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EDITORIAL

AFRICA DEMANDS...

HANDS OFF SOBUKWE

ROBERT Mangaliso Sobukwe, President of the Pan-Africanist Congress of South Africa is due for release today after serving a three-year jail sentence imposed on him after the Sharpeville incident in 1960 when at least 49 of Sobukwe's supporters were shot dead by the racist police of the Pretoria fascist regime. But under the new South African law which came into effect only yesterday, Sobukwe is to be detained indefinitely on the offshore Robben Island, probably for life.

This act, which is another version of the British tactics against Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, is a shameful violation of the rights of man. But, alas, it comes from a government that subscribes to the charter of the United Nations and also pretends to be guided by Christian principles! What is the justice in the indefinite detention of a man who has already suffered the punishment imposed for an alleged offence?

If ever there were any doubts, South Africa's new law has exposed the inner barbarism and utter contempt for the black race which are the essence of apartheid. Shorn of all pretences, Verwoerd is no more than the civil head of a vast army of occupation. This occupation army is guided by the 'might is right' doctrine. It lives on the shameless looting of the land and unconscionable brutalising of its people.

Africa must rise as one man against the inhumanity of the Verwoerd regime. We need a policy of "positive confrontation" against the Pretoria regime. It is time all African states imposed sanctions on South Africa. It is time we consider diplomatic action against all states that have relations with the South African government.

The Addis Ababa Conference must produce a clear-cut, positive and effective formula for dealing with

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RELEASE SOBUKWE

The new South Africa obnoxious "no trial" bill which was rushed through the South African Parliament in less than 48 hours takes back Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, leader of South Africa Pan Africanist Congress, who comes out of Robben Island jail today, to a confinement indefinitely.

According to Balthazar Vorster, South Africa Minister of Justice, "Sobukwe is a man with strong magnetic personality and a sense of divine mission who has undergone no change of heart in Prison". And so a special bill must be passed to get Sobukwe out of active politics in South Africa.

From jail Sobukwe says: "I am not surprised this action has been taken. That is one way in which the white suppressor believes he is safeguarding his privileges. Not only the government but most of the whites are behind it. For myself, I would not mind what type of action they take against me. I am speaking honestly, even if they keep me here for life."

We publish below an article of an executive member of the P.A.C. who knows Sobukwe very well:—

MANGALISO took a holiday. The Information and Publicity Office did not say a word about it.

For the first time in three years Mangaliso took a three weeks' holiday. It was a holiday from home and politics. He made a sentimental journey to his home town to set his heart at ease and to renew old memories.

Mangaliso returned. It was on a Tuesday evening early in January 1960 that we met him again. We were having our usual Working Committee Meeting. Mangaliso, P. K. Leballo and I, all lit our pipes and smoked them. We were seated in our Mylur House suite of offices.

We knew that Mangaliso needed that holiday. We were shocked but not surprised when he gave out that it had been a bushman's holiday.

Mangaliso was the only African serving on the staff of our most senior settler University, Modesty is one of his virtues but once in a while he would remind me that he was the only member of the staff who was a politician. I would admit it. We admired him.

As student and scholar and politician, we respected him.

We soon found out that he was principled, dedicated and understanding. We loved him.

We should call him Mr. President but, we call him Professor. He presides over our meetings with the touch of a master hand, as only a university rector would.

We think the world of him.

"Well, Prof." I began before formal business, "how did the old folk at home like your new office as President of the Pan-Africanist Congress and National Leader of the African People?"

ABOLITION OF PASS LAWS

"You see Pete," he said addressing me but confiding in all of us, "they did

not seem to like it very much. One of my brothers had just been ordained a Methodist Minister and so he stole the thunder. Besides the old folk felt that he had chosen the better lot. They felt the more so when I told them that I was going to give up my Varsity job."

We all laughed. And that was that.

The first (and the last) PAC Annual Conference held on the 19th and 20th December 1959 in Orlando had decided on the launching of the Positive Action Campaign. The aim of that campaign was to overthrow white domination and to attain freedom and independence.

The abolition of the pass laws, a very hardy annual was pin-pointed as the first step in that campaign. The notorious settler-imposed pass now called "the reference book" by settler officials, is something much more than a scrap of paper. It is a powerful instrument of unbridled economic exploitation. Its use is the core around which the political oppression and social degradation of the African revolves.

National Conference had decided. The National Executive Committee had to sort out the details. The National Working Committee to finalise them. And the National Secretariat to set the whole party machinery in motion. The Secretariat entrusted the task of announcing the plan and launching date to the Presiding

On December 20, 1959, Mangaliso took his daughters along with him to Graaff-Reinet, his home town. He left his staff-nurse wife and infant twin sons at home Mofolo Village.

"When puppets are born no comets are seen. The heavens themselves proclaim the birth of leaders".

The thirty-four-year old Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe was born at a time when the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union with its 250,000 worker and peasant members had reached the zenith of its power.

MALAN, COINER OF APARTHEID

General J. B.M. Hertzog, a later settler Premier had donated ten pounds (£10) to its funds and Dr. D. F. Malan, the man who coined the word apartheid and another later settler Premier had publicly announced that the African and the settler Afrikaaner peoples were the only true African nationalists in South Africa. The Afrikaaner leadership was beginning to realise where the real interests of the white masses in South Africa lie.

This "I.C.U. Mr. Whiteman" movement, as it was popularly styled, had completely usurped the political functions of the South African Native National Congress which had been born in 1912. Mr. Clement Kadalie, a Nyasaland African, was the I.C.U. national leader. In those days he was the only star in the political heavens of South Africa.

Sobukwe's middle name is Mangaliso: Man of Wonders. The association of his name with the meteoric rise of Clement Kadalie and the meaning and significance of his own middle name both seem prophetic.

Fate placed Mangaliso Sobukwe at the supreme head of the Africanist



Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe... "I am ready to go... even if for life."

movement. It became the role of that movement to fill the political vacuum of the day even as the I.C.U. movement had done during an earlier day. Around him the liberation movement was destined to mature both politically and ideologically. Mangaliso, the politician, was to become a star in the South African political skies of his day.

Son of a Methodist preacher and himself a preacher until politics claimed his whole being, Mangaliso received his primary education in his home town. He matriculated in first class at the Healdtown Institution.

Milton's Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained were the twin companions of his youthful high school days. Small wonder that the

speeches and writings of Mangaliso, the man, are not only invariably pregnant with celestial fire but are also never without the Miltonic touch of the grand style.

SLAVE EDUCATION

He read for his Bachelor of Arts degree at Fort Hare University College long before that venerable institution had degenerated into that cesspool of slave-education, a Bantu tribal college. By popular vote he was soon elected President of the Students' Representative Council.

When the Fort Hare students effectively boycotted the settler Governor-General on the occasion of his visit there, Mangaliso had been the master-mind behind that boycott. His Excellency was boycotted be-

cause he was the symbolic head of an oppressive settler minority.

When the nurses at the neighbouring Lovedale Hospital went on strike as a protest against the intolerable conditions imposed upon them by the settler missionary authorities Mangaliso and his S.R.C. gave them full material and spiritual support. One of them later became his wife.

He was also elected to the chairmanship of the Fort Hare Branch of the African National Congress Youth League, an extra-mural organisation. The League was an affiliate of the African Congress which had superseded the Native Congress a generation later.

The 1912 Native Congress under the presidency

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The Development of Imperialist Contradictions (2)

HOW are we to appraise such blocs of states as the Common Market that have come into being in the post-war world? Here, three questions need to be clarified. First, what does the emergence of these blocs mean—does it mean that there is a growing tendency towards unity among the imperialist countries, or does it mean that contradictions among them are tending to grow? Secondly, does or does not the Common Market conform with the tendency towards a more internationalized economic life which is supposedly called for by the progress in modern science and technology and the development of the forces of production? Thirdly, against whom is the spearhead of the Common Market directed at the present stage?

"ALLIANCE BETWEEN ROBBERS"

Regarding the first question, we are of the opinion that these three blocs mentioned above, though different in form, have one thing in common: they all are the product of acute contradictions among the imperialist countries. Agreements and alliances between the imperialist countries, as Lenin once pointed out, are agreements and alliances between robbers; a genuine, long-term interest to bind them together is lacking.

Lenin also pointed out that groupings among the imperialist powers, no matter how firm they may appear to be, can be overturned within a few days if that is demanded by the interests of sacred private property. Very obviously, contradictions among the imperialist countries are irreconcilable and it is impossible for them to have any "class unity" among themselves.

This is exactly the case with the mutual relations among the Common Market Six and their future development. Because their political economic development is very uneven and their relative strength quite unequal, their interests are not the same. While there are areas where they need to collude with one another temporarily, there are also areas where their fundamental interests clash.

FRANCO-WEST GERMAN ALLIANCE

They all need temporary collusion with one another because they all hope to solve their own market problems through the Common Market. West Germany has hoped to expand its industrial sales in foreign countries, penetrate into the French colonies in Africa, take over the market hitherto dominated by French industrial goods and revive its militarism with the help of France.

France has wanted to sell its farm produce to West Germany, exploit French Africa with West German money and, with West German funds and technology, to promote further its own industrialization. A Franco-West German alliance, moreover, will make it easier for them to bargain politically with the United States and Britain. Italy has hoped to secure more

jobs for her unemployed in foreign countries.

Both the Netherlands and Belgium have planned to expand their exports to France and West Germany when the internal and external tariffs of the latter and Italy are unified. These are the reasons why the Six have agreed to have a Common Market.

There are, however, also many conflicts of interest among them. To begin with, as their economic structures are more or less the same, all having well-developed heavy industries, they are bound to have conflicts with one another when they are brought together. In the second place, they have extremely conflicts on agriculture because each has a different agricultural policy.

Thirdly, keen contradictions arise among them on the question of establishing a "European political union" as each is afraid of the other's hegemony in that union and the lesser states are particularly afraid of coming under the control of the bigger states.

Finally, there are sharp contradictions on the question of Britain's application of Common Market membership with the lesser states intending to bring

probably not be in sight for some years to come.

The Common Market is also a tool of the Six used to strengthen themselves in their economic and political struggles against the U.S. bloc and the British bloc, and one used especially to back up their fight for markets. As a British economist has well put it, the Common Market Six have a purpose common to all.

Their purpose is, first to have a common market of the six countries, to raise a common tariff barrier to keep others out and so build up their own strength. They want to intensify the exploitation of the broad masses by means of the state organs.

They want to step up the concentration and centralization of production and capital in order to replace the fixed capital and make technological improvements. The consequent increased capacity to compete will lay the foundation for expansion of their overseas markets.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE

After this their aim is to gradually take over the West European market as a whole. Finally they mean to force their way into other industrially developed countries and scramble for mar-

tempts of the United States and Britain have met, and will continue to meet, strong resistance from France and West Germany.

The emergence of the Common Market and other blocs of states has still further intensified the struggle among the United States, Britain, France and West Germany and among the Six themselves for colonies and the so-called underdeveloped areas. This we shall discuss specifically later on.

SCRAMBLE FOR MARKETS

The foregoing shows that the emergence of the Common Market has actually caused the Western world to split into three blocs of states. The establishment of the Common Market, therefore, does not mean that the imperialist countries have tended to become more and more united. On the contrary, it signifies that the imperialist camp is divided against itself and there is an unprecedentedly serious crisis threatening the disintegration of NATO.

In regard to the second question, Marxist-Leninists consider the progress of modern science and technology and the internationalization of economic life only from a class viewpoint.

First, under imperialism, capitalist private ownership

The Common Market has not, therefore, evolved in conformity with the objective tendency of internationalizing economic life as is called for by the progress in modern science and technology and the development of the productive forces. It is, instead, born of the situation in which monopoly capital of the Six colludes to redivide the internal market and contend for external markets.

IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES MORE DIVIDED THAN EVER

In regard to the third question, it must be pointed out that like the U.S. bloc and the British bloc, such a bloc of imperialist countries as the Common Market is truly reactionary and aggressive in nature. It is true that the Common Market is also directed against the socialist camp for the contradiction between the imperialist camp and the socialist camp is essentially antagonistic and irreconcilable and this contradiction is, moreover, becoming acute.

But, as Marxist-Leninists have pointed out time and again, compared with their contradiction with socialism, contradictions among the imperialist countries themselves are more immediate, more direct and more obvious.

At the present stage, the most immediate and most real contradiction which confronts the Common

Market is its contradiction in competing with the United States and Britain in a daily shrinking capitalist world market. Its contradiction with the United States and Britain in fighting for an equal status in the imperialist camp, not its contradiction with the socialist countries.

Today, under the banners of fighting against communism and of creating a "Europe for Europeans," the Common Market leaders are actually engaged in a struggle against U.S. control and are striving to edge the United States and Britain out of Western Europe both politically and economically.

There are some people who hold that in this epoch in which the forces of socialism have greatly surpassed those of imperialism, the imperialist countries, to cope with the forces to socialism, are becoming increasingly "united."

EC.M. AND U.S.A.

1. European is no longer a beggar living on handouts, but a powerful competitor vis-à-vis the United States;

2. There are people in France who fear that once Britain enters the Common Market, it may become America's Trojan horse inside the Common Market;

3. It is the hope of the United States that the Common Market represents the first stage towards an Atlantic community but, contrary to U.S. expectations, all institutions that bring the Six together are going in an opposite direction;

4. The Common Market should lead to a European entity enjoying immense independence, not to an Atlantic entity under U.S. control. The breakdown of the Brussels talks has born out that what is said in that article has in the main reflected what is in the mind of de Gaulle and the big French monopolies which he represents.

At the present stage, therefore, the Common Market is established primarily to fight against the United States and Britain for economic and political domination and also to oppose the working class, to undermine the national independence movement and oppose the socialist countries; it is not organized just to oppose the socialist countries.

Based on the analyses made above we find that, either in relations between the Common Market and the third countries or in relations inside the Common Market, contradictions tend to grow. The Common Market has come into being as a result of the contradictions among the imperialist countries and divisions among them; its establishment has again aggravated the development of these contradictions with the result that contradictions and divisions have been intensified further.

Instead of changing the situation in which the imperialist camp is divided against itself, the Common

Market has made the situation even worse. The view that the establishment of the Common Market signifies a stronger tendency towards unity among the imperialist countries is entirely wrong.

THEORY OF ULTRA-IMPERIALISM

It is an exact copy of Kautsky's "theory of ultra-imperialism". Refuting this argument of Kautsky's Lenin said: "There can be no doubt that the development is in the direction of one single world trust swallowing, without exception, all enterprises and states.

But the development in this direction is taking place under such conditions, at such a speed, with such contradictions, conflicts and upheavals—by no means only economic, but political and national, etc.—that certainly before things get to a single world trust, to an "ultra-imperialist" world alliance of national financial capitals, imperialism must inevitably collapse, and capitalism be transformed into its own antithesis."

This statement by Lenin is of great significance as a guide for us to understand the various blocs of imperialist countries that have appeared since World War II.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS

Since the end of World War II, state-monopoly capitalism has developed as never before in the principal Western countries, where the big monopoly-capitalist groups have assumed more direct and comprehensive control of the state machine than formerly. Instead of acting through their agents as in the past, many big monopoly capitalists personally hold important posts in the government, and formulate and decide national economic policies. Through the state machine, they control the whole national economic life. Internally, they regulate the capitalist economy through state interventions; and their attempt to eliminate the domestic economic contradictions and thereby bring about an "upsurge without crisis", they advocate what they call "planned control of production and circulation in advance." Externally, they push forward so-called economic "integration" to break down the barrier of national boundaries and to enlarge commodity markets and outlets for capital. In doing so, they attempt to resolve the contradictions among the imperialist countries and thereby build a "fine" new imperialist world.

Can these measures prevent the decay of the capitalist economy and prove that the capitalist system still possesses a powerful vitality, as bourgeois economists and the Right-wing social democrats assert?

In our view, the main reasons why the principal Western capitalist countries have so actively developed state-monopoly capitalism since the end of World War II are: the formation of the powerful socialist camp in the postwar period, the increasing disintegration of the imperialist-colonial system, the ever greater frequency of the onslaughts of the capitalist economic crisis, the increasingly acute struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, and the ever intensifying struggle among the imperialist countries for political, economic and military supremacy.

May Day Message to the Nation

Countrymen,

TOMORROW is May Day, a day on which Socialists and the working class movements all over the world re-dedicate themselves to the ideals of work and happiness for the people. On this occasion it is fitting that we in Ghana should renew our determination to build our country in such a way as to create opportunity for work for all.

It is fitting that we should reflect, at this time, on the national goals we have set before us and examine whether the conditions we are providing in our society are such as to enable our men and women, particularly our youth, to play their full part in this task of national reconstruction.

This is why I want to speak to you tonight, particularly about some of the things we can do to help our young men and women to make full use of the opportunities available to them, and thus prepare themselves for the future.

In a few months from now, we shall launch our Seven-year Development Plan, which is intended to transform Ghana into a modern, industrial State. But even now it is admitted by those who visit us that our progress has been remarkable and impressive. Look around you, and see our new factories, hospitals, schools and universities springing up all over the country. There is hardly a remote village which has not benefitted already from the great strides made in our progress and development.

But what is all this ad-

vancement for, if we do not support and sustain it with a strong moral and spiritual foundation. If we combine moral degeneration with technological and scientific progress, then Ghana will surely fail. This of course has been the lesson of history. Look at the temperament, attitude towards work, honesty and integrity of the men and women of any people and you have a good indication how low or how high is the moral and spiritual quality of the nation.

Many foreigners who come to Ghana are genuinely impressed by the obvious signs of progress they see around them. They also admire the cheerful spirit and enthusiasm of the men and women in the streets. This leads them to expect a high standard of efficiency, hard work, responsibility and energy from us whether in

the offices, work-places, factories, farms, building sites, shops and public counters, in the streets, lorry parks and taxi ranks. But what do they find?

Their first experience on the telephone disillusioned them. Some of our telephone girls who are normally so friendly, polite and well-behaved at home, are often rude and abrupt when dealing with subscribers.

In the shops, the assistants ignore customers while they chat among themselves and treat them with nonchalance and disrespect, forgetting that but for these same customers they would not be in employment.

The conditions are no better in the public services. Those who go to the Post Offices to buy stamps, postal orders or take delivery of parcels know this so well.

Look at our hospitals where the very lives of the people who may be our own fathers and mothers, or husbands and wives, or brothers and sisters may depend on the care and attention they receive. Even here, you will sometimes find such inhuman disregard for pain and suffering as to make you hang your head in shame.

Look at the laziness and insolent attitude of many of our boys and girls or our young men and women at work and in the public places. Surely, with all the

opportunities provided by the State for them, our young people should be more vigorous and responsible than this.

I am appalled at the reports that reach me about the behaviour of our young women in the bars, dance halls, and other public places. These young women will be the mothers of the next generation, and they have a duty to themselves and to Ghana to maintain the highest standard of health, decency and morality in our society.

Countrymen, this sort of attitude to life and work is not only anti-social, it is criminal; it cuts at the very roots of our national life.

We must emulate the example of the many devoted and dedicated men and women among us to whom work is more than mere opportunity to earn a living.

I have also been greatly concerned about the falling standards of courtesy and politeness among our youth. These days we seldom hear the words "thank you" or "meda wo ase". We take kindness and goodwill for granted. We no longer say "Yes Sir" or "No Sir" to our elders. This is surely not compatible with our ancient customs and traditions of respect for age.

Countrymen, we must all work to revive those virtues and values in our society on which our fathers

based their high standards of moral conduct and behaviour.

The Young Pioneer Movement is already doing a great work in inculcating in the youth of Ghana a true spirit of humility, of service and of devotion to the country.

Plans are ready for establishing, very soon, a Gliding School at Afienyaa, which I hope will attract many of our youth. The training will give them a sense of self-reliance, and adventure which will be of great use to them in their life and work.

In order to help inculcate more deeply these ideals in our youth and to ensure that our youth grow up upright and respect all the good things which make life worthwhile, I have directed that every morning the Ghana flag should be raised at all schools at the morning parades, and that the pupils say this national pledge with raised hands.

"I promise on my honour to be faithful to Ghana, To serve her with all my strength and with all my heart; And in all things to uphold Ghana's good name. So help me God."

The Government has also decided to introduce as soon as possible a system of national training. This training will be so arranged that immediately prior to admission to Secondary Schools,



by
Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah
President of the Republic of Ghana

all male children will do a three-month period of national training.

At the end of secondary school course and prior to attendance at a University they will undergo a further three-month training; furthermore, all University graduates on leaving the University will do six-months' training before taking their places in life of our society.

The purpose of this scheme is to inculcate in our young people and our youth the virtues and disciplines such as the spirit of service, love for work, a sense of responsibility and dedication, of devotion to Ghana and Africa, of respect of our elders and superiors, and of self-discipline and earnestness. I am of the firm opinion that this national service scheme, if fully and properly implemented, will give our youth not only physical health

but mental, spiritual and moral upliftment.

Let us remember that the eyes of the world are upon us in whatever we do. We have been able through our united effort to set the pace for the liberation and unity of our continent. We must therefore strive to uphold and maintain the force and influence of the African revolution to which we are so deeply committed. We cannot do this unless we can produce young men and women with the highest ideals of work and service to the nation and to our great continent.

I hope that all existing organisations, especially the Churches, which have the moral welfare of our people at heart will play their part in this national crusade for the moral and spiritual advancement of our people.

I wish you all a happy May Day celebration.

Spotlight on Africa

THE NEW OBNOXIOUS LAW IN S. AFRICA

ON Monday April 29, the General Laws Amendment Bill passed its third reading in the South African Parliament. With only a few ceremonies in the Senate left, the Bill is now virtually law. The new law enables persons being questioned by police to be held for up to 90 days and empowers the Minister of Justice to extend prison sentences.

It denies the law courts the power to inquire into the facts that lead to an organisation being declared unlawful by the state. In other words, persons can be held indefinitely either for interrogation or in prison; and no facts need be adduced for proscribing any organisation.

With this new law, the apartheid regime in South Africa has reached its pinnacle of inhumanity. For it is difficult to find any greater punishment the racist maniacs in Pretoria could impose on the brave people of South Africa.

It is useful to trace the history of the present barbarism in South Africa. At first, and as is usual with imperialist oppressors, the South African problem was attributed to a few communists. Accordingly the Suppression of Communism Act was enacted. But both the diagnosis and the remedy proved hopelessly wide of the mark when the two-year long treason trials ended in fiasco.

The next stage was to attribute the South African problem to a few terrorists. Hence the Anti-Sabotage Act. But only two months ago the nationalists struck back and South Africa's



Hendrik Verwoerd ... architect of the new obnoxious law in South Africa

biggest dynamite and munitions factory went up in one shattering explosion.

Leaders of the nationalist struggle were no longer being caught easily because the whole black population and a few enlightened whites were co-operating with them. The entire black population had joined in the revolt against apartheid.

Hence the new law under which anybody, on mere suspicion, could be held for life. And to make sure that no legal quibbles impede this process, the entire judiciary system has been rendered impotent. As the Bar Association in Johannesburg put it, certain provisions of the new law "will have as their consequence the virtual abrogation of the rule of law in South Africa."

The effect of this new law is to convert the entire black population of South Africa into political prisoners. Already estimates put the number held at over 60,000. And now the courts cannot even carry out their formal and profunctorial inquiry into the circumstances of these arrests and detentions.

The new Pretoria law has showed up the barbarism in South Africa in all its ugliness. For now, there is no longer any pretence at the rule of law. And how right is Sir Hugh Foot who in the course of his address to undergraduates of Oxford University last night posed the question: "Who can look at the situation in Africa with any complacency?"



In South Africa

by X'ray

THE NEW IMPERIALIST STRATEGY

IN an address to CPP members who had assembled at the Accra Stadium on the 8th January 1963, to commemorate the 13th Anniversary since Positive Action was launched against British colonial domination, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Secretary General of the CPP declared :

"The African Revolution is the most decisive factor in the second half of the 20th century". The first half of the 20th century.

The first half of the 20th century was marked by two world wars; however, it was the Socialist Revolution of October, 1917 which proved to be by far the most important event in that period. In point of fact, whereas since the congress of Berlin, capitalism had attained its imperialistic phase, extending its way over the whole of the globe, the 1917 October Socialist Revolution in Russia not only deprived the capitalists of one-sixth of the world's surface with its resources and manpower, but also unleashed a process which has since determined the evolution of the world's history.

Reacting immediately and unanimously from a sense of self-preservation, the imperialists fully aware of the danger such an event implied for the capitalist system as a whole, decided to crush the rising Soviet Union as quickly as possible.

Workers, peasants, intellectuals and soldiers of the Soviet Revolution, united as one man on the basis of the scientific principles of Marx, the militant diplomacy of Lenin, an enlightened leader of the Revolution, together with the solidarity of the working class movement in the aggressor capitalist States, secured the defeat of this attempt quickly to restore what had been lost.

CRUSADE OF SUBVERSION

Defeated on this front, the imperialist fell back and organised, with the help of internal agents, local reactionaries or saboteurs and foreign spies, the great crusade of subversion which would, if necessary be backed by a large-scale military offensive.

German capitalism which had been defeated in the First World War, was selected as the main weapon in an armed conflict which had become necessary as a result of the resistance offered by the Soviet regime and its gradual build-up.

Indeed, the German capitalists, egged on by the France-British imperialists, had secured the very best conditions for the part they were to play, having also succeeded in bringing an important section of the German people to regard the defeat of capitalism as a national defeat. This brought Hitler on to the scene.

But this by-product of international capitalism had no intention of performing the part, until he had swallowed up the very persons who had helped him to consolidate his strength.

And so the war which had been prepared by the imperialists to annihilate the only Socialist State in existence, produced the Second World War which greatest result was that it

gave birth to a powerful socialist camp, and the impetuous growth of the Movement for the Liberation of colonised peoples.

During the early years of the second half of the 20th century, the National Liberation Movement surged forward so vigorously in Africa, that the year 1960 was known throughout the world as "AFRICA'S YEAR".

Such an appraisal was justified not only by the fact that several African States attained independence (albeit only a nominal independence in most cases), but also and more particularly by the scope and repercussions of the Congolese crisis.

LEBENSRAUM IMPERIALISM

Through the struggle of the Congolese people and their hero, Patrice Lumumba, the Congolese crisis took on the appearance of a symbol, representing the African peoples' systematic refusal to submit to neo-colonialism.

Throughout the Continent of Africa, as in the Congo, the imperialists' last ditch effort to replace old-style colonialism by new-style neo-colonialism clearly demonstrates that the "lebensraum" imperialism once enjoyed, has shrunk considerably beneath the blows of the struggling masses, leaving Africa as the imperialists' last stronghold.

The fact is that in our present-day world, Africa is now the determining factor not only in regard to the relative strength of forces between the capitalist and the socialist camps, but also and even with greater urgency, the relative strength of forces existing among the capitalist powers themselves.

As regards the relative strength of forces among the imperialist powers, it does in fact appear that although the imperialists as a whole agree, in varying measure to make use of Portugal's stubborn attitude, in order to clip the wings of the African Revolution, and give South Africa a part to play in this revolution similar to that played by Hitler's Germany in the Soviet Revolution, it none the less remains a fact that the imperialist camp is torn and rent in Africa by insuperable contradictions.

In the Congo the stubborn battle among the imperialists stands out today in clear, stark characters. It is a fight in which are ranged on opposite sides a type of imperialism anxious to preserve in a neo-colonialist framework what it had acquired in the colonial days, (we may call this "status quo neo-colonialism") and another type

which taking account of the pre-eminent role it played to regain the Congo, insists upon a redistribution of the vast wealth of that part of Africa.

This type which may be described as "neo-colonialism for redistribution", because of its great share in financing the budget of the United Nations, and particularly in regard to the United Nations operation in the Congo, is making use of the international organisation to secure a "united" Congo in their service.

All over Africa this redistribution type of neo-colonialism by making use at once of its experience in neo-colonialism, its material wealth, the United Nations and its specialised agencies; internal agents, foreign spies and saboteurs, or local reactionaries, some of whom are Heads of State or Government, is endeavouring to achieve a type of African Unity based on the Latin-American pattern.

There does however exist a variant form of neo-colonialism for redistribution, which while standing shoulder to shoulder with the other type within the context of the German-American agreement based on the old anti-Soviet crusade and certain common economic objectives, finds a common ground for understanding with "status quo neo-colonialism" operating within a framework where by African States are associated with the European Common Market.

GERMAN CAPITALIST MANOEUVRE

To gain further advantages, in the French client States, the German capitalists are indulging in blackmail in their dealings with France, by having recourse to Aryan kinship, in order to leave the door open for Great Britain and the Nordic States to enter the European Common Market.

This middle-of-the-road stand between "neo-colonialism for redistribution" and "its status quo counterpart" enables the German capitalists to accommodate themselves to all forms of African unity that remain servile to neo-colonialism, and gives them a wide margin for manoeuvring in order to get back their own client States, particularly in their former colonies.

Such a position obviously brings the German capitalists into conflict with all the neo-colonialist powers and particularly with France and Great Britain.

"Status quo neo-colonialism" deeds on the experience gained as a colonial power in Africa, its privileged position intellectually and economically, the policy of making grants

to help the budget, installing military personnel and agents whose loyalty is unquestioned, (many of whom are in fact Heads of State), and has a predilection for regroupings based on what its propaganda refers to as "vertical unity", that is to say, the allegiance of former colonies to the erstwhile Metropolitan Power.

These regroupings which are not exclusive in actual fact, aim at a policy of African Unity which will integrate new States on the basis of linguistic affinity, or else set up ramshackle systems. And thus many who talk of African Unity are merely trying to set up what may truly be called a fellowship of failures.

AFRICAN REVOLUTION

"Status quo neo-colonialism" also has a variant form, which consists of those who have set too much store by the solidarity of their intercontinental regrouping, and are now overtaken by events.

At the present time, such persons represent what is at once a sorry and picturesque sight of a type of imperialism now reduced to the expedient of showing its client states, as a sort of visiting card, in order to gain admission to disposal, to revive anglo-saxon tribalism.

With regard to the relative strength of forces between the imperialist and socialist camps, it is clear that in the event of the African Revolution gaining a victory over effete imperialism and achieving African Unity through the dynamic action and the positive assertion of the people, who alone can guarantee genuine independence, and provide the conditions for the building up of a prosperous socialist society in Africa, the forces of capitalism would be considerably attenuated.

That is why when dealing with the historic role of the African Revolution, in an exclusive statement made to "L'ETINCELLE", Dr. Nkrumah said :

"In the world of today, such a degree of balance has been achieved, that there is only one way left open for mankind apart from self-destruction, namely, co-existence.

"But the African people cannot speak of balance, as long as there remains the problem of their own existence.

"Therefore, the African Revolution cannot in any sense co-exist with imperialism."

IRRISPRESIBLE SPIRIT OF RESISTANCE

The history of colonisation in Africa is the history of the constant struggle, in varying forms, of the African peoples against imperialism.

It was only after a series of conflicts, many of them bloody and protracted that the imperialists succeeded in establishing their sway over the whole of the African Continent. Even during the period when colonial empires were being consolidated, resistance was maintained sometimes covertly, at other times without disguise, but always with a great deal of bloodshed as a result of action by the colonialists.

It was from this irresistible spirit of resistance

that the liberation Movement in Africa was to draw strength to organise after the Second World War and produced a revolution, which has shaken, if not entirely overthrown the colonial empires.

The most spectacular manifestation of the victory won by the Liberation Movement, was in 1960, when a number of African States achieved independence. Nevertheless, this victory was to be accompanied by a defeat that was equally spectacular and historic. The categorical refusal of the Congolese people, with Patrice Lumumba at their head, to accept neo-colonialism had started a trial of strength which revealed in all their stark reality, the weaknesses of the Liberation Movement and emphasised the dubious nature of the type of independence enjoyed by a number of African States.

At the same time the fact was suddenly revealed to the African peoples that the imperialists had clearly realised the decisive importance of the African Revolution, and had carefully worked out a new strategy to meet it.

IMPERIALIST STRATEGY

In these circumstances, and making use of surprise tactics, the imperialists were urged forward by the redistributive type of neo-colonialism, and won the day. Patrice Lumumba was assassinated, the Congo balkanised and swamped by neo-colonialism. All that now remained for the African peoples to do was to stiffen their fight and draw the necessary conclusions from that historic defeat. These conclusions are as follows :

Neither the struggle for independence, unless it purports to achieve a fictitious type of independence, nor the fight for African Unity, unless it is a hoax, can for a single moment extricate itself from the framework of a consistent and unremitting a struggle against imperialism.

The new imperialist strategy, although forced to avoid a frontal attack, lest it may lead to a greater mobilisation of the masses against the imperialists, is not a whitless treacherous and dangerous, as far as the African peoples are concerned. The new strategy aims at "getting" the masses by indirect action. In this neo-colonialist period, it is the strategy that conceals a dagger in the hand that wears a glove. It has four basic points :

1. Digging in among the masses.
2. Carrying the fight among the crowd.
3. Counter - Revolutionary guerillas.
4. A point not yet revealed by the imperialists, but none the less of some importance in their strategy : ARMED AGGRESSION AGAINST CENTRES OF REVOLUTION? CARRIED OUT THROUGH CLIENT STATES ACTING AS PROVOCATIVE AGENTS.

Digging in among the masses is the basic principle of the new imperialist strategy.

It is this principle which enables the former colonial powers, with a skill that baffles the masses, to make a great show of packing up, when in fact they are only strengthening and consolidating their position. It is this principle, which enables the redistributive colonialism, and under cover of assistance readily purchased at the expense of freedom.

Digging in among the masses means placing agents in mass organisations, in every sector of the State machinery, especially the most vital ones (Information, the Party, Diplomacy, Economy, the Army, The Trades Union, Youth Movements, Education). These agents operate openly or underground to promote neo-colonialist interests on a national or continental scale.

These tactics always take the people by surprise. Hence African Freedom Fighters and Combatants for African Unity must needs exercise the greatest vigilance in this respect. It is very often difficult for the masses to imagine that their Republican President can be an imperialist agent, particularly when he can point to a glorious past in which he fought against colonialism with great sound of trumpets, or couch his thoughts in pseudo-revolutionary language.

It is difficult for freedom Fighters to imagine that a comrade of theirs, surrounded with a halo of glory won from a decade of active opposition to colonialism, should indulge in the shameful game of treachery on the sly.

They need to be particularly vigilant to discern beneath the veneer of language that it at once ultra-revolutionary and crafty as the fox, politically speaking, the sombre machinations that tend to side-track the struggle.

TWO STAGES IN THE PROCESS

The undeniable fact that the imperialists have succeeded in posting all over Africa an impressive number of agents is an objective statement, which cannot be nullified by presumption, national pride or mistaken party spirit.

The imperialist fifth column is now comprised agents of all sorts : Heads of State or Government, Ministers and Parliamentarians, Departmental Heads in the Civil Service, and officers in the Armed Forces not omitting Trade Union leaders, leaders of party political executives, and even Ministers of Religion irrespective of denomination.

The army of agents comes into existence, and its ranks invariably increase, in accordance with a process adapted to the needs of colonial policies and the realities present at various periods of imperialist domination. There are two stages in this process: the phase when a policy of assimilation is practised, and the phase when class contradictions within the colonised masses are exploited.

In the first phase the coloniser, whether French, British, Portuguese or Belgian tries to assimilate an

inevitably small fraction of the population to his culture and way of life.

In this way he binds to himself with bonds that cannot be loosened, his principal liaison agents for work among the people, and his chief auxiliaries in the colonial administration. Cut off in this way from their social and cultural environment, and strictly converted to the cause of colonisation, certain Africans represent the pattern of the assimilated agent.

Even a purely formal type of independence seems to them paradoxical. Under it, they still retain their deep and rooted convictions, namely, that colonisation was and is a vital and beneficent need so far as the African is concerned. They think that independence, like any other political phenomenon, any social, economic or cultural phenomenon, cannot survive unless it is based on an "indissoluble" link with the coloniser, in one form or another.

CLASS CONTRADICTIONS

With the growth of colonial administration, small towns and trading posts in the rural areas, the increase in the number of wage earners and their organisation within trade union movements, together with the participation of the masses of peasants in the political life of Africa which is steadily on the increase, as evidenced by the liberation Movement, the assimilated agents of colonialism are becoming too few.

And so, in addition to the assimilated agents whose sense of fidelity is watertight, the imperialists are trying to find new agents with different characteristics. They need these agents all the more, because they come from the most representative sectors of the large majority of the population (Trades Union, Co-operatives), from the sections of society that are, socially speaking, the most influential and politically the most active. And they succeed in getting them by playing upon class contradictions.

The few local bourgeois (large plantation owners, large-scale traders), the feudal barons whose interests have been shaken and power threatened by the blows of the National Liberation Movement, constantly practise a policy of trying to find strong foreign allies. And so, whether they are within the Liberation Movement or are openly opposed to it, these persons receive from the proffered hand of the imperialists, certain guarantees which satisfy their desire for personal success and prosperity within the framework of a neo-colonialist system, or else, after a fashion, bolster up their precarious power. Those are allied agents.

Within the Mass Movements, whether political, trade unionist, ethnic, or religious, ignorance or the outright rejection of scientific method of organisation couples with a relatively low standard of education, tend to encourage methods of organisation and work, based upon those in vogue in the immediate social environment or traditional forms of social organisation.

The feudal and "petit bourgeois" type of organisation reduce the masses to

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MAY DAY MESSAGE - 1963

The following is the full text of speech made by Mr. John K. Tetegah, Secretary-General, Ghana TUC and 1st Secretary, AATUF on May 1st 1963, in commemoration of May Day Anniversary held in Ghana.

EACH year, May Day, the traditional day of solidarity for workers throughout the world, marks new progress in the struggle of our working people to achieve a better way of life.

From the factories, industrial sites, offices and workshops, the mines, half-a-million organised workers within the Trades Union Congress extend their warmest and sincere greetings to our beloved leader and teacher Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, General Secretary of the Convention People's Party and President of our Republic on this historic day of international working-class solidarity.

We recall with pride and honour when a year ago today Osagyefo assumed office as General Secretary of our great Party. This revolutionary step has given our Party and Nation the dynamism, unity of purpose and guidance to tackle with zeal and enthusiasm the problems confronting us in our present stage of development towards the achievement of a better way of life for our people and the triumph of socialism in our country.

Under the leadership of our most beloved Osagyefo, the progressive forces of our country have, true to the tradition of the great Convention People's Party, overcome obstacles to progress and gained victories over the forces of reaction and opportunism.

At the anniversary of May Day each year, we constantly remind ourselves that our mission is only at the verge of a new stage of

development. Today, our working people await the dawn of a new era with the launching of the Seven-Year Development programme, a decisive epoch in the economic development of our dear motherland.

INCREASE IN LIVING STANDARD

Mindful of the fact that we are duty bound to jealously guard and protect the independence and sovereignty of Ghana, we are also conscious that this protection can only come about through the efforts of our working people. How can there be any guarantee of the continued prosperity and the increase in the living standards of our working people if we do not recognise ourselves, the responsibilities that rest on our shoulders at every stage of our onward march to socialism?

It is for this reason that our trade unions accept the challenge to spearhead the

drive for increase in productivity to ensure that supervision is planned and linked up with the free socialist initiative of our working people.

That is why our trade unions took the lead in organising courses for their field staff on productivity promotions and took active part in the national productivity study conference. In this way, the ground is prepared for supervision, the development of productive forces and building a framework in which initiative of individuals and teamwork can be effective.

The new, basic social role of our workers in the factories, offices, mines, workshops and all work places together with those of the supervisors at all levels, consists of the development of relationships of sincerity, trust, understanding, tolerance and mutual co-operation and comradeship.

It is in such a spirit and in such a way that we shall achieve harmony in the execution, fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the targets set for production, ensuring that contradictions do not develop into antagonistic conflicts which would lead to the undermining of the foundations of socialism.

REDEDICATION

Though Ghana Labour cannot claim perfection in our activities over the past year, our mistakes must urge us towards greater efforts at perfection in the future. We call upon the rank and file of our working people organised under the banner of the Trades Union Congress to rededicate themselves anew to the cause of socialism, the cause of the prosperity of our people.

Despite our triumph over the enemy, you are called upon to increase your vigilance in uprooting all subversive elements and nation wreckers wherever they exist. It is your sacred responsibility as Security Officers of the Party and State, to help clean the nation of counter revolutionary elements who have taken it upon themselves to obstruct the socialist reconstruction of Ghana under the leadership of Osagyefo and the Party.

Just as the struggle for independence was not easy, equally so, if not more complicated, is the struggle for our economic emancipation. This new form of struggle demands political con-

sciousness and vigilance on the part of all of us.

The Ghana T.U.C. as the spokesman of organised labour in our country, calls upon our working people, all patriotic forces and our entire population to intensify the struggle for social progress by ensuring maximum output in production.

Under the leadership of Osagyefo and the banner of our Great Convention People's Party, the forces of peace and progress in our country shall continue to gain victories over the forces of reaction and destruction. The Ghana T.U.C. shall remain the most trusted and devoted workers of our leader and teacher Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party.

To world labour in general and African labour in particular, the Ghana T.U.C. brings the sincere greetings of solidarity of the workers we represent. In particular, we salute the heroic Algerian workers and people whose decisive victory over colonialism and armed imperialism has brought fresh victories to the liberation movements throughout our continent.

OUR SOLIDARITY AND SUPPORT

On this day, we extend our solidarity and continued support to the oppressed workers of Africa in their struggle for emancipation, and bring to them inspiration in their struggle and early hopes of ultimate victory.

Under the banner of the All-African Trade Union Federation, the Ghana T.U.C. shall carry the struggle forward until the working people throughout our continent achieve self-determination, total independence and complete unity.

The reactionary forces, represented by the I.C.F.T.U. after their woeful defeat in Casablanca in 1961 tried by all means at their disposal to impede the progress of the AATUF towards the realisation of continental working class unity.

Thanks to the collective vigilance of the progressive forces of African workers inspired by the victory of the African Liberation Movement sweeping over the continent the touch-beaters of the AATUF overwhelmed the machinations of the enemies of the African working-class.

Today, the ranks of the AATUF continue to grow from strength to strength as countless workers break with the reactionaries to join hands with the progressive forces. On the eve of the Addis Ababa Conference of African Heads of State, we call on the workers throughout our continent to intensify the struggle against Imperialism and neo-Colonialism for the realisation of total independence and unity of Africa.

OUR PROGRAMME

Fellow working people, in the spirit of Great May Day, we call upon you in your work places to rededicate yourselves anew to the cause of socialism. The struggle for economic emancipation is not an easy one. It demands great sacrifices and entails difficulties. Unlike political freedom, we cannot demand economic freedom from anyone. We have to achieve it ourselves by our collective efforts.

Under the leadership of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the Party has mapped out the road for us in the programme for "Work and Happiness" and the Seven-Year Development programme. What remains is our patriotism, enthusiasm, vigilance, support, co-operation and tolerance in the execution of this programme.

Not until the economic sufficiency of the nation is assured and guaranteed the fate of the worker is not secure. This security can only come about by increase in productivity and the creative forces of our working people. That is the challenge. More production, rise in living standards and a better way of life! Let this be your watchword this May Day.

Forward to the economic emancipation of Ghana under the leadership of our Inspirer and Teacher, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and the banner of the Great Convention People's Party! Long live May Day!

THE NEW IMPERIALIST STRATEGY

Continued from Page 4

the role of subjects and clients. Among leaders devoid of a lively political conscience or whose convictions are not deep, they create a feudal or "petit bourgeois" attitude, which is in direct contradiction with the class from which they have sprung, and the objectives of the struggle to which they are dedicated.

And so in Africa a number of Trade Union leaders, party leaders and leaders of other mass organisations play a game of hesitation and hypocritical time-serving, which blurs any real desire to engage in an effective struggle against imperialism, and at the same time opens the door to adventure.

This is so, because to such Africans, the masses are merely a means for them to attain personal ambition, a clientele making it possible for them dangle trumps before the imperialists who are always ready to strike a bargain, and enable them to seal the noble aspirations of their people, as if they were auctioning goods.

This type of agent is the recruited agent, the vilest of all, since he sets up as a result of an act of treason. There are many examples of this type of agent in Africa: trade unionists, politicians who have failed, the heads or "representatives" of ethnic or religious groups...in fact, persons whom the imperialists use

as long as they have not been found out by the masses; but when once the people have exposed them and turned their backs on them, the imperialists throw them away like hot bricks.

Alongside these three main types of agent, the majority of the representatives of the "petite bourgeoisie", who faced with the tremendous difficulties brought about by imperialism and its neo-colonialist strategy, and ignorant of the creative power of the people, have chosen the way of resignation.

These men still have a few chances of coming back into the ambit, of the Revolution, unless of course they prefer to cling to the path they have chosen, the path of self-destruction for imperialism, though perhaps more than ever a giant of aggression and power, is none the less a giant with feet of clay, a paper tiger, and the Revolution, the African Revolution must of necessity liquidate all agents of the enemy.

THE NETWORKS

In order to give these men the opportunity to carry out their nefarious and obstructive work to the maximum extent, the imperialist deploy them all over the African continent in a double network, with a closed and open sector, as well as in each individual State, where they also work openly and underground.

ON THE CONTINENTAL SCALE

The Open Continental Network: is made up of Heads of State and Governments, Trade Union Leaders, Party Leaders or Party Executives, who co-ordinate action without hiding the fact that they are openly wedded to imperialism, nor disguising their efforts in the interest of neo-colonialism.

The Disguised Continental Network: is made up of Heads of State and Governments, Trade Union Leaders, Party Chiefs or Party Executives; their pseudo-revolutionary confusionist tendencies, and what apparently appears to be the inextricable tangle of contradictions, serve the designs of the neo-colonialists admirably, when they succeed in dissipating the forces of the revolution, and bogging them down in sterile conflicts, or causing them to disband.

IN INDIVIDUAL STATES

The open Network within States is comprised the usual reactionary forces, the legguards, produced by the colonial system. They work openly, taking their orders from the imperialists.

The disguised Network within States everywhere is made up of agents who have crept into the Liberation Movement, irrespective of whether the leaders of that Movement are in power or not. Their main function is to alter the orientation of the Liberation Movement, so that it pursues reaction-

ary objectives or else bring about its collapse or make it inert, and also to promote the activity engaged in by the open networks or the direct efforts of the imperialists.

THE END OF A BUNCH OF FAILURES

One of the fatal weaknesses of such networks is that they are the creation of various imperialist powers whose interests are almost constantly and invariably in conflict.

What actually happens is that the aggravation of internal conflicts within the imperialist camp, impinges upon the incessant struggle carried out by the people, and produces violent changes within the networks, sudden shocks and sometimes complete collapse.

That is why the agents of imperialism are today in a state of dismay. They are being hunted down by the rising tide of anger among the people against neo-colonialism. They are caught up in the whirlwind in which the various forms of imperialism are engaged in settling scores, and they are now aware that their political career, and perhaps even their lives, are at stake.

They cannot be saved by an attempt to set up a fellowship of failures under the cloak of the noble aim of African Unity, because the struggling masses of Africa can see clearly through their deceptive manoeuvres. This bunch of people who have failed is

moving inexorably to its sad and bitter doom.

By exposing them, by compassing their destruc-

tion and at the same time increasing the necessary measures of vigilance, organisation and education among the revolutionary

forces, the Freedom Fighters and Combatants for African Unity will defeat the first move in the new imperialist strategy.

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Africa demands the release of Sobukwe

Continued from page 1

of Dr. John L. Dube had been a multi-tribal front with nationalist tendencies.

It styled itself "the mouthpiece of the native peoples." Upon payment of five pounds by a chief all his tribesmen automatically became Congressites for that year. The President alone was an elected official. He had to be of "pure" African descent. It was his right to nominate all the members of his "Cabinet".

The 1943 African Congress under the leadership of Dr. A. B. Xuma began as a national front with nationalist tendencies. It had individual membership and subscription fee of two shillings and six pence a year. Membership to the National Executive Committee was on the elective principle. The job reservation clause of the National Congress was scrapped.

It was to be the Branch Chairman of such a league that Mangaliso was elected. It was as leader of the Fort Hare delegation to the annual conference of the African Congress that he played a leading role in the adoption of the 1949 Programme of Action.

THE PROGRAMME

The Programme substantially embodied the League's basic policy and programme. It also accepted non-collaboration with the oppressor as a political weapon and postulated mass civil disobedience as the basis of a dynamic approach.

In its last days, therefore, the African Congress became a militant national front with a powerful national orientation.

The 1952 Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign flowed from this Programme of Action. More than 8,000 defiers went to jail. The initiative in the struggle for Freedom and Independence had passed from the settler authorities to the African nationalists.

Mangaliso, a teacher on the staff of Standerton High School under the Transvaal Education Department, supported the Defiance Campaign from public platforms. The settler education authorities retaliated by instantly firing him. Mass indignation at his dismissal became such that the authorities had no choice but to reinstate him unconditionally.

Four years later Mangaliso was appointed lecturer in African studies in the country's leading settler institution, the University educational institution, the University of the Witwatersrand. This appointment brought him into the ambit of the Africanist headquarters, and enabled him to engage in politics more freely. He soon became editor of *The Africanist*—revolutionary organ of the Africanists.

It also enabled him to snatch some time from a busy life and to complete the requirements for his Honour Degree. The manuscript of his Master's thesis for the submission of which he never found the time is in the keeping of the present writer.

The reasons for the existence of the Pan-Africanist Congress over which Mangaliso presided are enshrined in the 1959 Constitution as follows:

AIMS OF THE CONSTITUTION

1. To unite and to rally the African people of South Africa into one national front on the basis of African nationalism and of Africanism.

2. To fight for the overthrow of white domination and the implementation of the right of self-determination for the African people.

3. To create an Africanist socialist Democracy recognising the primacy of the material and spiritual interests of the individual.

4. To advance the idea of a federation of Southern Africa and of Pan-Africanism.

The Africanist Congress, the latest concrete expression of the liberation move-

ment in South Africa is therefore a national front with a Pan-Africanist orientation, a socialist basis and an Africanist outlook.

Because of their own criminal obstinacy they chose the adoption of anti-defiance measures. Having made their choice, their dilemma was that, choice might add to their already heavy list of foul deeds since any measures directed towards defiance could themselves be defied.

Towards the end of 1952 a settler decree directed towards the ending of defiance was proclaimed and gazetted. It has been issued under the despotic powers wielded by the settler Governor-General in his capacity as "Supreme Chief" of the African people. Such powers derived from the Native Administration Act of 1927.

That philosophy completely refuted the allegations that they were racialists. The primary political implication of the recognition of only one human race lay in the fact that they recognised no unbridgeable biological differences among members of the human

species. For them, therefore, the classification of various human groups or sub-groups as either inherently inferior or superior became meaningless. The claim that the supposedly superior group had the right to rule over the supposedly inferior group therefore fell away.

They could not be chauvinists or extreme patriots because politics for them is something much more than mere love of their country. Politics for them is a struggle for the effective control of interests. Recognised social theory and the dictates of the course of history alone determine where such control should reside. Nationalism postulates that such control vests in the workers.

If recognition of only one human race together with its political implications is a monstrous thing it stands to reason that multi-racialism, recognition of many races, together with its political implications becomes a manifold monsterous thing.

WRIT OF PRESCRIPTION

Since the African people of South Africa are indigenous and are the majority their claim to rule rests on solid foundations. The Africanist reject the idea that their fundamental right to rule is compromised by the fact that a handful of settlers have acquired a living space in their part of the continent. They hold that no writ of prescription can ever run against the fundamental rights of a people.

On Friday March 18, 1960, Mangaliso announced the plans of the first step of the campaign as the launching date. The course of the campaign left no one in doubt that Mangaliso commands the fierce loyalty of African youth.

Accompanied by George Zwidi Siwisa, Chairman of the Rand Region and Vice-

President of PAC, Zeph Lekwame Mthopeng, Judicial Affairs Secretary, Jacob Demdum Nyaose, Labour Secretary, who is also President of the Federation of Free Africa Trade Unions, Potlako Kitchener Leballo, National Secretary, Matthew Nkoana, leading African journalist and many others. Mangaliso surrendered himself at the Orlando Police Station.

SETTLER ORIENTED PRESS

The entire settler and settler-oriented press demanded the heads of the Africanists on a platter of gold.

Mangaliso retorted: "We begin from the premise that the interests of the subject African people and those of the ruling settler minority are inherently in conflict. We are committed, and irrevocably committed, to upholding of the interests of the African people. We could be naive to expect any support from the settler or settler-oriented press, committed as they are to the upholding of settler interests."

Z. B. Molete, Information and Publicity Secretary surrendered himself at Evaton, at the head of 15,000 people on the same day as Abednego B. Ngcobo of Durhan, National Treasurer. Nearby at Sharpeville Nyakale Tsolo surrendered at the head of 20,000 people.

National Executive Member, Howard Ngcobo, Hughes Mdakane Hlatshwayo, Economic Development Secretary and many others surrendered themselves in various centres of Natal.

In the Cape Province Elliot Mfaha, National Organiser C. J. Fazzi, National Executive Member, Chris Mlokoti, Chairman of the Cape Western Region and Vice-President of the PAC together with Phillip Kgosana, Cape Western Regional Secretary and many others surrendered in various centres of the Cape.

James Mokgotsone, Pretoria-Pietersburg Regional Chairman and others surrendered in Pretoria.

Peter Molotsi, Pan-African Affairs Secretary, Nana Mohomo, Cultural Affairs Secretary, and the writer had all been despatched on secret missions on the eve of that campaign.

Each of Mangaliso's apostles and disciples and followers went about their appointed tasks. And the whole country became involved. The savage massacres at Sharpeville and Langa are already history.

SHARPEVILLE AND LANGA MASSACRES

Banning the Pan-Africanist Congress in his settler parliament Justice Minister, Erasmus described it as "impossible." That was, in effect, the verdict upon its head Mangaliso Sobukwe.

On the date of launching of that campaign the massacres that shook the world took place at Sharpeville and Langa. George Z. Siwiza died in harness at the "Blue Sky" Boksburg jail and Howard Ngcoboina motor accident after his release from jail.

The campaign plunged Union of South Africa in the greatest crisis of its fifty years of existence. Its reverberations are yet echoing and re-echoing throughout the world.

A five month long official declaration of a "State of Emergency" followed, twenty-five thousand people were arrested, the country experienced its greatest economic dislocation, and South Africa was expelled

from the Commonwealth as a result thereof.

Mangaliso had gained his point. He proved beyond shadow of doubt that political power vests in the liberation movement. This grim reality confronts the settler authorities today.

The settlers now maintain themselves in office only through the use of naked organised mass violence. The entire continent at the initiative of Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has condemned them unreservedly. Their doom has already been proclaimed. And they know it. These brutal oppressors have now turned into savage mass murderers.

The conditions of a stable government are that authority and power should reside in the same source. With the emergence of a national government in South Africa that condition will have been fulfilled.

The African people of South Africa want freedom and independence now. Mangaliso has told them that by 1963 they will be free and independent. And they believe him.

In quoting extensively from the news item and the viewpoint both of which appeared in the "Evening News" of May 5, 1960, the writer makes no apology.

Under the heading: "Abolition of Pass Laws: First step to Freedom" the news item in the Accra "Evening News" proceeds: "Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe, former National President of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, was convicted in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday of inciting Africans to support the campaign for the appeal of the Pass Laws."

"Kitchener Leballo, former National Secretary and other former Congress leaders were convicted on similar charges.

"Sobukwe had stated unequivocally that "the Pan-Africanist Congress has as its ultimate objective the overthrow of White Domination" in South Africa and the establishment of a non-racial democracy. The abolition of the pass laws is the first step of that goal.

"Sobukwe asked the court to remember that the accused refused to plead because they felt no moral obligation to obey laws made by the white minority. An unjust law could not be justly applied."

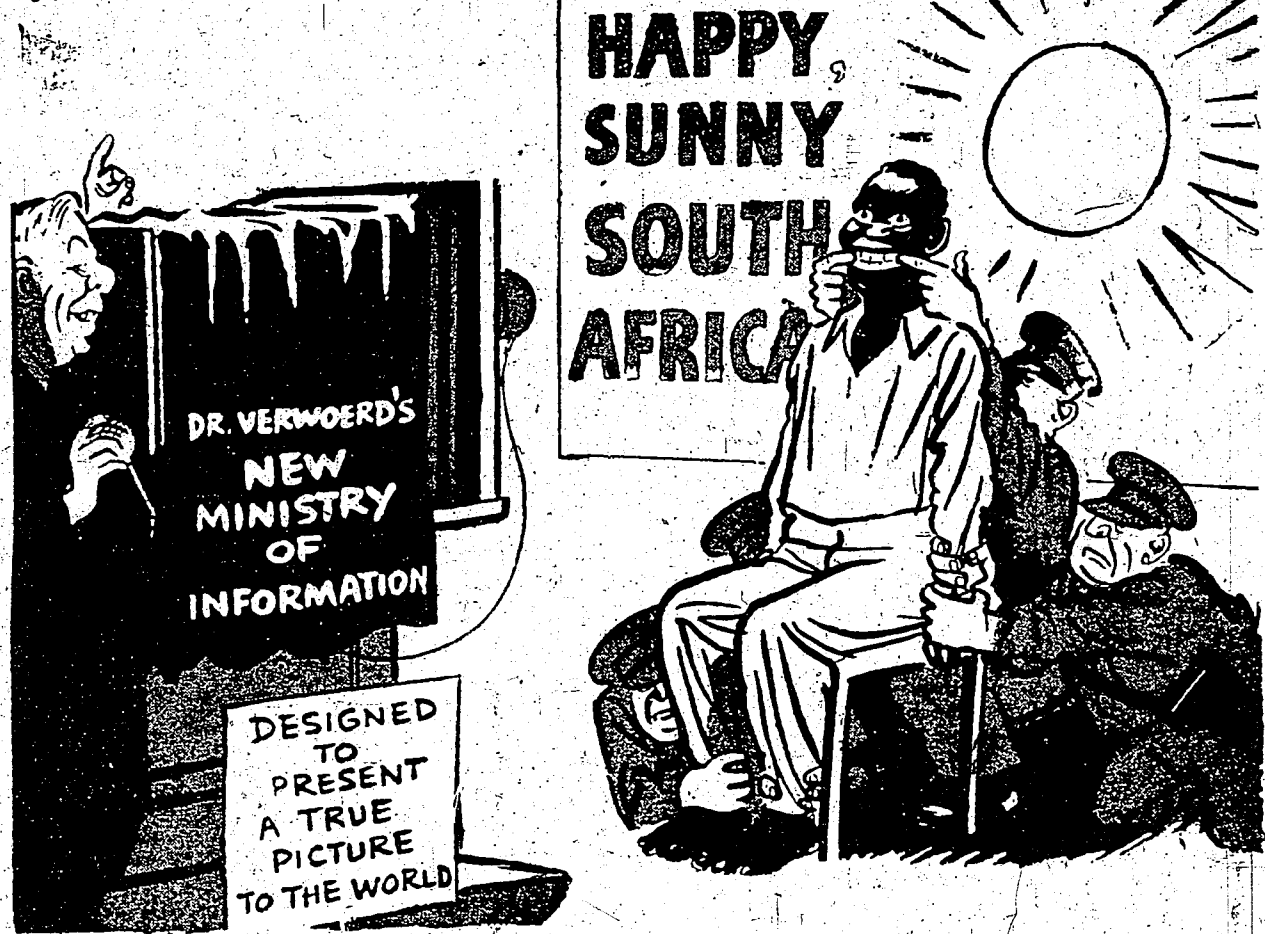
Whatever the verdict of history upon Sobukwe, the man, may be, the verdict upon Mangaliso the politician is inescapable: he has proved himself equal to the role of defier of the undefiable.

Editorial

HANDS OFF SOBUKWE

the armed aggression being committed against Africans in South Africa. Meanwhile to Verwoerd and his race baiters we say: Hands Off Sobukwe.

FRANKLIN



ment in South Africa is therefore a national front with a Pan-Africanist orientation, a socialist basis and an Africanist outlook.

By this election to the position of "first among equals" in such congress, Mangaliso became destiny's chief tool for filling the political and ideological vacuum in South Africa, and for filling yet another role demanded by the exigencies of his time: the role of defier of the anti-defiance measures of the settler community.

On the balance of probabilities, the Defiance Campaign had shown that while constitutional authority in South Africa vests in the settler government political power itself whose real content is majority support is now the prerogative of the national liberation movement. Over the intervening years the crucial task became the establishing of that condition beyond shadow of doubt.

ANTI-DEFIANCE MEASURES

As the Defiance Campaign gained momentum with terrific snowball effect

At the beginning of 1953 the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Public Safety Act were passed. They were measures to reinforce the 1952 decree. Defiance was made a serious criminal offence. A maximum of ten lashes and ten years imprisonment were authorised for its punishment. The property of defiers could also be confiscated and a general of partial state emergency could also be declared under which the settler authorities would more blatantly be a law unto themselves.

Under the threat of such stern measures the Defiance Campaign petered out. The basic need of the South African political situation thus became that of defying these anti-defiance measures. And that is where Mangaliso came in.

PAN-AFRICANIST MANIFESTO

Matters came to a head with the emergence of the Pan-Africanist Congress at the inaugural conference held in Orlando on the 4th to 6th April 1959 at which Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe was elected President of the

species. For them, therefore, the classification of various human groups or sub-groups as either inherently inferior or superior became meaningless. The claim that the supposedly superior group had the right to rule over the supposedly inferior group therefore fell away.

They could not be chauvinists or extreme patriots because politics for them is something much more than mere love of their country. Politics for them is a struggle for the effective control of interests. Recognised social theory and the dictates of the course of history alone determine where such control should reside. Nationalism postulates that such control vests in the workers.

If recognition of only one human race together with its political implications is a monstrous thing it stands to reason that multi-racialism, recognition of many races, together with its political implications becomes a manifold monsterous thing.