazine. The day is now dawning when Africa must be owned by the Africans. NO ARMS FOR SOUTH AFRICA! Yours in brotherhood.

From Chris Allen, secretary of the Oxford University Students' Club, England:

I must congratulate *African Communist* for the very high standard of its articles and analyses in the past year. I have found it of great use in helping me to think in a Marxist way about African problems and progress.

From Suzanne Cronje, London:

The extracts from Mr. Musole's booklet on class struggles in Zambia (*African Communist*, April-June 1963) failed to mention Kenneth Kaunda, President of UNIP and now Prime Minister, surely one of the most dynamic freedom fighters in Africa. Can any information on the struggle in N. Rhodesia be considered balanced if it fails to mention him and the part he has played?

(A further article by Mr. Musole appears in our current issue. The author is from Zambia and is clearly intimately concerned with its problems. However, his views on events and personalities are his own, not necessarily shared by this journal.)

From Norman Jeffery, Sydney:

A word about the *African Communist*, October-December issue (No. 15). It really is a splendid production; level and political content of the material is excellent. My congratulations as a foundation member of the Communist Party of Australia.

A reader in Southern Rhodesia writes:

With great delight I read in your last issue (No. 16) of the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist study group in Northern Rhodesia. For some time I have tried with no success to find persons locally who share similar intellectual interests; I have found few, and those few afraid of possible repercussions from Field's Nazi Government. This is typical of Whites in this part of the world, a race to which I am almost ashamed to belong, because of their passive attitude towards the rights of man. To be fair, some may not be aware of the facts which are given in your excellent magazine and others of a similar nature. This is due to strict customs censorship . . . Thank you for your wonderful magazine.

SANCTIONS AGAINST APARTHEID

From a reader in Ghana:

Congratulations on your excellent magazine. The last issue (No. 16) bespeaks the growing statesmanship of the S.A. Communist Party. The articles on Algeria and Nigeria were very encouraging, and we

can use a lot of that in these tumultuous times. The Tlale article (Sanctions Against Apartheid) is a crucial one on a world scale. I had reached very much the same outlook and conclusions by putting the facts together and I intend to use reprints [these are available as a separate booklet from the London Agent: see separate announcement] to support the case.

An African reader in Leningrad:

On behalf of the South African group here I wish to convey our highest appreciation of the article 'Sanctions Against Apartheid'. It is an exceedingly enlightening and greatly informative document indeed. After having read it we feel we know exactly where we stand and in which direction our campaign for the isolation of the Verwoerd government has to be intensified. I dare say that this document will prove an invaluable guide and reference at this stage of our overseas campaign for solidarity with the struggle against apartheid. Yours in the struggle. Amandla ngawethu! Power to the people!

Franz J. T. Lee, an African reader living in West Germany, comments on the article 'Sanctions Against Apartheid'. 'I enjoyed reading the articles in this issue, especially the one on Sanctions by Tlale. I find it a magnificent factual and statistical research article. Is it possible to give the sources behind the quotations and statistics in future? Fraternal greetings and much success for your journal.'

Finally a reader in *Zambia*, whom we requested to become an agent of the *African Communist*, replied: I need not say how happy I was to receive such a request! I'll do everything I can to spread the Marxist-Leninist thought in Africa. So please send me for the first time a dozen of the *African Communist*. Convey my greetings to the Editorial Board.

considering that 'such a trial will inevitably lead to a further deterioration in the already explosive situation in South Africa, thereby further disturbing international peace and security', the Assembly called on the South African Government to abandon the trial and 'forthwith to grant unconditional release to all political prisoners and to all persons imprisoned, interned, or subjected to other restrictions for having opposed the policy of *apartheid*'. On December 4, 1963, the Security Council unanimously reaffirmed its previous resolution and again called on the South African Government 'to liberate all persons imprisoned, interned or subjected to other restrictions for having opposed the policy of *apartheid*'.

Despite the unanimous demands of the principal organs of the United Nations, the South African Government has proceeded to employ ever more stringent repressive measures against an increasing number of persons and organizations.

The reports of the Special Committee in 1963 gave an account of the mass of repressive legislation in South Africa and its implementation.¹ The present document covers the developments in the period of less than six months since the last report on September 13, 1963.

During this period, the Government has made extensive use of section 17 of the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 which authorizes it to detain any person without trial for periods of ninety days at a time. Charges of torture of political prisoners have become wide-spread. The Government has also launched a series of mass trials under the General Law Amendment Act of 1962, especially its provisions on 'sabotage' which provide for death sentences. These detentions and trials, added to the continued and intensive use of earlier repressive legislation, have caused serious alarm in South Africa and abroad.

The extent of repressive measures by the South African Government is indicated by some figures given by the Minister of Justice, Mr. B. J. Vorster, in reply to questions in the House of Assembly on January 21 and 24, 1964. He stated that 3,355 persons had been detained under security legislation in 1963. Of these, 592 persons had been detained without trial under Proclamation 400 of 1960 which is in force in the Transkei; 594 persons, including two pregnant African women, had been detained under the ninety-day detention without trial clause of the General Law Amendment Act of 1963.² Of the 2,169 others, 1,213 adults and sixty-four juveniles

¹ A/5497 and Add. 1, S/5426 and Add. 1.

² *House of Assembly Debates*, January 21, 1964, col. 14.

had been detained under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950; nine adults under the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956; 500 adults and forty-three juveniles under the Unlawful Organizations Act of 1960; and 285 and fifty-five juveniles under Section 21 of the General Law Amendment Act of 1962. Of the above 2,169 persons, 722 had been released, 1,447 brought to trial and 922 convicted; 421 had been found not guilty and 104 were awaiting trial. The average period during which these persons had been detained before being brought to trial was forty-eight hours, but the longest period was seven months. The Minister added that as of January 24, 1964, one person was detained under Proclamation 400,³ that forty-six persons detained under the ninety-day clause had given evidence for the state after being promised an indemnity from prosecution and that thirty-six of these had received indemnity after giving evidence.⁴ Nineteen persons had been placed under "house arrest" since February 15, 1963. On January 24, 1964, twelve persons were under twenty-four-hour house arrest and twenty-one under twelve-hour or night house arrest.⁵ He also said that two African women were pregnant when they were detained under the ninety-day clause. The first was arrested on June 25, 1963, and charged on November 11, 1963: the other was arrested on August 2, 1963, and charged on September 5, 1963.⁶

On February 4, 1964, the Minister of the Interior, Senator J. de Klerk, stated in the Senate that 354 cases involving 1,727 persons had been brought to trial in 1963 on charges of sabotage and offences under the Suppression of Communism Act. Of these 1,727 persons, 1,316 had been convicted and 411 acquitted. He added that fifty-six cases involving an unspecified number of persons were awaiting trial. Of the accused, 530 had been remanded in custody for periods in excess of three months before having been brought to trial, and in 129 cases charges had been withdrawn after the accused had been detained for periods exceeding three months.⁷

Sentences in all the security trials have been extremely severe. According to the information compiled by the monthly *Forward*, covering eighty political trials involving 1,105 persons concluded in 1963, forty persons had been sentenced to death: six to life imprisonment: and 743 to a total of 4,724 years' imprisonment or an average of over six years and four months. Three hundred and

³ *Ibid.*, January 24, 1964, cols. 263-64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, col. 235.

⁵ *Ibid.*, cols. 264-65.

⁶ *Ibid.*, col. 268.

⁷ *Senate Debates*, February 4, 1964, cols. 418-19.

fifteen had been acquitted or had the charges withdrawn, while sentence was not passed on one accused.

The severity of sentences is particularly striking as a majority of the accused were charged merely with belonging to or furthering the objectives of banned organizations, such as the African National Congress or the Pan-Africanist Congress.

A number of executions have been carried out since the adoption of General Assembly resolution 1881 (XVIII). One person was executed on October 14, 1963, and three others on November 1 for alleged offences during the Paarl riot of November 22, 1962: four were executed on November 8 for planning to murder Chief Kaiser Matanzima: four others were executed on February 11, 1964, on charges of sabotage and murder at Queenstown.⁸

A serious source of concern is the evidence of secret trials, despite official assertions that trials were open to the public. In September 1963, when seven Africans were sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment each for allegedly receiving military training in Ethiopia, the press reported that 'until sentence was passed, the nature of the charges and the evidence were heard behind locked doors'. The accused had not been represented by counsel even though the charges carried the death penalty.⁹

Many of the trials are apparently not reported in the press.¹⁰ In others, testimony is often taken *in camera*.

The large number of acquittals, when the accused were able to obtain counsel or allowed to appeal, seem to indicate that many persons had been convicted due to their inability to procure legal assistance.¹¹ Frequently, however, persons acquitted by the courts

⁸ It may be noted, in this connection, that the laws enacted since 1962 have extended the crimes for which death sentences may be imposed.

⁹ *Cape Argus*, October 1, 1963.

¹⁰ Mr. O. A. S. Maree, a prosecutor in the Johannesburg Regional Court, stated on September 30, 1963, that there had been only two prosecutors to handle 360 political trials in the previous six months. The press had reported only a small fraction of that number (*Contact Cape Town*, January 24, 1964).

¹¹ Concern has been expressed in South Africa over the announcement that a bill would be introduced at the current session of Parliament to prohibit listed Communists from practising at the Bar. Particularly in view of the wide definition of Communism, this law may make it difficult for many of the accused to obtain counsel.

Mr. John Arnold, Q.C., who visited South Africa on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists, stated at a press conference on December 16, 1963, that three of about twenty African attorneys in the country, all active in defending accused persons in security cases, had been prevented from practice by imprisonment and bans.

have been re-arrested under legislation providing for detention without trial.

The repressive measures are directed mainly at the leaders and members of the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, as well as other organizations opposed to *apartheid* such as the South African Indian Congress, Congress of Democrats, South African Congress of Trade Unions, and the Liberal Party.

The jailings and other repressive measures indicated above have caused enormous human suffering. Innocent men are jailed for long periods and when released find it hard to find employment. Charges of ill-treatment and torture of prisoners have frequently been made in the courts and published in the press. Bans and house arrest have deprived many families of their livelihood or otherwise caused serious distress.¹²

Persecution of opponents of *apartheid* does not seem to have stopped resistance. Incidents of sabotage and other forms of protest continue to be reported. *Contact* (November 13, 1963) stated, for instance, that a rash of posters appeared in Johannesburg protesting against the recent trials, despite severe legal penalties for persons affixing such posters.

Many observers have stated that the intensification of repression has, in fact, increased the danger of a violent conflict. Illustrative is the statement in January 1964 by Dr. Joost de Blank, until recently Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, that there may be a 'blow-up' in South Africa unless the Government changed its policy. He stated: 'Repressive legislation leads to more violence and more repressive legislation until such time as it reaches a pitch when it will have to blow.'¹³

II. TRIALS AND CONVICTIONS OF OPPONENTS OF APARTHEID

A large number of persons have been tried and convicted under security laws since the adoption of the last report of the Special Committee on September 13, 1963, and the General Assembly resolution 1881 (XVIII) on October 11, 1963. The accused involve many of the prominent leaders of the non-White organizations and other

¹² The South African press recently printed the story of Mr. Hubert Makuto of Wattville Location, Johannesburg, who could not visit his six-month-old son who died in a hospital two miles away, as his movements had been restricted (*Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, January 19, 1964).

¹³ *Spotlight on South Africa*, Dar-es-Salaam, January 25, 1964.

opponents of *apartheid*. These trials and convictions are briefly reviewed below.

(1) THE 'RIVONIA TRIAL' IN PRETORIA

It may be recalled that General Assembly resolution 1881 (XVIII), referred to above, followed the charging of eleven prominent leaders of the people and other opponents of *apartheid* on October 9, 1963, with sabotage and other offences. Most of the accused had been arrested on July 11, 1963, in a raid on the Goldreich farm in Rivonia and kept under solitary confinement. The indictment alleged that Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Denis Goldberg, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Lionel Bernstein, Raymond Mhlaba, James Kantor, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni and Bob Alexander Hepple had committed 222 acts of sabotage throughout the country against railway, post office and radio installations and the offices of the Bantu Affairs Commissioner between August 10, 1961, and August 5, 1963, in preparation for guerilla warfare. Two organizations, one variously referred to as the National High Command, the National Executive Committee of the National Liberation Movement and *Umkonto We Sizwe*, and the legal firm of James Kantor and partners, were also charged. The first seven accused were named as the National High Command and joined as members of an association under the Criminal Procedure Act, in addition to being charged in their personal capacities. James Kantor was listed in his personal capacity and as a partner in an association with Harold Wolpe, absent, allegedly a member of the National High Command.¹⁴

The defendants were accused of acting in concert, conspiring and making common purpose with Vivian Ezra, Arthur Goldreich, Michael Harmel, Percy Hodgson, Joe Slovo, Harold Strachan, Harold Wolpe, Moses Kotane, Oliver Tambo, Tennyson Makiwane, John Joseph Marks, Johannes Modise, Duma Nokwe, James Hadebe, Robert Resha, the Communist Party of South Africa and the African National Congress in committing acts of sabotage as defined by the General Law Amendment Act of 1962.

The second count alleged conspiracy to perform and the performance of acts which were calculated to further the achievement

¹⁴ Mr. Harold Wolpe, an attorney, was arrested and placed under ninety-day detention on June 17, 1963. He escaped from police headquarters, Johannesburg, on August 11, 1963, and subsequently from South Africa. On September 23, 1963, he was granted temporary permission to remain in the United Kingdom.

of one or more or all the objects of communism as defined in the Suppression of Communism Act.

The third count, under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, alleged that the accused had conspired to organize a campaign against some of the laws of the Republic, or seek their repeal or modification, or the limitation of their application.

On October 30, 1963, Justice Quartus de Wet upheld defence objections, quashed the indictment as 'fatally defective' and reprimanded the prosecutor for lack of specific allegations against the accused. He said it was most improper, when the accused asked for particulars of the charges, to tell them that this was a matter they knew all about.

Ten of the accused were immediately re-arrested,¹⁵ (prior to the quashing of the indictment, charges were withdrawn against Mr. B. A. Hepple who, it was announced, would serve as a State witness).¹⁶

A new indictment was served on November 12, 1963, on the ten prisoners charging two counts of sabotage and two other counts. The indictment alleged that the accused, in their individual capacities and as members of the organizations listed in the previous indictment, all conspired with the Communist Party of South Africa, the African National Congress and *Umkonto We Sizwe* to commit 193 acts of sabotage. It listed twenty-six other members of the alleged conspiracy, one dead and twenty-five in exile.

The first count of sabotage alleged that the accused, between June 27, 1962, and July 11, 1963, recruited people for instruction and training, both within and outside South Africa, in the manufacture and use of explosives for the purpose of committing acts of violence and destruction; and instructed 200-300 persons in the art of warfare, including guerilla warfare, for the purpose of causing a violent revolution in South Africa. These acts, the indictment alleged, enabled the accused to injure, damage, destroy or render useless the health or safety of the public, the maintenance of law and order, the supply and distribution of light, power or fuel, postal,

¹⁵ The prisoners were denied bail, except for Mr. James Kantor who was granted bail of R10,000 on December 20, 1963, after two previous applications. Bail for Mr. Kantor was cancelled on February 17, 1964.

¹⁶ Mr. Hepple subsequently fled South Africa and stated in Dar-es-Salaam that he had escaped 'because I am not prepared to testify for the State in a political prosecution of this kind'. (*The Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, November 30, 1963.) [He has since been denounced by Resistance leaders in South Africa.—Ed., *African Communist*.]

telephone or telegraph services or installations, the free movement of traffic, and the property of other persons or the State.

The second count of sabotage alleged similar acts and stated that the accused procured persons to assist military units of foreign countries when invading South Africa and to commit acts of participation in a violent revolution.

The third count alleged that such acts were calculated to further the achievement of one or more of the objects of Communism. The fourth count alleged that the accused solicited, accepted, received and paid out money to various persons to enable or assist them to commit sabotage.¹⁷

When the trial began on November 25, defence lawyers asked that the indictment be quashed because of a 'want of particularity' which, they stated, made it 'no better than the previous ones'. Justice de Wet dismissed the motion and denied the request of defence counsel for a two months' postponement to allow preparation of the defence. He allowed only six days.¹⁸

When the trial reopened on December 3, 1963, the prosecutor stated that the State would present evidence that the accused had plotted to commit sabotage, violence and destruction as a prelude to guerilla warfare, armed invasion of South Africa and the violent overthrow of the Government in a war of liberation planned for 1963. The plot was the work of the African National Congress which, by the latter half of 1961, had decided on a policy of violence, and for that purpose formed a military wing, *Umkonto We Sizwe*. The headquarters of the organization were at Lilliesleaf Farm, Rivonia, the home of Mr. Arthur Goldreich. The leaders, the prosecutor alleged, adopted the "M-plan" (Mandela plan) in which a central authority at Rivonia controlled regional and sub-regional committees throughout South Africa.

He said the National High Command intended to produce or obtain within six months 210,000 hand grenades, 48,000 anti-personnel mines, 1,500 time devices, 144 tons of ammonium nitrate, 21.6 tons of aluminium powder and 15 tons of black powder. Also to be manufactured were petrol bombs, pipe bombs, syringe bombs, thermite bombs and bottle bombs, known as Molotov cocktails.

The prosecutor alleged that for the manufacture of explosives, arms and weapons, Mr. Denis Goldberg had bought a 7½ acre property at Krugersdorp in June 1963. He added that Percy Hodg-

¹⁷ *The Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, November 16, 1963: *The Star*, daily, Johannesburg, November 26, 1963.

¹⁸ *The Star*, daily, Johannesburg, November 25-27, 1963.

son and Harold Strachan (in exile)* toured the country to teach and train men to be placed in charge of local 'technical committees' to manufacture and use the explosives.

The next step, he said, was to recruit young men for training in sabotage and guerilla warfare, especially outside South Africa. The prosecutor said that Mr. Elias Motsoaledi and Mr. Andrew Mlangeni had played a prominent part in the recruiting campaign.¹⁹

He alleged that the firm of James Kantor and partners had acted as a 'conduit pipe' for the receipt and disbursement of funds to further the campaign by which the accused planned to overthrow the Government.²⁰

The prosecutor said that sabotage began in August 1961. 'The whole purpose of this, the first stage of their campaign, was to produce chaos, disorder and turmoil, and so pave the way for the second stage.' The second stage was the plotting and waging of guerilla warfare 'for which purpose the accused once again fully and thoroughly prepared themselves by studying in great detail the tactics of guerilla warfare as waged in Algeria, China, Cuba and other countries'. Thousands of guerilla units were to be deployed throughout the country to 'accentuate a state of chaos, disorder and turmoil and so facilitate acts of assistance to military units of foreign countries when invading South Africa. They were promised military and financial aid from several African States and even by countries across the seas'. The final stage of the second phase would come when the Government had been brought to its knees and the accused could set up a provisional revolutionary Government to take over the country.

The prosecutor stated that selected documents and the oral testimony of 200 witnesses would be presented, all of which would reveal that 'the present year—1963—was to be the year of their liberation from the so-called yoke of the White man's domination'.

The charges were put to each of the accused. Mr. Mandela said: 'The Government should be in the dock. I plead not guilty.' Mr. Sisula said: 'The Government is responsible for what has happened in this country. I plead not guilty.' The Judge intervened and declared: 'I do not want any political speeches.' The other accused, however, made similar short statements.

Some of the developments in the trial, indicating the extra-

¹⁹ *The Star*, daily, Johannesburg, December 3, 1963.

²⁰ *Cape Times*, December 7, 1963.

* Mr. Harold Strachan is imprisoned in South Africa [Ed., *African Communist*].

ordinary methods employed by the Government, are briefly noted below.

The second witness, Miss Edith Kogane, housemaid to Mr. Goldreich, stated under cross-examination that she had been detained since July 11, 1963, and told by police interrogators on October 8 that she would be soon released if police were satisfied with her answers.²¹

The prosecutor stated that the next witness, Mr. Thomas Mashifane, a former employee on the farm, and several other witnesses were being detained in ninety-day detention as protective custody. He added: 'I am sure if we release Thomas (Mashifane) he won't be here Monday.'

Mr. Mashifane alleged that he had been assaulted and beaten by the police during the interrogation. He said he was still suffering the effect in his right ear and a top front tooth was loose. On December 5 the Judge ordered the prosecutor to investigate the allegation. Later in the day, however, the prosecutor reported that Mr. Mashifane had requested that the allegation be dropped. Mr. Mashifane told the Judge that his treatment did not alter his evidence, though 'when a person is being "killed", then he can't speak as he would have wanted to speak if he had not been suffering pain'. The matter was dropped.²²

A principal witness of the prosecution, Mr. X, gave five days of testimony from December 10, 1963, against most of the accused. Evidence was given *in camera* and the witness was unidentified* as the prosecutor claimed that he was in mortal danger. Mr. X had been warned that he could be regarded as an accomplice to the National High Command but if he gave evidence properly he would be free from prosecution.

Mr. X said that he had joined the African National Congress in 1957, the South African Congress of Trade Unions in 1960 and the Communist Party in 1961. He claimed that he had blown up a power pylon, an electric light standard and a municipal office, and had stolen dynamite²³ As a saboteur he acted on instructions of the Durban Regional Command which was in turn instructed by the National High Command at Rivonia.

²¹ *The Star*, daily, Johannesburg, December 3, 1963.

²² *The Star*, daily, Johannesburg, December 5, 1963: *New Republic*, Washington, December 28, 1963.

²³ *The Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, December 14, 1963.

* He has been identified by the resistance movement as Bruno Mtolo [Editor].

Mr. X testified that a campaign of violence throughout the country was planned to begin on December 16, 1961, to signal a change in the policy of the African National Congress from non-violence to violence. The targets in the Durban area were the municipal Bantu registration offices, the Bantu Commissioner's Office and the Coloured Affairs Office. The bombs used had been wrapped in Christmas wrapping to prevent police detection.²⁴

Mr. X claimed that he had supplied the bomb which blew up the Bantu Administration offices and had himself successfully bombed power pylons and an electric light standard. He added that he had carried out and sponsored numerous acts of sabotage at the instance of the High Command.²⁵

He said he became disillusioned with *Umkonto* on August 13, 1963, when he had been arrested and detained without trial under the ninety-day clause of the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 and had decided to tell everything to the police immediately. He ended his evidence denying that he had been threatened or tortured by police.²⁶

An unidentified Coloured witness,* Mr. Y, who had been under detention without trial from May to September 1963, said he liked being detained. He testified that he had been a lecturer at a camp for training young non-White guerillas at Mamre, Cape Province, and that Mr. Denis Goldberg, an accused, and Mr. Looksmart Solwandle Ngudle, who had been found dead by hanging while under detention without trial, had been the Commandant and Sergeant respectively.²⁷

On cross-examination, Mr. Y said he had decided, towards the end of his ninety-day detention, to tell the truth because he preferred a long prison sentence term to indefinite detention without

²⁴ *Cape Times*, December 11-12, 1963.

²⁵ *Cape Times*, December 13-14, 1963.

²⁶ *The Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, December 21, 1963. Under cross-examination on January 15, 1964, Mr. X said that he had joined the African National Congress because it had been 'struggling for something that was right and for the aspirations of the Black people', and that its objects could be attained only through violence. However, he had come to realize while undergoing detention that the decision to adopt a policy of violence had been wrong, and that the leaders were Communists. Asked by defence counsel why his evidence differed from his evidence-in-chief, he said that his mind had become tired since serving ninety-day detention. (*Cape Times*, January 16, 1964; Reuters, January 15, 1964.)

²⁷ *Cape Times*, December 18, 1963.

* He has been identified as Cyril Davids [Editor].

trial. He was still in custody but had been told that he would be released after he had given evidence.

Another witness was Mr. English Mashiloane, a cousin of Mr. Elias Motsoaledi, an accused, who testified that his house had been used as an assembly point for recruits on their way to training bases. He said he had already been locked up for six months and had no idea when he would be released. He thought that he too was an accused person and was on trial as well. The prosecutor announced that he was being held in protective custody and was not regarded as an accomplice. After discussion with the prosecutor, the Judge informed the witness that if he gave satisfactory evidence he would be released. Mr. Mashiloane was asked: 'At first you denied you knew anything about soldiers and dynamite and that sort of thing. What made you change your mind?' 'Jail', he replied.²⁸

Another witness, Mr. Essop Ahmed Suliman, a taxi operator, testified that he had taken African recruits to the Bechuanaland border for military training abroad. He admitted that he had been detained for sixty-five days before police had taken a preliminary statement from him, then had been kept in custody a further fifty-five days before police agreed to take the final portion of his statement which took only a few minutes to give. He stated that he had not been threatened with assault by police on his arrest on June 10, 1963, but that when he did not tell the truth to the policeman who arrested him, the latter had said: 'Do you know that with one punch I can knock you down?'

On January 14, 1964, Mr. Caswell Nboxele, a twenty-one-year-old African, testified that he had been invited to a 'Christmas picnic' in 1962 but had found himself at a guerilla training camp at Mamre, where there were about thirty men under the direction of Mr. Denis Goldberg and Mr. Looksmart Ngudle. Asked about the lectures, Mr. Nboxele said: 'I wasn't listening. I had come for a picnic.'²⁹

Mr. Harry Bambane, who was serving a two-year sentence for leaving South Africa without a passport, testified that he had been recruited in early 1963 by a friend to go to school in Tanganyika, and had travelled to Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia, with some other persons under false names. The group, then thirty-seven persons, had been told on the way that they were to receive military

²⁸ *The Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, December 21, 1963.

²⁹ *Cape Times*, January 14-15, 1964: Reuters, January 14, 1964.

training in Tanganyika. They had been arrested in Livingstone and handed over to the South African police.³⁰

A third unidentified witness,* Mr. Z, testified on January 22, 1964, that he had lost thirty pounds while under detention, but had received excellent food at all times. He stated that he had been aware that if he did not make a statement to the police, he could be held for successive periods of ninety days for the rest of his life.³¹

When asked why he was giving evidence against the organization he had served since 1951, Mr. Z said that senior officials of the A.N.C. had been arrested before him and had apparently made statements to the police. As identifying other persons these officials had thus indicated that others should 'talk' also, he felt that he could not be described as a traitor.³²

On March 4, 1964, Justice Quartus de Wet acquitted Mr. James Kantor on the ground that there was no case against him. The case against the remaining nine defendants was adjourned to April 7, 1964.³³

(2) TRIAL OF DR. ALEXANDER AND OTHERS IN CAPE TOWN

Ten Coloureds and one African were charged in the Cape division of the Supreme Court on November 1, 1963, with a plot to overthrow the Government by violent revolution, guerilla warfare and sabotage. The accused are: Dr. Neville Alexander, Miss Dorothy Alexander, Mr. Fikile Bam, Mr. Lionel Davis, Miss Dulcie September, Miss Doris van der Heyden, Mr. Leslie van der Heyden, Miss Elizabeth van der Heyden, Rev. Don Davis, Mr. Marcus Solomons and Mr. Gordon Hendricks. The principal charge alleged that the accused committed sabotage by means of a conspiracy to commit certain wrongful acts between April 1, 1962, and July 12, 1963. The second charge alleged that they committed sabotage by inciting, instigating, commanding, advising or encouraging other persons to commit wrongful and wilful acts. Two further charges alleged that they contravened the Suppression of Communism Act by supporting or advocating support of a doctrine which aimed at bringing about a political, social or economic change in South

³⁰ *The Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, January 18, 1964.

³¹ *Cape Times*, January 23, 1964.

³² *Cape Times*, January 30, 1964.

³³ *New York Times*, March 5, 1964.

* Identified as Patrick Mtembu [Editor].

Africa by promoting disturbance or disorder, and with being members of the Yu Chi Chan Club known as the National Liberation Front.³⁴

Trial began on November 4, 1963. On November 8, the judge dismissed the defence application that the indictment be quashed as 'vague, embarrassing and calculated to prejudice'.³⁵ The accused were refused bail.

The first witness, Police Lt. S. I. Sauerman, stated on November 8, 1963, that he had arrested Dr. Alexander on July 12, 1963, on finding certain documents in his possession. Between November 8 and 16, the prosecution read 'more than fifty documents' to the court as evidence of sabotage, including: Mao Tse-tung, *Strategic Problems of the Anti-Japanese Guerilla War*; V. I. Lenin, *The Paris Commune*; and issues of *Liberation*, alleged organ of the National Liberation Front.³⁶

On November 18, Mr. Harold van Rooyen testified that Don Davis, an accused, 'gave me a book on guerilla warfare. . . . He said I must read it so I would know what to do when the time came to stand up for our rights.' Under cross-examination, Mr. van Rooyen said that all Coloured people spoke about standing up for their rights.

Mr. Andrew Pitt testified that Mr. Davis gave him a book on guerrilla warfare: 'He said I must read it so I would know what to do when the time came to stand up for our rights. I read only the heading and then burnt it.' Counsel for the defence asked: 'You spoke to Davis about laws of the land and discussed dissatisfaction among the Coloured people against laws?' The witness stated: 'Yes, such as *apartheid*, job reservation, ninety-day detention clause, immorality laws and lots of others. Davis said we must be ready for the day when we would stand up for our rights.' Defence asked: 'Many Coloured people say these things?' The witness said: 'Everybody says it.'³⁷

On November 19, 1963, two witnesses described alleged preparations for an attack on South African Whites in January 1964 by a 'Coloured army'. One witness was a Coloured policeman. Constable Jacobus Kotzee, disguised as an insurance agent, the other a paid police informer, Mr. Cecil Dempster.³⁸ On November 21, the

³⁴ Reuters, November 5, 1963.

³⁵ Reuters, November 8, 1963.

³⁶ *Cape Times*, November 9-16, 1963.

³⁷ *Cape Times*, November 19, 1963.

³⁸ *Cape Times*, November 20, 1963.

judge reprimanded Mr. Dempster after he admitted he had not told the truth in evidence because the police had instructed him to 'keep secret' certain facts.³⁹

On November 24, Mr. Reginald Francke, a State witness and an alleged accomplice, refused to give evidence despite the assurance of the judge that if he answered questions to the satisfaction of the court he would be granted an indemnity.⁴⁰

Mr. Francke testified, however, from November 26 and subsequent days. He described an N.L.F. cell which held weekly meetings at Dr. Alexander's home and included four of the accused. He stated that the N.L.F. was a military organization which planned to take over South Africa using guerrilla warfare and violent methods. He admitted that police had promised to release him from ninety-day detention as soon as he had made a satisfactory statement. Mr. Brian Landers, a student at the Western Cape University College, testified that when he approached Dr. Alexander for a bursary to study overseas, he was introduced to the N.L.F. Dr. Alexander had stated it was 'a new group to fight to liberate the oppressed peoples—the non-Whites. . . . The name of the organization was the N.L.F. whose letters were taken from the Algerian F.L.N.'⁴¹

Three State witnesses refused to give evidence on December 2, 1963. These included Mr. Cyril Jacobs, who refused despite the judge's warning that he was regarded as an accomplice but would be 'absolutely free' if he gave evidence. On December 3, Miss Dorothy Adams, broke into tears and refused to give evidence against the accused.⁴²

On December 10, Mr. Marcus Solomons, an accused primary school teacher, stated that he had been hit in the face five times, kneed in the stomach about seven times and then painfully sat on by the Detective-Sergeant, while under ninety-day detention.⁴³

The trial adjourned on December 12, 1963, and resumed on February 3, 1964, when the prosecution presented technical evidence on the use of a certain typewriter to type documents. The rest of the

³⁹ *Cape Times*, November 22, 1963.

⁴⁰ *Cape Times*, November 25, 1963.

⁴¹ *Cape Times*, November 27-29, 1963.

⁴² *Cape Times*, December 3-4, 1963: on December 17, three witnesses who refused to give evidence were charged with sabotage. (*Cape Times*, December 18, 1963.)

⁴³ *Cape Times*, December 11, 1963: *Spotlight on South Africa*, Dar-es-Salaam, January 10, 1964.

month of February was set aside for the presentation of the defence case.⁴⁴

On February 5, 1964, the defence said the 'basis of a fair trial' might have collapsed:

While the accused were being held at Robben Island . . . it was impossible to take instructions by word of mouth and I asked the accused to prepare statements. These statements were read by an agent of the State—the prison warder—and signed by him as being read. The law says that the agent of the State must be within sight but not sound of a legal adviser taking instructions from his client. Our submission is that these statements should have been treated as a word of mouth statement. . . . If this is so, then a basis of a fair trial collapses. . . . This is a grave irregularity calculated to cause serious prejudice to the accused. . . . Further . . . it is an irregularity that cannot be remedied.

On February 6 the defence informed the judge it would apply for a special entry into the trial record concerning the alleged breach of privilege. The judge said he saw no need for it to be recorded.⁴⁵

The defence closed its case on February 24, 1964.⁴⁶ *

(3) PIETERMARITZBURG TRIAL

In Pietermaritzburg, nineteen defendants were accused on November 12, 1963, of twenty-seven acts of sabotage, including the blowing up of rail lines, several houses of persons accused of collaborating with the Government, telephone poles, signal boxes and the printing works of the *Natalier* an Afrikaans newspaper in Durban.⁴⁷ The nineteen defendants, including ten Africans and nine Indians, had been detained in June, July and August. Soon after being charged, they went on a five-day hunger strike to protest a Government ban which prohibited one of their attorneys, Mr. Rowley Arenstein of Durban, from attending the trial.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ *Cape Times*, February 4, 1964.

⁴⁵ *Cape Times*, February 6-7, 1964.

⁴⁶ *Cape Times*, February 25, 1964.

⁴⁷ The accused are Ebrahim Ismail, Girja Singh, N. Barbenia, Billy Nair, K. Doorsammy, Kisten Moonsammy, George Naicker, R. Kisten-sammy, Siva Pillay, Cernick Ndhlovu, Riot Mkwanazi, Alfred Duma, M. Mapumalo, Bennet Nkosi, Z. Mdhlalose, Mathews Meyiwa, Joshua Zulu, M. D. Mkize and David Ndawonde. (*Spotlight on South Africa*, Dar-es-Salaam, January 10, 1964.)

⁴⁸ Reuters, November 12, 1963.

* Subsequent to this report the accused have been found guilty and sentenced to terms of imprisonment from three years to ten years [Editor].

An alleged accomplice of the accused gave evidence for the State and described the organization of *Umkonto We Sizwe* in the Durban area and some of its sabotage activities. Under cross-examination, he stated that he felt no moral guilt for the part he had played and could not disagree with *Umkonto*. He had been arrested on August 3, 1963. His wife had been detained earlier in an attempt to get hold of him. He had denied knowledge of *Umkonto* after his arrest but later changed his mind when he thought of his parents and children.⁴⁹

On February 28, 1964, Mr. Billy Nair and Mr. Cernick Ndhlovu were each sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. Mr. N. Barbenia was sentenced to sixteen years' imprisonment: Mr. Ebrahim Ismail to fifteen years: and Mr. Kisten Moonsammy and Mr. George Naicker to fourteen years each. One of the accused was sentenced to twelve years' imprisonment, five to ten years each, five to eight years each, and one to five years. Leave to appeal was granted to eight of the eighteen persons convicted.⁵⁰

OTHER TRIALS

A list of trials concluded in 1963 of persons for belonging to organizations opposed to *apartheid* or for actions arising from such opposition is annexed.*

The more recent among the numerous trials, since September 9, 1963, are briefly indicated below.

They show that political trials and convictions have increased since the Special Committee reported to the eighteenth session of the General Assembly on the deterioration of the situation.

On September 9, 1963, in Port Elizabeth, fourteen Africans were found guilty of being office-bearers or members of the banned African National Congress and sentenced to eighteen to twenty-four months' imprisonment each.⁵¹

On September 10, 1963, in Cape Town, two Africans were sen-

⁴⁹ Despatches of the *Natal Mercury*, condensed in *Spotlight on South Africa*, Dar-es-Salaam, January 3, 1964.

⁵⁰ *The Star*, daily, Johannesburg, February 28, 1964.

⁵¹ *Cape Times*, September 10, 1963.

* Reasons of space prohibit reproduction of this annex, but *Forward* (Johannesburg, May 1961) has published details of 97 trials in which 1,227 persons were charged for political offences. Of these 44 were sentenced to death, and 6 to life imprisonment. 847 were sentenced to a total of 5,379 years imprisonment, and 1 to six cuts. 325 were acquitted or discharged and 4 sentences were unknown [Editor].

tenced to three years' imprisonment for promoting the aims of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress.⁵²

On September 13, 1963, in Cape Town, two African women were found guilty of membership in the Pan-Africanist Congress and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment. Four African men were also found guilty of the same offence and sentenced to three years' imprisonment.⁵³

On September 16, 1963, in Umtata, forty-eight Africans were sentenced to a total of 116 years' imprisonment after being found guilty on a number of charges, including membership in the Pan-Africanist Congress. Forty of the accused were sentenced to two years' imprisonment, two to three years', and six to five years' on charges of continuing to be members of the P.A.C. after it had been banned, soliciting subscriptions and furthering the activities of the P.A.C.⁵⁴

On September 17, 1963, in Belville, twenty-three Africans were sentenced to three years' imprisonment on charges of sabotage. They were found guilty of belonging to the Pan-Africanist Congress or 'Poqo'.⁵⁵

On October 1, 1963, seven Africans were each sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment after a secret trial by the Transvaal Supreme Court. They were found guilty of undergoing military training in Ethiopia on behalf of the African National Congress.⁵⁶

On October 1, 1963, in Johannesburg, four Africans, allegedly members of the Pan-Africanist Congress, were sentenced to death. Mr. Richard Matsapahae, Josia Mocumi, Thomas Molathlegi and Petrus Mtshole were found guilty of murder in the death of Mr. Johannes Mokoena, an African Special Branch detective, on March 18, 1963.⁵⁷

On October 7, 1963, in Pretoria, seventy-four Africans were charged with unspecified acts of sabotage. The judge prohibited publication of the names of the accused, many of whom were reported to be juveniles.⁵⁸

On October 9, 1963, in Grahamstown, Mr. Hector Ntshanyana was sentenced to twenty-five years' imprisonment on charges of sabotage in connection with an attack on the King Williams' Town

⁵² *The Star*, daily, Johannesburg, September 10, 1963.

⁵³ *Cape Times*, September 14, 1963.

⁵⁴ *Cape Times*, September 17, 1963.

⁵⁵ *Cape Times*, September 18, 1963.

⁵⁶ Reuters, October 1, 1963.

⁵⁷ *Cape Times*, October 2, 1963.

⁵⁸ *The Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, October 12, 1963.

police station on April 8, 1963. The others were each sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment, four to twelve years, and three to eight years.⁵⁹

On October 15, 1963, in Johannesburg, The Rev. Arthur Blaxall, a seventy-two-year-old retired Anglican minister, was found guilty on two counts of aiding banned organizations and two of possessing banned publications. He had pleaded guilty to charges of taking part in the activities of the Pan-Africanist Congress and the African National Congress, administering funds for the Pan-Africanist Congress and arranging secret meetings between Mr. Potlako Leballo and other persons. The Minister of Justice suspended his sentence.⁶⁰

On October 15, 1963, in Johannesburg, Mr. Leon Michael Kreel and his wife, Maureen Kreel, were charged with harbouring Arthur Goldreich and Harold Wolpe following their escape from Johannesburg police headquarters on August 11, 1963, and with contravening the Suppression of Communism Act.⁶¹

On October 22, 1963, in Johannesburg, Dr. Hilliard Festenstein, a research pathologist, was charged with furthering the aims of communism and possessing banned publications.⁶² On January 28, 1964, he was sentenced to fifteen months' imprisonment and fined R300, for allegedly taking part in a banned organization, the South African Communist Party, and possessing banned literature. He was granted bail of R3,000, pending appeal.⁶³ (Dr. Festenstein was among the seventeen persons arrested on July 11, 1963, at Rivonia.)

On October 15, 1963, in Cape Town, Advocate Ntuli was sentenced to two years' imprisonment on charges of membership in 'Poqo' and of recruiting other members. The judge stated the action of the accused 'amounts to high treason'.⁶⁴

On October 25, 1963, in Wynberg, Mr. Basil Februarie, twenty, and Mr. Neville Andrews, eighteen, both coloured, were found guilty of malicious damage to property by painting anti-Government slogans on roads and factory walls. Sentence was postponed.⁶⁵

Also in October in Umtata, thirty-one African men were each sentenced to two and one-half years' imprisonment on charges of

⁵⁹ *Cape Times*, October 10, 1963.

⁶⁰ Reuters. October 15, 1963: *The Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, October 12 and 19, 1963.

⁶¹ *Cape Times*, October 10, 1963.

⁶² Reuters, October 22, 1963.

⁶³ *Cape Times*, January 29, 1964.

⁶⁴ *Cape Times*, October 16, 1963.

⁶⁵ *Cape Times*, October 26, 1963.

being office-bearers or members of the Pan-Africanist Congress.⁶⁶

On November 4, 1963, in Port Elizabeth, seventy-seven prisoners were brought to trial on charges of sabotage. The prosecution maintained that there were *prima facie* cases against all the accused of membership in the 'Spear of the Nation'. Several defendants were charged with murdering a State witness in Port Elizabeth. Bail was refused.⁶⁷

On November 6, 1963, in Grahamstown, twenty-six Africans were charged with sabotage, murdering a State witness, furthering the aims of the banned African National Congress, and possession of weapons.⁶⁸

On November 7, 1963, in Butterworth, seventeen Africans were found guilty of sabotage and three contraventions of the Suppression of Communism Act. They were sentenced to six to twenty years' imprisonment for allegedly gathering in the bush at Duncan Village on April 8, 1963, and planning armed insurrection, arson and murder of Whites, and with various other activities involving a banned organization. Application for leave to appeal was refused.⁶⁹

On November 7, 1963, in Bellville, Mr. Elijah Loza* was charged with offences under the Suppression of Communism Act. He had been detained for ninety-day detention since May 11, 1963.⁷⁰

On November 8, 1963, in Cape Town, three Coloureds were charged with sabotage.

On November 9, 1963, in Cape Town, an African and a Coloured were charged with sabotage.⁷¹

On November 13, 1963, in East London, fifty-one men and one woman were charged with sabotage and furthering the aims of a banned organization.⁷²

On November 18, 1963, in Butterworth, eight Africans were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from seven to fourteen years, on charges rising out of an alleged plan by 'Poqo' to murder the Whites of East London in April 1963. Two of the accused were acquitted for lack of evidence. Leave to appeal was refused.⁷³

⁶⁶ *The Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, October 12, 1963.

⁶⁷ *Cape Times*, November 5, 1963.

⁶⁸ *Forward*, Johannesburg, December 1963.

⁶⁹ *Cape Times*, November 8-9, 1963.

⁷⁰ *Cape Times*, November 8, 1963.

⁷¹ *Cape Times*, December 5, 1963.

⁷² *Cape Times*, November 15, 1963.

⁷³ *Cape Times*, November 19, 1963.

* Mr. Loza, a well-known Cape Town trade unionist.

On November 20, 1963, in Cape Town, two Coloureds were charged with sabotage on November 20, 1963.⁷⁴

On November 21, 1963, in Goodwood, thirty-one Africans were charged with being members of 'Poqo' and planning to attack Whites.⁷⁵

On November 28, 1963, in Belville, twenty-one Africans were charged with contravening the Suppression of Communism Act.⁷⁶

On December 1, 1963, in Butterworth, eighteen Africans were found guilty of public violence and two of culpable homicide. All the accused pleaded guilty. They were sentenced to seven 'to eight years' imprisonment each on charges arising from the death of a police assistant in Kanywa Location, Engcobo, when Africans had attacked police who were arresting a suspect.⁷⁷

On December 4, in Cape Town, Mr. Cardiff Marney, Coloured, was charged with sabotage.⁷⁸

On December 6, 1963, in Belville, eleven Africans were charged with contravening the Suppression of Communism Act. Bail was refused.⁷⁹

On December 9, 1963, in Pretoria, the conviction and sentence of Mr. Sulliman Nathie, secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress, to twelve months' imprisonment for incitement were upheld.⁸⁰

On December 10, 1963, in Port Alfred, Mr. Jackson Mdinga and Mr. Fundile Msutwana were sentenced to seven years' and six years' imprisonment on charges of sabotage for cutting twenty-five telephone lines on February 15, 1963.

On December 10, 1963, in Goodwood, Mr. Leo Vehilo Tikolo was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment for saying that if a volunteer were needed to assassinate Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd, he would be the first to volunteer.⁸¹

On December 10, 1963, in Johannesburg, Mr. Dennis Brutus, president of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, was charged with attending a meeting in defiance of a banning order, failing to report to police, leaving the district of Johannesburg, leaving South Africa without a valid passport and escaping

⁷⁴ *Cape Times*, December 5, 1963.

⁷⁵ *Cape Times*, November 22, 1963.

⁷⁶ *Cape Times*, November 29, 1963.

⁷⁷ *Cape Times*, December 2, 1963.

⁷⁸ *Cape Times*, December 5, 1963.

⁷⁹ *Cape Times*, December 7, 1963.

⁸⁰ *Cape Times*, December 10, 1963.

⁸¹ *Cape Times*, December 11, 1963.

from custody.⁸² He was sentenced on January 10, 1964, to eighteen months' imprisonment.⁸³ Mr. Brutus, a poet and former school-teacher, had fled from South Africa after being banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, and was granted political asylum in Swaziland. On his way to the session of the International Olympic Committee in Baden-Baden on a British passport, he had been arrested in Mozambique by Portuguese police and returned to South Africa. He had been shot and seriously wounded by police in Johannesburg on September 18, 1963, while allegedly attempting to escape police.⁸⁴

On December 17, 1963, in Durban, Mr. George Mbele, former organizing secretary of the African National Congress and a ninety-day detainee from May 10 to November 4, 1963, and Mr. Stephen Dlamini were sentenced to nine months' imprisonment on being found guilty of issuing a pamphlet with intent to cause hostility between the races.⁸⁵ *

On December 18, 1963, in Port Elizabeth, three Africans were sentenced to twelve, eight and three years' imprisonment, on charges of sabotage for allegedly burning down the shop of the official representative of Chief Kaiser Matanzima in New Brighton in September 1962.⁸⁶

On December 19, 1963, in Krugersdorp, Mr. Jordan Zuma was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for attempted murder of a policeman, possession of a weapon and ammunition, and escaping from custody.⁸⁷

Also in December in Grahamstown, Jackson Madinga and Fundile Msutwana were sentenced to seven and six years respectively on a charge of cutting telephone wires on the night of February 15, 1963.⁸⁸

In December in Cape Town, eight Africans were charged with sabotage.⁸⁹

⁸² Reuters, December 10, 1963.

⁸³ *Cape Times*, January 11, 1964.

⁸⁴ Reuters, September 19, 1963.

⁸⁵ *Cape Times*, December 18, 1963.

⁸⁶ *Cape Times*, December 19, 1963.

⁸⁷ *Cape Times*, December 20, 1963.

⁸⁸ *Spotlight on South Africa*, Dar-es-Salaam, January 10, 1964.

⁸⁹ *Cape Times*, December 31, 1963.

* At Ladysmith, April 23, Mr. Mbele and Mr. Dhlamini were each sentenced to a further four years for being office bearers of A.N.C. Seven African leaders received a total of 21 years in this trial. Mr. Dhlamini is national president of S.A. Congress of Trade Unions [Editor].

On January 5, 1964, in Cape Town, Mr. Randolph Vigne, banned former official of the Liberal Party, was charged with contravening Proclamation 400 of 1960.⁹⁰

On January 10, 1964, in Port Alfred, Mr. Charlie January and Mr. William Mtwalo were sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment on charges of sabotage for cutting telephone wires at the Bantu Administration Office in New Brighton Township.⁹¹

On January 11, 1964, in Cape Town, the State withdrew sabotage charges against Mr. Ernest Gabriel and seven other men, after they had been in jail for several months.⁹²

On January 22, 1964, in Port Alfred, Mr. Jacob Sikundla was sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment on charges of sabotage, including two acts of arson, cutting a telephone wire and making or possessing twenty-three chemical or incendiary bombs.⁹³

On January 24, 1964, in Port Elizabeth, Mr. Wilson Bekwayo was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for possessing chemical bombs. Two witnesses testified that they had carried bombs to his house and that he had not appeared to be surprised at their arrival with the bombs.⁹⁴

Also in January 1964, seventeen Africans were sentenced in Butterworth, to a total of 202 years' imprisonment on charges of sabotage and offences under the Suppression of Communism Act: a second group of twenty Africans were sentenced to seven and eight years' imprisonment each on charges of public violence and culpable homicide: and a third group of ten Africans were sentenced to seven to fourteen years' imprisonment on charges of sabotage. In Pretoria, nineteen Africans were charged with conspiring to recruit Africans for military training outside South Africa. In Bellville, ten Africans were charged with offences under the Suppression of Communism Act. In Port Elizabeth, fifty-five Africans were charged with sabotage. In Graaff Reinet, twenty Africans were charged with sabotage. In Port Elizabeth, twenty-six Africans were charged with political offences.⁹⁵

Also in January 1964 in Durban, twenty-five Africans were charged with being members of and furthering the objects of the banned African National Congress. Rev. Gladstone Ntlabati, a

⁹⁰ *Cape Times*, January 6, 1964.

⁹¹ *Cape Times*, January 11, 1964.

⁹² *Cape Times*, January 11, 1964.

⁹³ *Cape Times*, January 23, 1964.

⁹⁴ *Cape Times*, January 25, 1964.

⁹⁵ *Forward*, Johannesburg, January 1964.

Methodist minister, was granted bail of 300 Rand. The other accused were refused bail.⁹⁶

On February 3, 1964, three Africans, Mr. Martin Ramogadi, Alios Mancini and Izak Tlale, were charged in the Rand Supreme Court on allegations of having recruited persons, or being themselves recruited, for training outside the Republic to further the objects of the African National Congress.⁹⁷

On February 10, 1964, fourteen Africans were sentenced to three years' imprisonment on charges of belonging to the Pan-Africanist Congress.⁹⁸

On February 20, 1964, in Potchefstroom, seven Africans were sentenced to a total of sixteen years' imprisonment on charges of being members of the Pan-Africanist Congress.⁹⁹

On February 21, 1964, in Cape Town, four Whites were charged with contravening the Suppression of Communism Act.¹⁰⁰

On February 27, 1964, in Cape Town, the State informed the Supreme Court that forty to forty-five persons would be brought to trial on charges of sabotage or contravening the Suppression of Communism Act before April 15, 1964.¹⁰¹

In March 1964 in Port Elizabeth, Mr. Vuyisele Mini, Mr. Wilson Khayinga and Mr. Z. Mkaba were sentenced to death.¹⁰² *

III. DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL

A significant feature of repression in the past year was the widespread use of powers obtained by the Government in new legislation to detain persons indefinitely without trial. Hundreds of persons of all races have thus been detained, frequently in solitary confinement for extended periods, for their active opposition to the policy of *apartheid* or even suspicion that they might have knowledge of the commission of illegal acts. The principal provisions used by the South African Government in this regard are Pro-

⁹⁶ *The World*, Johannesburg, January 24, 1964, quoted in *Spotlight on South Africa*, Dar-es-Salaam, February 14, 1964.

⁹⁷ *Cape Times*, February 4, 1964.

⁹⁸ Agence France Presse, February 10, 1964.

⁹⁹ Agence France Presse, February 20, 1964.

¹⁰⁰ *Cape Times*, February 21, 1964.

¹⁰¹ *Cape Times*, February 28, 1964.

¹⁰² A/AC.115/L.61.

* The trial was held at Port Alfred. Mr. Mini, a former treason trialist, was secretary of the Dock Workers' Union in Port Elizabeth [Editor].

clamation 400 of 1960, and section 4 and section 17 of the General Law Amendment Act of 1963.

Proclamation 400 of 1960, which remains in force in the Transkei, provides that any non-commissioned officer of the South African Police or Defence Force may arrest without warrant any person for interrogation concerning any offence, or intention to commit an offence, under any law in force in South Africa. The arrested person may be detained indefinitely. He is not allowed to consult with a legal adviser without the consent of the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. The Minister of Justice stated on January 24, 1964, that 592 persons had been detained under this provision in 1963.¹⁰³

On February 22, 1964, Dr. Pascal Ngcane, son-in-law of Chief Albert Luthuli, father of four small children and the only medical doctor practising in Clermont, was detained for detention without trial under Proclamation 400.¹⁰⁴

Section 4 of the General Law Amendment Act of 1963 provides that persons serving a term of imprisonment may be detained indefinitely on completion of their sentence.¹⁰⁵ Mr. Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, President of the Pan-Africanist Congress, has been so detained since May 2, 1963, after completing a three-year term of imprisonment in connection with the Sharpeville incidents of 1960.

Section 17 of the General Amendment Act of 1963 provides for the arrest and detention of persons without warrant and without trial for periods of ninety days at a time.¹⁰⁶ The Minister of Justice

¹⁰³ *House of Assembly Debates*, January 24, 1964, col. 263.

¹⁰⁴ *Sunday Times*, Johannesburg, March 8, 1964.

¹⁰⁵ Section 4 states *inter alia*: 'The Minister [of Justice] may, if he is satisfied that any person serving any sentence of imprisonment . . . is likely to advocate, advise, defend or encourage the achievement of any of the objects of communism, . . . prohibit such person from absenting himself, after serving such sentence, from any place or area which is or is within a prison . . . and the person to whom the notice applies shall . . . be detained in custody in such place or area for such period as the notice may be in force.'

¹⁰⁶ Section 17 states *inter alia*: 'Any commissioned officer . . . may . . . without warrant arrest . . . any person whom he suspects upon reasonable grounds of having committed or intending or having intended to commit any offence under the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950 (Act No. 44 of 1950), or under the last-mentioned Act as applied by the Unlawful Organizations Act, 1960 (Act No. 34 of 1960), or the offence of sabotage, or who in his opinion is in possession of any information relating to the commission of any such offence or the intention to commit any such offence, and detain such person or cause him to be detained in custody for interrogation in connection with

stated on January 21, 1964, that 594 persons had been detained under this Section in 1963.¹⁰⁷ Of the 594 persons, 361 had been charged with:

- “(a) Sabotage and conspiracy to commit sabotage:
- (b) Furthering the achievements of a banned organization:
- (c) Becoming or remaining a member and furthering the activities of a banned organization:
- (d) Attempting to leave the Republic of South Africa without the necessary documents:
- (e) Possession of explosives.”

He added that as of January 21, there were forty-one persons under detention, of whom twenty-one had been detained since the beginning of the year. The others had apparently been charged in courts or released.¹⁰⁸

On February 5 police headquarters announced the further arrest of twenty persons between January 27 and February 5.¹⁰⁹

The Minister of Justice stated in the House of Assembly on February 25, 1964, that seventy persons were under ninety-day detention. He added that a further eighteen persons had been released since January 21, 1964.¹¹⁰

On March 3 police announced the arrest of fourteen Africans for ninety-day detention in Johannesburg. On the same day police raided the home of a Mrs. Nelson Mandela in Orlando West and arrested Mr. Oscar Soman, a relative of Mr. Mandela, for ninety-day detention.¹¹¹

the commission of or intention to commit such offence, at any place he may think fit, until such person has in the opinion of the Commissioner of the South African Police replied satisfactorily to all questions at the said interrogation, but no such person shall be so detained for more than ninety days on any particular occasion when he is so arrested.’

¹⁰⁷ He had stated on November 8, 1963, that ‘at least 544 persons’ had been detained under Section 17, of whom 275 had been charged, sixty-one were due to be charged, 151 had been released after answering questions, five had escaped and one had died in prison. Fifty-one detainees were still being interrogated and their release depended on whether they co-operated with police (*The Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, November 9, 1963).

¹⁰⁸ *House of Assembly Debates*, January 21, 1964, cols. 14-15.

¹⁰⁹ *Cape Times*, February 6, 1964.

¹¹⁰ *The Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, February 29, 1964.

¹¹¹ *The Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, March 7, 1964.

The Government has indicated that persons could be indefinitely detained, on orders for ninety days at a time. On October 9, 1963, the Cape Supreme Court ruled that a person detained without trial for ninety days could be rearrested immediately after completing the initial period, as there was no provision granting immunity from indefinite detention.¹¹² On November 6, 1963, the Minister of Justice stated in response to the appeal of the leader of the United Party that the case of Mr. Loza who had been detained for a third term of ninety days be considered, that a third period of detention, or any number of such periods, could well be justified in principle.¹¹³ A number of persons are now undergoing detention for a third or fourth term of ninety days.

Many of the prisoners have been charged in courts after long periods of detention. The release of others appears to depend on their giving of evidence against persons accused of sabotage to the satisfaction of the police.¹¹⁴

Detainees are normally allowed only one hour of exercise daily. The provision in the Criminal Code which prohibits subjection of criminal prisoners to more than two days of solitary confinement a week does not apply to ninety-day detainees.

On November 13, 1963, the Cape Supreme Court, acting on an appeal by Mr. Albert L. Sachs, ordered that the prisoners should have a "reasonable supply" of books and writing materials and should be given a reasonable amount of exercise each day. The judge states: 'There can be no doubt that the effect of solitary confinement for all but one hour for exercise a day, and the deprivation of reading matter and writing material, constitutes a punishment.' Captain D. J. Rossouw of the Security Branch claimed that the conditions of imprisonment of Mr. Sachs were adequate. He submitted that a ninety-day detainee had no rights, and the only limitation on the discretion of the security officers was that the health of the detainee must be unimpaired on his release.¹¹⁵ The

¹¹² The Court dismissed an appeal for a writ of *habeas corpus* on behalf of Mr. Elijah Loza, a trade union leader of Cape Town, who was not released on the completion of an initial period of ninety days' detention on August 8, 1963. (*Cape Times*, October 10, 1963.)

¹¹³ *Cape Times*, November 6-7, 1963.

¹¹⁴ On January 28, 1964, Police Lieut. D. J. Swanepoel told the Court in the 'Rivonia trial' that the ninety-day detention clause was a 'mighty weapon in the hands of the police' and that he would not release a detained person if he believed the person had not divulged all information at his disposal. (*Cape Times*, January 29, 1964.)

¹¹⁵ *The Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, November 16, 1963.

Government announced that it intended to appeal against the court order.¹¹⁶

The operation of the ninety-day detention clause has led to strong criticism and concern in South Africa and abroad.

Former Chief Justice Senator H. A. Fagan stated that indefinite detention was as abhorrent as physical third-degree methods.¹¹⁷

Mr. Hamilton Russell, a former United Party Member of Parliament who resigned in protest against the General Law Amendment Act of 1963, called for a militant public protest against the clause and charged that detainees had been subjected to various forms of torture, including electric shocks, prolonged submersion in cold water and 'gas mask' treatment.¹¹⁸

The National Congress of the United Party unanimously demanded in November 1963 that the ninety-day detention clause be dropped during the 1964 parliamentary session.¹¹⁹ Sir de Villiers Graaff, leader of the United Party, urged a full investigation into the application of the measure.¹²⁰

On November 18, 1963, two Cape Town psychiatrists stated in reference to prolonged detention in solitary confinement: 'Pressure put on people in solitary confinement is a form of brainwashing. We know from experiments that people deprived of outside stimuli can become disordered, indeed quite psychotic. . . . He would get to the state where he would believe or say anything.'¹²¹

Major Fred van Niekerk of the Pretoria Criminal Investigation Division stated on November 27, 1963, at the inquest on the death of Mr. Ngudle, that after one to three days in solitary confinement, prisoners showed signs of bewilderment, discouragement and attempts to fraternize: after three to ten days' confinement they showed signs of gradual compliance and between ten days and three weeks a tendency to automatic behaviour. Later, he stated, detainees experienced hallucinations and had difficulty in distin-

¹¹⁶ Reuters, November 14, 1963. On November 25, 1963, police refused to accept three books (*Digestive Troubles*, *Carmen*, and *Italian Grammar-Simplified*) handed in for a ninety-day detainee, Mr. Uriah Maleka, by his wife. (*Cape Times*, November 27, 1963.)

¹¹⁷ *Cape Times*, November 7, 1963.

¹¹⁸ *The Star*, daily, Johannesburg, November 26, 1963: *Rand Daily Mail*, November 26, 1963.

¹¹⁹ In terms of the General Law Amendment Act of 1963, the ninety-day detention provision expires on June 30, 1964, but can be extended for one year periods by proclamation of the State President in the *Government Gazette*.

¹²⁰ *The Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, November 23 and 30, 1963.

¹²¹ *Cape Times*, November 19, 1963.

guishing between truth and fiction. After months of detention, prisoners were depressed frequently to the point of suicide.¹²²

On December 20, 1963, sixty medical specialists, psychiatrists, and psychologists sent an appeal to the Minister of Justice for the abolition of solitary confinement under the ninety-day detention clause. The appeal described detention in solitary confinement as inhuman and unjustifiable and declared:

As the time approaches for re-appraisal of the ninety-day detention clause, we, as medical specialists, psychiatrists and psychologists, consider it our duty to draw the attention of the Government and the public to the possible serious consequences of this form of detention on the mental condition of the detainees.

The psychiatric study of political prisoners subjected to periods of solitary confinement in various countries indicates that this experience is associated with intense distress and impairment of certain mental functions. Numerous experimental studies support this evidence.

We submit that the exposure of individuals to acute suffering and mental impairment for indefinite periods of time is no less abhorrent than physical torture. Whatever view may be held about the need for preventive detention in certain circles, no cause can justify the injury whether physical or mental, of persons who have not been found guilty of an offence by the Courts.

We feel, therefore, that the present system of detention in solitary confinement is inhuman and unjustifiable and we appeal for its abolition.¹²³

The utilization of detainees, kept for long periods under solitary confinement, as State witnesses in trials for alleged sabotage has caused serious concern. In the Cape Town trial of Dr. Alexander and others, on February 7, 1964, Dr. Jane E. Bain of the Department of Psychiatry, Groote Schuur Hospital, said that persons kept in isolation were extremely unlikely to make reliable statements. Such persons were highly susceptible to suggestion, were apt to change their views, and tried to please the persons they came into contact with. She said she was treating one former detainee and had interviewed four others.¹²⁴

Professor Kurt Danziger, head of the Department of Psychology at the University of Cape Town, stated in the same trial on Feb-

¹²² *Cape Times*, November 28, 1963.

¹²³ *The Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, December 21, 1963.

¹²⁴ *Cape Times*, February 8, 1964. Dr. James McGregor, acting head of the Department of Neurology, University of Cape Town, also gave evidence in regard to false confessions obtained from persons in solitary confinement.

ruary 10, 1964: 'The intellectual function which seems to suffer is the capacity for reasoning time and time again.' He said another effect of isolation was that it tended to lead to hyper-suggestibility. 'I would say that a statement obtained from people under these conditions would be tantamount to one obtained under duress.'¹²⁵

Two ninety-day detainees in Cape Town, Mr. T. Tsotso and Mr. M. Msingizane, were placed under observation and care at the Valkenberg Mental Hospital after being committed there through a magistrate on the advice of two doctors.¹²⁶ The Minister of Justice stated, on January 21, 1964, that five ninety-day detainees had been committed to mental institutions.¹²⁷

On January 3, 1964, the Minister of Justice described as 'all nonsense' charges that ninety-day solitary confinement amounted to physical torture. In reference to the statement of sixty medical experts, he stated that 'not a single incident of torture' had been proven or demonstrated and that no complaints had been lodged against the law.¹²⁸ He told the House of Assembly that every allegation of ill-treatment had been or was being investigated. 'So far there has not been a single proven case.'¹²⁹

Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd also rejected the statement of the medical experts, and stated:

They are simply a group of people who are willing to allow themselves to be used to achieve a political object. In other words, it is nothing more or less than an attempt by a certain smaller group, which do belong to certain professions, it is true, to intervene politically but who do not act as experts but as laymen in politics. I say it is a political act. . . . Their professions must not be dragged in where it is nothing else than an attempt to make political propaganda in connection with any matter. Here is an attempt to attack the Government. It is therefore not a purely professional diagnosis which we shall allow to influence our judgment.¹³⁰

In January 1964, the Minister of Justice stated that the ninety-day detention clause would be renewed for a second year and would remain in effect while there was a chance it might be needed in any contingency. He added: 'Although we are on top of the situation—and have been for some time—one never knows what might crop up.'¹³¹

¹²⁵ *Cape Times*, February 11, 1964.

¹²⁶ *Cape Times*, November 19, 1963.

¹²⁷ *House of Assembly Debates*, January 21, 1964, col. 22.

¹²⁸ *The Star*, weekly, January 4, 1964.

¹²⁹ *South African Digest*, Pretoria, January 30, 1964.

¹³⁰ *House of Assembly Debates*, January 21, 1964, col. 89.

¹³¹ *The Star*, weekly, Johannesburg, January 18, 1964.

The Minister claimed that the provision had helped South Africa in 1963 to meet the most serious threat that had ever confronted it. It was not necessary, he said, for anyone to remain in detention for ninety days or even for a single day. Anyone taken into custody in terms of that provision could be released immediately if he was prepared to reply to questions. He was satisfied that in every case people detained were in possession of information required. He added that no fewer than 213 of the 594 persons detained in 1963 had been willing to give information.¹³²

IV. ALLEGATIONS OF TORTURE OF PRISONERS

The concern that has been evoked in South Africa and abroad by the widespread detentions and the conditions of prisoners has been heightened by numerous charges of ill-treatment and torture of prisoners in the past few months, despite denials by the South African authorities. A number of witnesses and accused have charged in the courts, as indicated earlier, that they had been subjected to threats, assaults and torture. Copies of affidavits by persons subjected to such treatments have been published in the Press in London and New York, and communicated to the Special Committee.

Some evidence of torture was presented at the inquest on the death of Mr. Looksmart Solwandle Ngudle, a leading member of the African National Congress, who had been detained under the ninety-day detention clause on August 19, 1963, and found dead by hanging in his cell on September 5, 1963. Police refused to allow his body to be sent home for burial or to be visited by his mother. His body was buried without examination. Counsel for the family secured an inquest into allegations that he had been tortured and killed by police.

On November 26, 1963, counsel for Mrs. Ngudle, Mr. Vernon Berrange, stated that twenty witnesses had told him of being subjected to 'gross brutalities' to make them talk. They were told to undress, made to jump up and down and when exhausted, manacled in a squatting position with a stick under their knees, blindfolded and given electric shocks until they were, in some cases, unconscious.¹³³ On November 28, 1963, Mr. Isaac Tlale, a Johannesburg businessman who had undergone detention with Mr. Ngudle, testified at the inquest that he 'went off his head' after being sub-

¹³² *House of Assembly Debates*, January 1964, cols. 101-05.

¹³³ *Cape Times*, November 27, 1963.

jected to electric shocks and 'had to be put into a straitjacket'.¹³⁴ He described how he had been handcuffed and subjected to electric shocks while a bag had been tied over his head until he had lost consciousness twice.¹³⁵

Mr. Berrange, counsel for Mrs. Ngudle, walked out of the inquest on February 11, 1964, when the evidence on which his submissions of torture had been based had been disallowed.¹³⁶

Advocate Bob Hepple, one of the original accused in the Rivonia trial, stated in an interview in Dar-es-Salaam:

The evidence is overwhelming that the ninety-day detention law provides a cover for protracted mental and physical torture.

I personally eye-witnessed the horrifying effects of such detention on a particular detainee. One night during September or October I was awakened in Pretoria prison by screams emanating from the African section, which continued throughout the night. The next morning I heard the screaming man being pushed along the corridor into the hospital yard. Looking out of my cell window I saw an African man, Z . . . , a ninety-day detainee being held by two warders, his arms twisted behind his back. He was frothing at the mouth and his eyes had the wide, vacant stare of the berserk. A few weeks later he was still in the hospital yard wearing a straitjacket. His screams by then had degenerated into whimpers which were met by blows from the warder in charge of him.

In a number of cases African detainees had been subjected to brutal assaults and electric shock treatment.

I saw a witness in the 'Rivonia' trial, who is being held in custody, still limping three months after he had been assaulted in order to force a statement from him. One of the 'Rivonia' accused still bears deep bruise marks from an assault on him by the police during August. Electric shock treatment was also applied to the sensitive parts of his body.

Those who are inside the South African goals were tremendously heartened by the United Nations resolution calling for the release of political prisoners and for an end to the Sabotage trial. They place tremendous hope on the effects of world-wide pressure on the Verwoerd government.¹³⁷

A few of the numerous other charges of ill-treatment of detainees may be noted.

Eleven detainees released from Pretoria Central Prison in November 1963 made sworn affidavits alleging torture and assault by

¹³⁴ *Cape Times*, November 29, 1963.

¹³⁵ *Contact*, Cape Town, December 13, 1963.

¹³⁶ *Cape Times*, February 12, 1964.

¹³⁷ *Spotlight on South Africa*, Dar-es-Salaam, December 6, 1963.

police while in custody under ninety-day detention. The Commissioner of Police described the affidavits as 'utter nonsense . . . spread deliberately by neo-communists'.¹³⁸

On November 28, 1963, in Bellville, complaints of assault by the police were made by six African prisoners in court as they were charged with sabotage.¹³⁹

On December 4, 1963, a State witness at the sabotage trial in Pietermaritzburg testified that police had assaulted him, threatened him with death if he refused to answer certain questions, threatened to detain his mother and cause his brother to be dismissed from his job, and placed him in a cold cell where he contracted double pneumonia. The witness was arrested immediately.¹⁴⁰

Mr. Arthur Goldreich, a former ninety-day detainee who had escaped, told the Press that Mr. Abdulhai Jassat, another former ninety-day detainee who escaped with him, had been beaten by twenty Special Branch policemen until he had collapsed. Mr. Goldreich added:

They put a wet sack around his head and tied the cords at his neck until he blacked out. After reviving him, they made him stand on one leg, holding a stone above his head while they stuck pins into his raised leg. The soles of his feet were then beaten with batons, and electrodes were placed on the toes with the current flowing. Finally they held him by the ankles out of a window forty feet above the street in trying to get a confession.¹⁴¹

South African police have repeatedly denied all allegations of torture and assault of prisoners. The Minister of Justice stated in the House of Assembly on January 22, 1964:

We have no facts whatsoever before us; we have no shred of evidence before us about people who were tortured.

He rejected a proposal by the leader of the Opposition that a judicial commission be established to investigate allegations of torture.¹⁴²

On January 31, 1964, he stated in the House of Assembly that forty-nine complaints by prisoners held under ninety-day detention

¹³⁸ *Cape Times*, November 4, 1963.

¹³⁹ *Cape Times*, November 29, 1963.

¹⁴⁰ *Cape Times*, December 5, 1963.

¹⁴¹ *Sunday Express*, Johannesburg, January 12, 1964, quoted in *Spotlight on South Africa*, Dar-es-Salaam, January 21, 1964. Mr. Jassat had been detained on May 20, 1963, and Mr. Goldreich on July 11, 1963. They escaped from Johannesburg police headquarters on August 11 and subsequently fled from South Africa.

¹⁴² *House of Assembly Debates*, January 22, 1964, cols. 99-106.

alleging torture or assault by police had been received and that all complaints had been found by police to be without substance.¹⁴³

The statements of the Minister of Justice, however, are in contradiction with evidence given in South African courts. On March 13, 1964, for instance, a police officer accused of murdering an African prisoner and assaulting another at the Bultfontein police station, testified at his trial:

I don't think there is a police station in the country that does not use violence during questioning.

Another accused police officer stated that the purpose of trussing a prisoner so that he was helpless, blindfolding him and giving him electric shocks was that he might believe he was being attacked by a Tikoloshe, an evil. He stated that tying a plastic bag around a prisoner's head 'is common in investigations'. He added that the methods used at the Bultfontein police station were all used elsewhere.¹⁴⁴

V. OTHER REPRESSIVE MEASURES

The detention, trials and ill-treatment described above are supplementary to the application of other measures of repression and intimidation of opponents of *apartheid* described in earlier reports.

Banning orders, house arrests, banishment and threats continue.

During the period under review, banning orders have been served on a number of persons, including Jordan Ngubane, national vice-president of the Liberal Party: Mr. Hammington Majija, chairman of the Cape branch of the Liberal Party: Mrs. Adelaide Hain, secretary of the Pretoria branch of the Liberal Party: Mr. E. V. Mohamed, former private secretary to Chief Luthuli and former member of the Liberal Party's National Committee: Mr. Hyacinth Bhengu, national vice-president of the Liberal Party: Mr. D. L. Evans, another leader of the Liberal Party: Mr. Timothy Mbuzo, former territorial secretary of the African National Congress in the Transkei: Mr. Yusef Cachalia, an Indian leader, and his wife Amina: Mr. Solomon Nathie, general secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress: Mr. M. Lekato and Mr. J. Makaringa, African trade union leaders.

House arrest orders were served on Mrs. Jacqueline Arenstein,

¹⁴³ *Cape Times*, February 1, 1964. On February 18, 1964, the Minister of Justice stated that police and prison staff had assaulted 120 prisoners in 1964. (*House of Assembly Debates*, February 18, 1964, col. 1,511.)

¹⁴⁴ *The Observer*, London, March 15, 1964.

Mrs. Mary Turok, Mr. Paul Joseph, Mr. Morametso Lekoto, Mr. John Gaetsewe and Mr. Malek Rasool.

Victims of these arbitrary orders continue to be persecuted for minor infringements. Miss S. B. Brown was convicted in October for contravening the Suppression of Communism Act by changing her place of residence or employment without giving notice to the police and sentenced to imprisonment for one year, conditionally suspended.¹⁴⁵ Mr. Peter D. Hjul was taken to court on the charge of violating the ban on attending gatherings by playing snooker with his brother.¹⁴⁶ Mr. R. A. Arenstein, Durban attorney, who had been ordered to report to police daily between noon and 2 p.m., had to serve seven days in gaol in November for being late on two occasions.¹⁴⁷ Miss G. E. Jewell was taken to court for communicating with another banned person, her fiance, who was in prison.¹⁴⁸

The Government seems to have sought to silence and paralyse more and more organizations and groups by restrictive orders and intimidation. The Liberal Party has come under severe attack, as indicated by the bans listed above. The Government had already banned Randolph Vigne, the Party's national chairman; Peter Hjul, chairman of the Cape division and editor of *Contact*; and Terence Beard, vice-chairman of the Cape Division. The Security branch raided the home of four leaders of the Liberal Party on October 21, 1963. In February 1964 the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg warned Mrs. Elizabeth Lewin, a member of the Party's national executive, to desist from activities 'calculated to further the aims of Communism'.¹⁴⁹ Mr. Alan Paton, National President of the Liberal Party, declared in a public statement: 'It is clear that the Government does not intend to ban the Party but means to weaken it by banning its leading members.'¹⁵⁰ Another organization which has come under attack is the National Union of South African Students, a multi-racial organization. The Security branch raided its Cape Town office on October 21, 1963.¹⁵¹

Intimidation has been widened to include religious groups. In November 1963 Mr. E. H. Louw, then Minister of Foreign Affairs,

¹⁴⁵ *Cape Times*, October 14, 1963.

¹⁴⁶ He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. The sentence was suspended and set aside on appeal.

¹⁴⁷ *Natal Mercury*, Durban, November 23, 1963.

¹⁴⁸ She was sentenced to two years, but the sentence was set aside on appeal.

¹⁴⁹ *Contact*, Cape Town, February 14, 1964.

¹⁵⁰ *Contact*, Cape Town, February 14, 1964.

¹⁵¹ *Cape Times*, October 22, 1963.

warned ministers of religion not to interfere in political controversy. He said that the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, who had criticized repressive legislation, would 'do well to remember what happened to Bishop Reeves' (who had been deported in 1960).¹⁵²

On March 16, 1964, the Minister of Justice, Mr. B. J. Vorster, threatened 'certain individual members' of the English-language press that action might have to be taken against them.¹⁵³

The denial of due process in South Africa and its consequences were described in the annual report to the Civil Rights League, Cape Town, by its chairman, Mr. Leo Marquard, as early as September 9, 1963:

The peaceful and orderly conduct of society depends on just laws openly administered and it is in this respect that the condition of the Republic of South Africa is parlous. We shall have to wait till Parliament reassembles for further official information, but it is even now clear that close on 100 Africans have been banished to places far distant from their homes: that about twenty South Africans are under house arrest: that many hundreds of all races have been banned: that about 300 South African citizens have been imprisoned under the ninety-day law: and that in none of these cases has the law been openly administered. There have been no warrants for arrest, no charges framed for the accused to meet in open court where witnesses can be cross-examined.

In the numerous Poqo prosecutions, where arrest is properly made on warrant, it is clear that many people are arrested before adequate investigation has been made. Cases are constantly remanded and no bail is allowed. Thus, recently in Cape Town, forty-one Africans who had been in gaol for more than four months on a charge of belonging to an unlawful organization, were released without any evidence being led against them. In another case in Cape Town, forty-three out of fifty-seven men arrested were finally acquitted or discharged without a case being made against them. Similar examples can be quoted from other parts of the country. . . .

What makes the situation in South Africa so serious is that the gross disregard for the Rule of Law communicates itself from the rulers to the ruled.

*When a majority in Parliament, at the request of responsible Ministers, passes laws that deprive people of their rights and liberties, not by due legal process but by administrative discretion, it will not be long before the majority of the population comes to regard the administration of justice as a method of oppression rather than as an instrument for the orderly and peaceful conduct of society. . . .*¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² *Southern Africa*, London, November 8, 1963.

¹⁵³ *The Times*, London, March 17, 1964.

¹⁵⁴ *Forward*, Johannesburg, October 1963.

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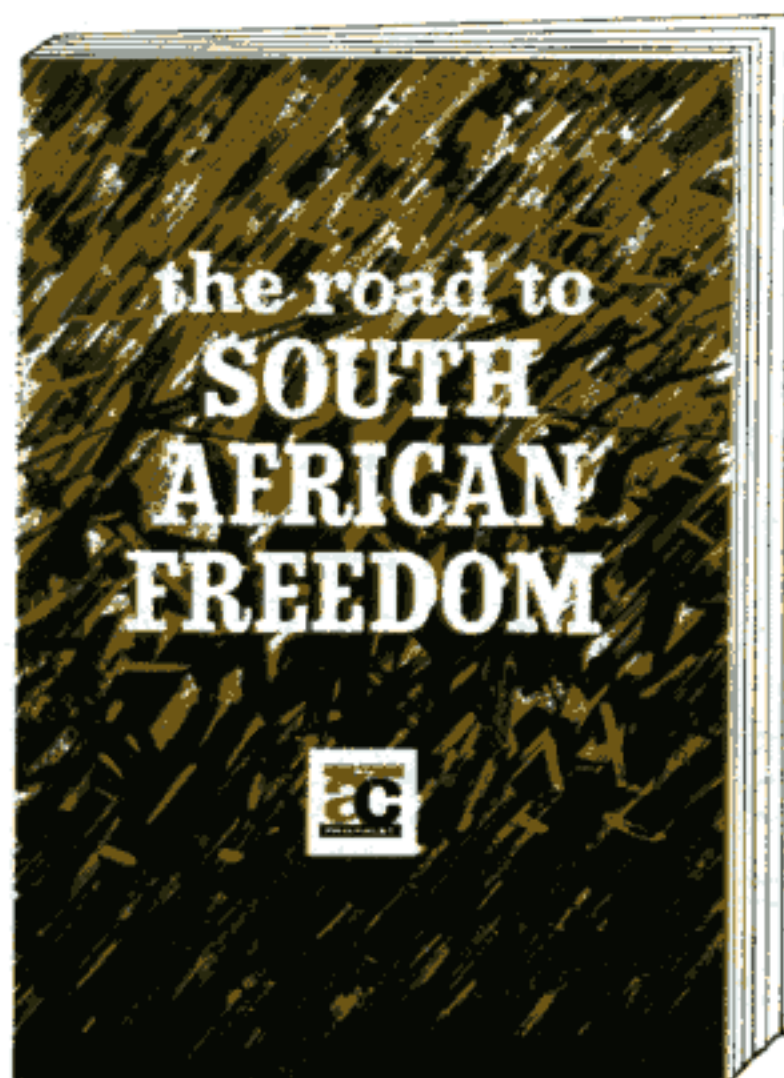
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